Part-Indians In School Case Leave Town

EUSTIS, Fla., Jan. 13 (AP)—The Monroe Taylor family was forced out of town today by threats from unidentified persons who disliked having the part-Indian Taylor twin boys attend a white school here.

The Taylors had been picking citrus fruits here for a few weeks. Before that, he had been in construction work in Tampa and he said he would probably return there.

The boys, Floyd and Lloyd, 15, are his stepsons. Taylor said his wife is Indian and Spanish.

He said a group of roughly dressed men came to his $30-a-month garage apartment about midnight Tuesday and that one told him to get out.

Taylor said he and his wife had lost their jobs, anyway. He blamed his troubles on fellow workers.

G. A. Wilson, superintendent of schools here, said the twins and other students got along fine together. They had enrolled Monday as transfers from the Avon Park white school.

The four left town today about 9:30 a.m. They put their few possessions in an old model car and started south.

They moved to Florida in October. Before coming to the state he was a tobacco farmer at Hamer, S.C., near the North Carolina line.

Balt Amer 1-14-53

Fla-Ed

Florida's Well-Paid Teachers Due to Get Salary Increases

High-Wage Scale in Flowery State Lures Educators From 'Neighbors'

By CHARLES HESSER

Staff Writer, The Miami Daily News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., March 19—Florida pays its school teachers more than any other Southern state and compares favorably with the national average, but the educators probably will receive a raise from this year's legislature.

Based upon estimates by the National Education Assn., the average Florida teacher's salary for the 1954-55 year ranges from a high of $4,345 in Dade County (Miami) to $2,973 in Jackson County with the state average of $3,800. This compares with the national average of $3,932.

For the 1953-54 year — the latest official figures available from NEA — Florida's average salary of $3,772 was higher than the national average of $3,741. Florida teachers will ask the 1955 Legislature for an across-the-board pay raise of $250, which would again push the state average above the national average.

NEA figures show these averages for the same school year for other Southeastern Empire states: Alabama, $2,500; Georgia, $2,850; Mississippi, $1,864; North Carolina, $3,310; South Carolina, $2,890 and Tennessee, $2,793.

Give Report on Survey

The Legislative Council, the fact-finding agency of the Florida Legislature, which functions between the biennial sessions, has just completed a report, based upon its own nationwide study and figures of the NEA.

The council found that "salaries in Florida and other states have risen more than other incomes in the postwar years. It is recognized, however, that teachers' salaries were generally inadequate at the beginning of this period.

"Florida teacher salaries are higher than all other Southern states and much higher than the neighboring states, from which many of our teachers come."

The council, noting that the Minimum Foundation Program "has had a tremendous impact on the public schools and state finances," found that costs have risen from 82 million dollars for 1947-49, the initial biennium under the program, to an anticipated $163,670,000 for 1955-57.

It was pointed out that "Florida teachers have received a major part of the increased funds."

FLORIDA

As an example, the council said, salary allotments for the 1947-48 school year were $29,100,000 while they are expected to reach 77 million dollars for 1954-55.

Shortage of Teachers

One of the best arguments for a general increase in teachers' salaries by this year's Legislature is what is described by education officials as an "acute, critical" teacher shortage. The state will need 4,000 new teachers next year, according to State Supt. Thomas D. Bailey. He said Florida colleges will supply only 1,000 new teachers for next year. The rest must be hired from out of the state.

Although Florida ranks only 36th in the nation in per pupil expenditure, latest available figures show it still leads the rest of the Southeastern Empire states.

Florida's per pupil expenditure was listed at $217, compared to Alabama with $157, Georgia $157, Mississippi $113, North Carolina $161, South Carolina $173, and Tennessee $154.

It was found that "rising prices in the last seven years have offset more than half of the increased expenditures per pupil attending school in Florida."

To raise the state's per pupil expenditure to the national average, the Citizens Continuing Education Council has made several recommendations.

The council, composed of representatives of civic, educational and professional groups, urged approval of the full $163,670,000 Minimum Foundation Budget, plus an increase of $104 per unit for current expenses and an across-the-board $250 a year raise for teachers.

Enrollment Is Doubled

The citizens council said that Florida is spending a lower percentage of its income for support of schools that it did 15 years ago although enrollment has nearly doubled.

The council reported 18.3 per cent of state spending went to public schools in 1939-40, when 397,000 pupils were enrolled. In 1954-55, with an estimated enrollment of 693,000, less than 17 per cent is expected oto go to schools.

To care adequately for the 48,000 new school children enrolled this year would require at least 1,600 new classrooms, 1,600 new teachers and 48,000 sets of textbooks, the council said. This would not do a thing for the 30,300 children now attending double sessions "and getting only a part-time education," it added.

The council also urged the Legislature to provide a method to secure additional funds for classrooms in the larger counties.

The new school building program, which calls for 100 million dollars in new school construction, in addition to local county bond issues, cannot keep pace with rapid enrollment gains, the citizens contended.

Some educators have suggested that another penny be added to Florida's limited 3 per cent sales tax and the proceeds used for school building purposes.

Education: Fla

Chat. Times May 3 1955

3 Textbooks Banned For 'Anti-South' Line

The Georgia Board of Education Monday banned three textbooks which, it said, were not in accord with the "Southern way of life."

Then it made plans to set up a more permanent working professional textbook committee to "prevent 'isms' from creeping into our schools."

The rejected books were one sociology, one history and one song book.

In banning the sociology book, the board turned down recommendations of the present professional textbook committee, headed by Harvey Brown, Manchester school principal. It upheld a minority report filed by George C. Dean, city recorder of College Park.

Chairman Brown said the teachers on the committee were not happy over recommending approval of the disputed books, but that they felt on the whole the "good outweighs the bad."

"The teachers did not condone some of the material in this book," Brown told the board. "If the book had been submitted for a regular five-year adoption, we would have turned it down. The revised edition was submitted for only a two-year renewal period, and we felt the Georgia teachers could adjust the instructions to fit their classes. There should not be any question of our teachers' loyalty to Southern traditions."

Board Chairman George Whitman Jr. of Atlanta recommended the employment of a full-time professional textbook committee. He said it is a "farce" to think that a committee can review the text in a two-day period.

Board member Henry Stewart of Cedartown suggested teachers be employed during the vacation months to review books. Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, board member, urged that teachers be "screened" to show that

Continued on Page 18, Column 2

Ed-Ga-1955

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a [illegible] and could not be prosecuted under state law.

gard to [illegible] suance of beer licenses.

State Bans 3 Textbooks, Claim 'Anti-South' Line

Continued From Page 1

they have courage of their convictions."

Declaring that "isms" get into the schools through negligence of officials, Chairman Whitman said the board would be derelict in its duty if it doesn't see sufficient time is taken to examine textbooks properly.

The banned sociology book was "Our Changing Social Order" by Ruth Wood Gavian, H. A. Gray, and Ernest Groves.

The board also banned "America, Land of Freedom" by Gertrude Hartman. This was done at the request of Mrs. Talmadge, who said it didn't give the South sufficient credit in the Revolutionary War.

The sociology and history books were published by D. C. Heath.

The banned song book is "Together We Sing," published by the LaFollette Company.

The Lafollette company offered to change the song book wording which was objectionable to the board. The board had objected to the book changing the wording in Stephen Foster's songs "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Old Folks at Home", from "darkies" to "brothers."

Someone in Washington instigated the changing of the words, Robert Seay of the Lafollette company said. He declined to elaborate.

The board decided not to adopt the song book even if the wording was corrected.

Dean, of the textbook committee, charged the sociology books teach that the white people are unfair to the Negroes in elections, in school facilities, and in recreation facilities. He said the teaching in the book "Our Changing Social Order" follows the NAACP line and tries to "condition" white children into the idea that color doesn't matter.

While he didn't offer much defense for the books, Chairman Brown expressed resentment that Dean failed to meet with the committee and participate in its discussions.

Clark Duncan of Buena Vista voted against the board's action. He said he was voting simply to uphold the members of the professional textbook committee instead of taking the recommendation of one member.

Fla T-U 5/18/55

Amendment Offered To Keep Segregation In Schools of State

Times-Union Capitol Bureau

TALLAHASSEE, May 17 — Rep. Pruitt of Jefferson, who proposed a constitutional amendment to allow the Legislature to abolish the public school system to preserve segregation, introduced another proposed amendment on the subject today.

His new measure would declare the Legislature may provide for a public school system (the present Constitution says it shall) and that the Legislature may by local act allow an individual county to abolish free schools.

These local acts, which would be subject to approval in a referendum in the county affected, could provide for payment of student scholarships in private schools if the public school system were abolished.

Work Sept 1955

In Shreveport, La.

Ed - La

Southern Hospitality Wears Out

By **BOB SENSER**

THE FORSYTHIAS bloom the same bright yellow in the Colored folks' yards as they do in the White folks' yards. But for almost everything else there is a sharp color line in Shreveport, La.

Negroes have separate seats in the city's trolley buses, separate drinking fountains in most department stores, separate waiting rooms in railroad and bus stations, separate restaurants, schools, and churches.

Two young women from the North arrived in Shreveport in October of 1953 with the bold purpose of bridging these two worlds. They came at the invitation of Bishop Charles P. Greco of Alexandria to establish a Friendship House, a Catholic interracial center like those already set up in four cities, all north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Right from the start the Friendship House staff made no secret of their objective. "We will want to change the attitudes, laws, customs, and institutions which perpetuate discrimination," said Miss Anne Foley, director, at the first public meeting held in the Shreveport House, a rented white frame bungalow in a Negro section of town. A mixed audience of 100 applauded.

ONE DAY last month the Friendship House staff—now grown to three—took down their sign from the front door of the white bungalow, packed their meager equipment into an old automobile, and left town. The Friendship House of Shreveport was closed down. The closing, like the opening 17 months earlier, was at the Bishop's invitation.

For 17 months the House served as a "drawbridge of friendship across a moat of discrimination," as Father Joseph B. Gremillion, its chaplain, once said. For 17 months its staff met both joyful success and bitter disappointment, and learned much about the perils and opportunities in espousing the cause of interracial justice in a Jim Crow city with 87,000 Whites and 40,000 Negroes.

"You just don't know the score down here," one White man told Anne Foley. But he was persuaded to attend several forums at which Shreveport Negroes spoke. He listened wide-eyed, and later admitted that it was he who didn't know the score. He had always thought Negroes to be illiterate cotton-pickers, with no ability to be anything else. "I didn't know there were educated Negroes in Shreveport," he said.

One of Friendship House's contributions was to batter away at the wall of ignorance among Negroes as well as Whites. Most Southern Ne-

In Shreveport, La.

Southern Hospitality Wears Out

(Continued from page 1)

groes are convinced that all Whites have an active, deep-rooted hatred of the black man. At Friendship House Negroes met Southern Whites with a different spirit—ranging from the man who said, "Why, I never thought of this question before," all the way to a small number willing to defy segregation at the risk of their jobs and reputation.

WHEN THEY first arrived in Shreveport, staff members feared that they might be harassed with anonymous phone calls and letters to "get out of town fast." But they got no threats. Except for the final days, the only serious trouble they faced was in two encounters with the police a year ago, and after these they came out stronger than ever.

One night last year a couple of policemen marched into Friendship House and demanded, "What's going on here?" They took Anne Foley and Mary Dolan to the police station.

"Have you got a warrant for our arrest?" Mary Dolan asked.

"You may need a warrant where you come from," the policemen said, "but not down here."

At first the police had them classified as prostitutes. What else would White women do in a Negro neighborhood? After they read Friendship House's literature and heard the staff members describe their work, the police had another explanation for them: they must be Communists. Who else, at no salary and at living expenses that allotted $2.50 a week for food, would dedicate themselves to this work?

Finally, after two hours of questioning and after Father Gremillion interceded, they were released.

On another occasion Anne Foley was not so lucky. She and two visiting Friendship House staffers — one of them a Negro woman from Washington, D.C.—were held overnight in the police lockup. Their crime: the two Whites and the Negro had been driving in the same car.

BUT THE POLICE harassment soon stopped, thanks to a conference between police officials and White supporters of Friendship House. One of the biggest events in the Shreveport House's history came the evening when the police chief, along with his superior, the commissioner of public safety, addressed its weekly forum. The friends of the House were jubilant about that triumph. "We're in," they said.

A visit this February by Bishop John J. Wright of Worcester, Mass., Anne Foley's native diocese, seemed to clinch the center's status. He spoke at the House to an overflow crowd of 150, including some of Shreveport's leading White citizens. The only ominous note was that the local dailies refused to publish Bishop Wright's picture: they thought he might be a Negro.

Behind the scenes, some influential Catholics were objecting to Friendship House. They thought that, especially in a community where Catholics constitute a minority of about 10 percent, a Catholic institution should not be so brazen in flouting the customs and traditions of Dixie.

IT WAS NOT Friendship House, however, but the Catholic diocesan weekly that early in July made an announcement that flouted Southern traditions. The diocesan weekly announced that a proposed new $200,000 Catholic high school in Shreveport would be open to students of all races, and declared that the Catholic Church is working for the "complete and absolute integration of all races into every facet of our society."

The local newspapers ignored this forthright statement. Friendship House, however, in its monthly mimeographed newsletter, quoted from it. Shortly after sending the newsletter to a mailing list of 700 people, Larry Pausback, Friendship House staff worker, picked up a copy of the Shreveport **Journal**. On the front page was a big black headline. "It looked," says Pausback, "as though war had been declared." It had been—against Friendship House.

The headline blared: "SAY RACES TO MIX IN NEW CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL HERE." The **Journal**, instead of quoting the Catholic weekly, attributed the announcement to the Shreveport Friendship House, which it called "part of a national organization promoting mixture of the White and Negro races."

The story built up the false theme that Friendship House was trying to act as spokesman for the diocese. One of the article's neatly twisted sentences: "The original announcement [about the new school] did not indicate that Friendship House as an organization would be connected with the school."

INSTEAD of discussing the school issue, the article went on to "expose" Friendship House at great length. Among its revelations was that Mary Dolan and other White women had had their picture taken with a Negro man and a Negro woman at a Friendship House meeting.

In an editorial, the **Journal** said: "None of our law-enforcement authorities seems to know for sure whether the interracial meetings it has sponsored are in violation of Louisiana's segregation laws. We suggest that these authorities HAD BETTER BE FINDING OUT! One thing is certain: The Friendship House meetings are a violation of Southern customs and tradition and, as such, are out of place."

The other daily, the radio, and TV picked up the same distorted story. On following days the **Journal** kept pressing the issue: it wanted the staff members describe their work, the police had another explanation for them: they must be Communists. Who else, at no salary and at living expenses that allotted $2.50 a week for food, would dedicate themselves to this work?

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IN A WEEK, they got it. Msgr. J. C. Vandegaer, head of the Shreveport deanery, announced that the House would be closed in the interest of "promoting human solidarity, the work to which Friendship House is dedicated."

He did not explain this statement, but went on to praise the Friendship House staff "for the great good they have accomplished and the splendid example of Christian virtue given to the community."

The only local newpaper which expressed sorrow at these proceedings was the Shreveport Negro weekly, the **Sun.** Friendship House, it said, was just a "scapegoat" in the school controversy. "That is one of the penalties of being outspoken . . ."

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Ed-Fla

Florida Court Ends School Racial Bars

Macon Telegraph

10/20/55

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 19 (AP) — The Florida Supreme Court ruled today that Negroes could not be admitted to the all-white University of Florida until a determination had been made whether there would be harmful effects.

The 5-2 decision had the effect of delaying integration of the races in the university, and possible the public schools, for a period of several months to a year or more.

The majority opinion said the U. S. Supreme Court had knocked out segregation in classrooms but that in line with the high tribunal's order of last May 31 local conditions must be taken into account in working out integration of the races.

Decision Handed Down

The Florida court handed down its decision in the case of Virgil Hawkins, 48-year-old Daytona Beach Negro, who applied six years ago for admission to the University of Florida Law School.

In Hawkins' case, the court appointed a commissioner to take testimony to determine when it will be possible for him to be admitted to the university without creating "public mischief."

The Supreme Court designated Alachua County Circuit Judge John A. H. Murphree of Gainesville as its commissioner to take testimony from Hawkins, the university and other witnesses to show whether or not the university law school "is ready at this time to accept Negro students."

Hawkins, public relations director for Bethune-Cookman Negro College at Daytona Beach, said he wouldn't give up his fight to go to the university law school and indicated he would appeal.

In a dissenting opinion, retired Justice H. L. Sebring said that when the U. S. Supreme Court declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, Florida's school segregation laws were knocked out and Negroes should be admitted immediately to all Florida public schools.

Justice Glenn Terrell, head of the court, wrote a defense of segregation of the races in an opinion concurring with the majority holding. He said the U. S. Supreme Court in ordering desegregation in public schools had reversed a decree of God Almighty.

"When God created man he allotted each race to his own continent according to color—Europe to the white man, Asia to the yellow man, Africa to the black man and America to the red man," wrote Justice Terrell.

"But we now are advised God was in error and must be reversed."

Ed. file

The Vagabond
REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE
Subscription: $1.00 A YEAR

Address Letters To The Editor, 1011 Brightwaters Blvd., St. Petersburg, Florida

Brothers of the Chinese Brain Washers

THE LAKE COUNTY School Board in Florida is made up of blood brothers of the members of the Chinese Communist gang that inflicts brain-washing on helpless people.

A poor-white-trash sheriff by the name of Willis V. McCall, who has all the qualities of a brutal dictator, ordered the school authorities to dismiss the five children of Mr. and Mrs. Allen Platt, because, so he claimed, they had Negro blood in their veins.

Actually, the youngsters are a mixture of white and Cherokee Indian.

Some Sunday school students, aiming to be practicing Christians, wrote a paper in which they stated that in their opinion the Platt children had received a raw deal. The paper was read by their Sunday school teacher, Don Conway, and approved. Conway was a member of the public school staff, too.

Because of this approval Conway's contract was not renewed in April by the school board. He was also denied a public hearing by the same officials.

Thus that school board announced that free speech does not exist in Lake County where the board and Sheriff McCall have authority. Only opinions approved by the dictators may be expressed without fear of punishment.

Mabel Norris Reese, the courageous editor of the Mount Dora weekly, who has dared fight the un-American McCall type of government, has been made to feel the effect of her campaign for honesty and justice in government.

Communists are never likely to destroy our government. It will be destroyed faster by the Sheriff McCalls and people like those who are wholly unfit to serve on school boards or in any other positions of authority.

* * *

IF YOU ARE working under great pressure with tightened nerves, just holding a copy of *The Old Farmer's Almanac* in your hands may give you relief. Turn its pages and you are sure to be benefited. This 163-year-old publication creates the effect of timelessness. It says to you, "Why hurry so?" You begin to accept time as an abstraction. It has no power to enslave you that you yourself do not give it. *The Old Farmer's Almanac* makes you feel that, no matter what the weather may be, now is the time to relax and enjoy whatever you are doing. Nowhere else can you buy so much magic for 25 cents.

Cheap Popular Reading

IN RUMMAGING AMONG his library collection, Dr. William H. Tolman found two items he thought would interest us. One is the catalogue of the Mattapan Library, Dorchester, Mass., printed by David Clapp in Boston in 1853. It listed a surprising number of books of quality. There was a fair collection of maps and collections of poems by Whittier, Longfellow, Tennyson, Shelley and others. Ruskin, Dana, Prescott, Bunyan, Plutarch and writers of their quality were represented. Readers had their choice of many agricultural and mechanical books. The whole collection represented good quality.

Another small book, undated, but obviously much older, was a small catalogue of the Village and Family Library, containing 24 volumes, priced at only $3. There were two books on the solar system, the Life of Luther, Ancient Jerusalem, The Life of Cyrus, the Life of Mohammed, The French Revolution, Protestantism in France, Magic, Pretended Miracles and Remarkable Natural Phenomena, Schools of An-

Ed. S.C.

1/11/56
atl Jnl

S.C. Governor Urges Caution On Race Issue

COLUMBIA, Jan. 11 (AP) — Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. caution Wednesday against any "premature action" in meeting what he called "threats that continue to face us" in the school segregation issue.

He told the South Carolina General Assembly he thinks it advisable to consider the possibility of joining other Southern states "at an appropriate time in a lawful and formal protest against the effort to destroy our form of government."

• • •

DECLARING there is "growing evidence of an effort to not only disrupt out public schools but also to relegate to a second class status religious faith and racial heritage," Timmerman deplored statements by President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message Jan. 5.

The President "lent the prestige of his office to the effort to pour all religious faith and all racial heritage into the melting pot of lost identity. . . ." Timmerman said, "Never before has a national administration proclaimed as unimportant a person's race or religion."

For

3-14-56

Ed S.C.

Bill Would Extend Life Of Gressette Committee

A bill to extend the life of the Gressette committee indefinitely was passed by the House of Representatives yesterday.

It is provided in the bill that the committee will continue to study the problem of the public school system with respect to segregation and also the schools of higher learning and all phases of segregation affecting the State Government and its political subdivisions, and all the citizens of South Carolina.

The committee is to make reports from time to time to the governor and General Assembly, with such recommendations as may be deemed proper.

Among other bills getting the third and final reading in the House was one to increase the length of the term of office of the commissioner of labor from two to four years. The commissioner is appointed by the governor. An attempt to make the office elective failed in the House last week.

A Senate bill to amend the law relating to birth certificates of legally adopted children, so as to provide a systematic filing of transcript of adoption with the State Board of Health, was given third House reading.

Another Senate measure getting the final House reading deals with elections held under the school bond act.

A bill to define and prohibit the debt adjusting business in the state also received third reading

for violating Federal migratory bird regulations.

Final House reading was also given a Senate bill to amend a section of the law which authorizes advances for capital improvements to be made by the Educational Finance Commission to public school operating units, so as to extend the period against which such advances may be made.

A bill to authorize the Board of Trustees of Clemson College to negotiate with the Federal Government in connection with the Hartwell Dam project, was given final reading in the House.

The House also gave final reading to a Senate bill to liquidate the Orangeburg-Aiken Hydro-Electric Commission.

A Senate bill to exempt property of certain Masonic Lodges in Dorchester County from taxation was given final reading in the House.

A Spartanburg delegation bill to create the Startex-Jackson-Wellford-Duncan Water District in Spartanburg County was given final House reading.

Another bill receiving third House reading would provide an educational system for Marlboro County. Under the bill the entire area of the county would be constituted into a single school district.

A Senate bill providing that no school in Chesterfield County may make certain purchases from members of the board of trustees without at least two bids, and the lowest for equal quality accepted, was given final reading in the House.

At Constitution 3/9/56

S.C. House Denies Book Burning But Votes To Ban 'Mix' Volumes

Ed. S.C.

COLUMBIA, S.C., March 8 (AP)—The House of Representatives overrode charges of "book burning" and "Hitler tactics" today to adopt a concurrent resolution asking the State Library Board to take out of circulation books that might be interpreted as promoting race integration.

Backers said the resolution, routed to the Senate for its approval, did not represent book burning but a stand "consistent with the state's attitude on segregation."

The resolution said, "There are now being circulated through our state libraries certain books, such as 'The Swimming Hole' . . . that are antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of our state."

"The Swimming Hole" is an illustrated children's book which depicts white and colored boys swimming together. State Library Board officials, who maintain the book promotes an understanding of "human values" rather than integration, said 12 copies are in circulation.

The resolution charged such books "tend to confuse and warp the thinking of our young children" and asked the board to "screen more carefully all publications before circulating" them.

Voicing strong objections to the resolution were Reps. Grimball of Charleston and Huguenin of Jasper.

Grimball asked the House to "let reason combat whatever thoughts are in books . . . you ought to be able to expound anything you want."

The resolution represented a "ridiculous extreme" to Huguenin, who said, "If we are willing to ask the library board to remove this book we can just as logically ask them to remove the Bible."

He referred to the story of Ham and Noah's ark.

Sentinel

S.C. Chief Advises Caution

1/11/56

Ed. S.C.

COLUMBIA (AP) — Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. cautioned today against any "premature action" in meeting what he called "threats that continue to face us" in the school segregation issue.

He told the South Carolina General Assembly he thinks it advisable to consider the possibility of joining other Southern states "at an appropriate time in a lawful and formal protest against the effort to destroy our form of government."

Declaring there is "growing evidence of an effort to not only disrupt our public schools but also to relegate to a second class status religious faith and racial heritage." Timmerman deplored statements by President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message Jan. 5.

The President "lent the prestige of his office to the effort to pour all religious faith and all racial heritage into the melting pot of lost identity. . ." Timmerman said. "Never before has a national administration proclaimed as unimportant a person's race or religion.

Priceless Possession

"How better can a person be judged and measured as to what he

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3/21/56 Atl. Jnl. Ed. S.C

Carolina Governor Urges Solid Segregation Front

COLUMBIA, S.C., March 21 (AP). Southern states' Democrats should "present a united front" to the national Democratic Party for racial segregation, Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr., said today.

Timmerman urged the South Carolina state convention to take the lead "toward mobilization of our Southern strength" for the national convention in August.

At no time did he suggest a third party. He urged a convention recess and an invitation to Democratic parties in other states to do the same and "join with us in organizing."

* * *

"**BY RECESSING** our conventions," he told state Democrats n convention here, "we can monstrate clearly that our po- on transcends mere party litics. . . ."

Recessed conventions, he said, "will show beyond any doubt that we mean what we say when we say it, and that we are not putting on just a political show for home consumption."

The closest he came to the third party area was when he said recessed conventions also will demonstrate "that we are determined to maintain our position on a matter so vitally important to our people and our country.

* * *

"**IF THE VOICE** of the South and others who believe in constitutional government is to be effective in the national councils of the Democratic Party, we must organize," he said.

Timmerman spoke of the "policies of the Republican administration in creating racial strife and discord in the South," and said this has "weakened our position of world influence" and is "encouraging the spread of world communism."

Education, Xn.

Senate Concurs in Resolution To Screen Antagonistic Books

3-25-56 The State

Ed S-e

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

State senators late yesterday concurred in a House approved resolution to ask the State Library Board to remove existing books and screen future books "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of this state."

Adoption of the resolution came, however, only after the senators got themselves deeply involved in debate over the proposed screening of books advocating race integration.

Before adopting the resolution on a voice vote, the Senate refused, 7-15, to table it.

"It is time now," said Sen. Gressette of Calhoun, chairman of the State School Segregation Committee, "to let people in these United States know that we mean business, that South Carolina is playing for keeps."

He spoke of a potential $172,000 in federal library aid that he said some people felt South Carolina might lose if the resolution were adopted.

"I would rather see the state lose every cent in order to protect the minds of our young girls and boys," Gressette said.

"Would you call this a censorship resolution?" Sen. Stevens of Horry asked.

"No, it's just a mild request," Gressette replied.

Sen. West of Kershaw recalled that Gressette argued last year that any request from the Legislature is a demand.

"It may be mild and polite but it still is a demand to ban certain books," West said of the resolution. "I'm opposed to any such censorship."

West cited book burnings in Hitler's Germany and declared that "our Southern traditions are too firm to have to rest on any such insecure footing" as censorship.

The resolution requests the State Library Board to "remove from circulation certain books antagonistic and inimical to the traditions of South Carolina and further requests that the library board screen more carefully certain publications before circulating same."

The resolution cites a children's book, "The Swimming Hole," by Gerald Beim, as being "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of our state." The book pictures among other things a Negro boy taking leadership over his white companions on a swimming expedition.

Sen. Morrison of Georgetown said "if we are going to be afraid of the darky" then the resolution should be adopted.

Gressette said books like "The Swimming Hole" serve "no constructive educational purpose and

(Please turn to page 8A, Col. 4)

Senate Concurs

(Continued from Page One)

only confuse and warp the thinking of our young people."

Sen. Miley of Oconee asked Gressette if the resolution "wouldn't cover magazines and newspapers."

"Would you have to have them (librarians) clip out objectionable matter?" Miley asked.

"As for myself," Gressette answered, "I stopped subscribing to the Saturday Evening Post, Time, Life and other publications sponsoring" integration.

Sen. Wallace of York urged the Senate to "leave this matter with the local library boards" because "I hope the Senate will not set itself as a board of censorship. I believe the people of South Carolina are highly intelligent and I don't want to reflect on their intelligence by saying what they should read."

Wallace made the unsuccessful motion to table.

HITS 'SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS'

Ed. S.e.

Governor Orders Officers' Alert For Possible College Demonstration

Governor Timmerman yesterday ordered state and local law officers to be on the alert for a possible subversive sponsored demonstration at South Carolina State (Negro) College in Orangeburg.

The governor's office said in a brief statement today that the state law enforcement division "has received information that certain subversive elements may attempt to sponsor a demonstration" at the college "within the next few days."

The office did not explain what it meant by "subversive elements."

Officers were directed to "keep the situation under surveillance and arrest immediately any law violators."

There were reports that students recently rioted at the college and burned in effigy Representative Hughes of Orangeburg. The school faces a general assembly investigation of alleged National Association for the Advancement of Colored People activities.

Students also were reported to have protested against the school's use of products from certain bakeries and dairies because of alleged connections with prosegregation citizens councils.

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Times and Democrat
Orangeburg, S. C.
APR 7 1956

State Teachers Join NAACP In Views

Members of the faculty and staff of State College in Orangeburg this week went on record as supporting the aims and views of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People.

The Times and Democrat was informed yesterday that the resolution was adopted by "a 99 percent vote" of the faculty and staff at the state supported college for Negroes.

The resolution came from R. C. Henderson, chairman of the faculty study commission, who said it was adopted at the regular monthly faculty meeting held last Monday. The resolution, it is reported, is similar to an anonymous one distributed about two weeks ago.

According to Henderson, only one signature is missing from the resolution and "that is because the person was absent from the meeting."

The resolution says the faculty regards the N-A-A-C-P as "simply one of the many organizations which give vitally to the beliefs" set forth in the U. S. constitution and Declaration of Independence.

And the faculty states that it is its belief that the Supreme Court is the final interpretive source for U. S. law.

S.Carolina Negro Collegians Strike, Turn to Comics

ORANGEBURG, S.C., April 9 (AP)—Negro students at State College here today exchanged textbooks for comic magazines and enjoyed card games on the sunny campus rather than hear lectures in stuffy classrooms.

Dr. Benner C. Turner, college president, admitted the 1,500-member student body "is on strike." Turner said he has not discused the strike with student leaders.

Students themselves declined to say what prompted the day-old strike. It is believed a pending investigation of the NAACP, authorized by the General Assembly and Gov. Timmerman, instigated the student protest move.

The only student statement came from James Robinson of Seneca, college junior and part-time telephone operator.

"The way we are putting it," he said, "is that we just don't feel like going to class. That's all we are going to say."

At Const
4/10/56

Ed-S.C.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 LADY STREET

COLUMBIA, S. C.

April 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Attached you will find a copy of the affidavit being sent out by the Superintendent of Education to Negro teachers in Jasper County.

We understand affidavits are being sent out also in Marlboro and Horry Counties, but we have not secured copies of them as yet.

Sincerely,

James T. McCain

James T. McCain,
Associate Director

/ig

Ed - S. C.
(Clips)

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF JASPER

In Accordance with Act of the South Carolina General Assembley, approved March 17, 1956, entitled "An Act to Make Unlawful The Employment By The State, School District Or Any County Or Municipality Thereof Of Any Member Of The National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People, And To Provide Penalties For Violations", comes __________ ____________________________, who on oath deposes and says that Deponent ____________________________ a member of the
(is) or (is not)
National Association For The Advancement of Colored People.

____

SWORN to before me this

_______ day of ____________, 1956.

____________________________ (L. S.)
Notary Public of South Carolina

La. - Education

Reverses Arouse Segregationists

By Foust Richards

New Orleans

After a chain of serious defeats, Louisiana's segregationists are counterattacking. They are appealing a Federal district judge's decision that New Orleans must start to work out a plan for desegregating its public schools. And the Attorney General is attempting to resurrect a law passed in the '20s (designed to curb the Ku Klux Klan) to drive the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People out of the state. By the time this appears in print, the district court in Baton Rouge will have ruled on the attempt, but appeals will be made whichever way the decision goes.

The segregationists are also stepping up their organizing activity. A White Citizens' Council was formed here at a giant rally in Municipal Auditorium. The meeting was addressed by Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook and Leander Perez, St. Bernard-Plaquemines district attorney and a long-time advocate of states' rights and white supremacy. "I hold the decision of the Supreme Court in utter contempt," said Cook, "and I have no respect for the nine men on the bench." Perez called on white citizens to "let these nine treasonable judges know that we will never surrender and desert our little children for racial integration in the Communist conspiracy."

Another organization, the handiwork of Emile Wagner Jr., a member of the parish school board and also an attorney, has been formed to investigate "efforts to force integration in Roman Catholic schools." This group is open only to Roman Catholic laymen. Wagner is the author of two pamphlets attacking efforts of his coreligionists to equate racial segregation with sin, and he has sought to engage members of the Jesuit order in doctrinal debates on this point. So far, the Jesuits, who run Loyola University and are otherwise prominent in the city's civic life, have declined to answer Wagner directly. But the timing of a pronouncement by the Archbishop that racial segregation was sinful and morally wrong, issued in February, apparently was influenced by the attacks on the Jesuits.

This pronouncement was but one of the recent reverses which have goaded segregationists into new activity. Here are some of the others:

- Louisiana State University refused to set up new entrance requirements designed to exclude qualified Negro students, and it voted to continue scheduling athletic contests with schools which field mixed teams.
- The same Federal-district-court decision which ordered a "timely end" to segregation in parish schools also struck down recent legislation which purported to give segregation a legal basis in the state's police power. In a noteworthy opinion written by Judge J. Skelly Wright (which was quoted across the nation), the court held the laws unconstitutional.
- Four Roman Catholic legislators who vowed to include church schools in any new laws enacted this year to preserve segregation were warned, in an editorial in the archdiocesan organ, that they risked danger of automatic excommunication for inviting civil interference with ecclesiastical affairs, a violation of canon law.

Despite this, the Legislature, which meets in May, will undoubtedly replace the segregation laws that the court tossed out. But, in view of incoming Governor Earl Long's decision not to "tell the Catholics how to run their schools," parochial schools will probably escape legal restrictions against integrating.

Finally, it should be noted that, in the tumult which surrounds most segregation news, it is sometimes forgotten that there are members of the community who are working quietly but effectively to find reasonable solutions to the present dilemma. Such a one is the Reverend Hugh McKee, rector of St. Martin's Episcopal Church, who, in the wake of Citizens' Council excitement, admonished his flock:

"It is commonly understood in terms of the Bible teaching that all men are created in the image of God and intended to be brothers. If you consider this an impracticable doctrine, then you may very well have to surrender your Christian faith. The Church has little else to offer.

"Why not pass up the mass meetings and allow for more thought and prayer over your role as a Christian in the matter?"

Father McKee's statement, the strongest made publicly by an Episcopal priest, was printed in a local letters-to-the-editor column and has greatly encouraged those of his faith here who wish to see their church provide more light and leading in this country's greatest moral controversy.

New Leader

Ed. S.C.

enough ore from all sources to keep American mills going at projected capacity until 1975. After that date, prospects are not so certain.

There are several interesting facets to the defense consideration. It is apparent that increasing dependence on foreign sources creates hazards that did not exist when World Wars I and II were fought. Then the umbilical cord of the national arsenal, the steel mills, was securely inside our national boundaries. That will no longer be true. Furthermore, the nation will have lost in another five years what the bulletin calls "one of its most important strategic assets." This refers to the approaching exhaustion of the rich, easily accessible ores that made it possible to expand and contract ore production in quick response to emergency demand.

When there are large tonnages of ready-to-use iron ore on hand, as has so long been the case in the United States, stresses imposed by war are no great challenge. If a highly complex ore-treatment process is involved, however, the rapid expansion of production will be much more difficult. Conceivably, too, the emergency might arise at a time when the output of domestic mines had fallen dangerously low because imported ore was cheaper. In the case of taconite, adding 20 million tons of annual capacity might take two or three years. By that time, presumably, the emergency would be over.

The Bureau of Mines bulletin, which was written as a chapter in the agency's publication *Mineral Facts and Problems*, closes with several thought-provoking questions: Will the iron-ore supply be adequate after 1975? What does increasing dependence on foreign supply mean to national security? What is the safe minimum level of domestic ore production, and how will that level be maintained?

The answers may well have a profound effect on the future of modern civilization.

A SOUTHERN STUDENT SPEAKS HIS MIND

By R. L. Morton

(The following was originally printed in the Gamecock, *student newspaper at the University of South Carolina. It resulted in the author's dismissal from his position as page in the State Legislature, a position he had held for several years.)*

Man's first passion was a grunt. With evolution, he has molded and shaped his emotions with color and song and speech. Sing we must, else go mad. Speak we must, else the throat choke and burst with silent truths. Speak we must, before it is too late. Listen.

I am ashamed to be called a "Southerner." By biological accident, I, like most of you, am a native South Carolinian. With you, I am a student at the University of South Carolina, a rather large school, admirably progressive in everything except the desire to forget the past. Throttled by this slavish and solitary stigma, we are not attempting to free ourselves. Unconsciously, we have been smothered and strangled with tradition, the so-called "Southern" tradition, a backward-looking and odious attitude appropriately attributed only to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

For several years, I have been a page in the State Legislature. They, too, form a rather large school. And this is a monumental session in 1956. Arrested by the decision of "nine old men" on the United States Supreme Court, they are intent on circumventing movements which would abolish segregation of the races in our state. Southern Governors and legislators have been the embarrassing sound tracks for the South. Tempered by custom, they speak with weighty, obstreperous and irrational voices. Never have they spoken for me and some of you. Never could they speak for those who feel as we do.

Being a Southerner, my decrying segregation is worse than damning a venerable old god. But most gods are merciful and understanding; many Southerners are not. Most gods are forgiving and broadminded; most state legislators are not.

Twelve miles below Columbia, on a bluff overlooking the Congaree Swamp, I was born. Clearly I remember racing through haystacks, over the holy pastures green and blithe with the confusion of youth. The fields sang to us, and our bodies ripened in the sun. My only playmate was Freddy, a Negro, and nothing I cared about the color of his skin. He was as young and free as I, and every moment was merry. Then, one day, my visiting Auntie, an enormous woman who smeared lipstick on her forehead when she smiled, saw us drinking from the spring. With all the affected dignity of a Southern lady, she informed me that Freddy was a "nigger" and should never be caught drinking from that spring again. Freddy cowered away dumbfoundedly. I was abashed.

Auntie died two years later, and both Freddy and I watched the funeral less than a hundred yards from the spring. There I discovered suddenly not sorrow, but hatred. I wanted to kick dirt in her embalmed face, a face representative of all the ignorance and superstitions of generations past. But Freddy cried, and all the fears of his young, dark world cried pity, not hatred. Now Freddy is a part of the Korean hillside, and he died for the grace of people like Auntie. But Auntie's temperament did not die with her. Her stupidity is reflected and echoed in every Citizens' Council in the South today.

This America is: Sing to me of the sunlight of the human spirit pouring through open windows.

This the South is: Slur to me your syllables of interposition.
This America is: Show, don't dream to me of human dignity.
This the South is: Move to the rear of the bus.

Education, S.C.

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1956

The Times & Democrat

Negro Teachers Resign From Ello

Edu. - S. C.

ELLOREE, May 16 — At least 21 Negro teachers at the Elloree Training School will not resume their duties here this fall when the colored school begins its September term. The announcement was made today by the Board of Trustees.

What apparently prompted the trustees' decision was the reported refusal of some teachers to express their personal views concerning integrated schools and NAACP membership. This was partly substantiated by the trustees.

"We're going to run our schools for the best interests of the community," declared W. B. Bookhardt, chairman of the Board of Trustees. Harold Felder, Elmo Shuler, Ulmer Weeks and T. T. McEachern, the remaining trustees, confirmed Bookhardt's statement. Jim Owen Jr. of the Orangeburg County Board of Education was also present.

Last Friday, trustees related, application blanks for another year's employment were distributed teachers. Anyone desiring to return this fall was requested to complete the application and return it Monday to School Supt. M. G. Austin.

Trustees said that only seven members of the school's 31 teachers submitted applications on the requested day. They were identified as Mary B. Watson, Willie Mae Walker, Gladys White, Alice White, Francis Everett Jr., Ellen Williams and Eliza Williams.

"When Mr. Austin went around on Monday to pick up the application blanks," Bookhardt continued, "he got only those seven. Some of the others said they were not NAACP members, but refused to fill in the blanks. Others declined to say if they were NAACP members and also refused to fill in the applications.

"On Tuesday, and acting on the instructions of the Board of Trustees," Bookhardt said, "Mr. Austin went back around to see about the applications. Teachers were asked to either sign the applications or submit their resignations. Eighteen resigned, and three others refused to sign or resign."

Although Bookhardt did not say so, it is doubtful that refusing to sign the prepared resignation will benefit the teacher. Trustees pointed out that teachers are elected for each one-year term.

A reporter was shown 18 pieces of paper bearing the inscription "I hereby resign as teacher in the Elloree Training School effective May 31, 1956." Each signature was notarized.

Seventeen teachers, trustees reported, "actually refused" to complete the required applications. The other teacher, Juanita R. Wells, had resigned before the applications were circulated.

Teachers refusing to sign the papers, according to trustees, were Elizabeth L. Cleveland, Betty Smith, Charles E. Davis, Ola L. Bryan, James D. Mays, Jestine DeLee, Betty C. Green, Rosa Delores Davis, Laura L. Prickett, Ernestine W. Dawkins, Rosa M. Haigler, Mary E. Jackson, Hattie M. Fulton, Robert D. Carmichael, Howard Shefton, Vivian V. Floyd and Clarence V. Tobin.

Trustees, asked the names of the three teachers refusing to submit applications and also refusing to resign their positions effective May 31, identified the trio as Lelia Mae Summers, Rutha Mae Ingram and Frazier H. Keitt.

Three teachers have yet to be contacted. Trustees said these faculty members are in Washington, D.C., with the senior class. Two of them, however, anticipate entering the Armed Forces during the summer.

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Education - S.C.
1956

IN US COURT

The State 9/11/56

18 Teachers Challenge SC Anti-NAACP Law

Educ. - S.C.

A federal suit challenging a new South Carolina law aimed at the NAACP was filed in district court in Columbia yesterday.

The suit was brought by 18 school teachers who lost their jobs because they declined to sign statements on whether or not they were members of the NAACP. Lincoln C. Jenkins, Jr., of Columbia and Thurgood Marshall of New York, chief counsel of the NAACP, are attorneys for the plaintiffs.

The teachers were among a number of teachers dismissed from Elloree Training School in Orangeburg County after they declined to fill out forms which contained questions on whether or not they were members of the NAACP and whether or not they favored integration of the races in school.

The 24 fired teachers have been replaced. In this connection the head of the Elloree area NAACP chapter, L. A. Blackman, had this to say recently: "We don't think they (the new teachers) should have taken jobs of other teachers who had taken a noble stand."

The complaint said "the actions of the defendants were taken for the purpose of obtaining information to aid in complying with the law of South Carolina." A law passed by the General Assembly during the past session makes "unlawful employment by the state, school district or any county or municipality of any member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and provides criminal penalties for violations."

In the complaint filed in the United States District Court, the plaintiffs asked the court to restrain school officials from refusing to continue the employment of the plaintiffs solely because of their membership in the NAACP, or their attitude towards school segregation.

PLAINTIFFS LISTED

Plaintiffs listed in the complaint include: Ola L. Bryan, Robert D. Carmichael, Essie M. David, Charles E. Davis, Rosa D. Davis, Vivian V. Floyd, Bee A. Fogan, Hattie M. Fulton, Ruth M. Ingram, Mary E. Jackson, Frazier H. Keitt, Luther Lucas, James B. Mays, Laura Pickett, Howard W. Shefton, Betty Smith, Leila M. Summers and Clarence V. Tobin.

Defendants include M. G. Austin, Jr., superintendent of School District No. 7 of Orangeburg County, and W. B. Bookhardt, Harold Felder, T. T. McEachern, Elmo Shuler and Ulmer Weeks of the Board of Trustees of School District No. 7.

The complaint said the plaintiffs were teachers in Elloree Training School and they performed their work in a satisfactory manner.

It noted the defendants are responsible for the management and control of the school district, and have the power and duty of entering into contracts of employment

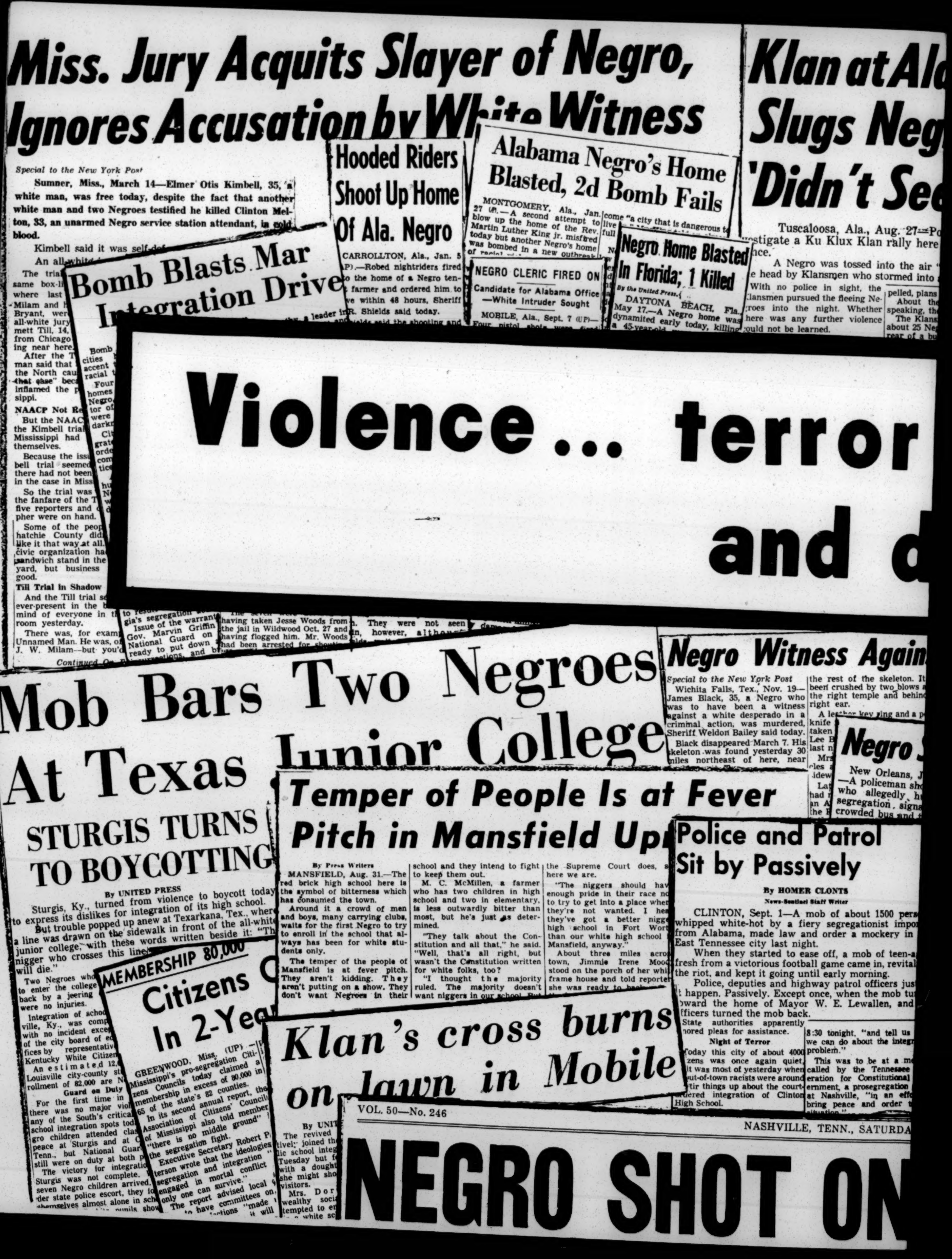
(Please turn to page 8A, Col. 1)

Education - S.C.
1956

"You are not required to obey any court which passes out such a ruling. In fact, you are obligated to defy it."

—Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, referring to the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, at Senatobia, Miss., August 12, 1955.

The chickens have come home to roost



Violence ... terror and d

Miss. Jury Acquits Slayer of Negro, Ignores Accusation by White Witness

Special to the New York Post

Sumner, Miss., March 14—Elmer Otis Kimbell, 35, a white man, was free today, despite the fact that another white man and two Negroes testified he killed Clinton Melton, 33, an unarmed Negro service station attendant, in cold blood.

Kimbell said it was self-def

An all-white

The trial same box-li where last Milam and h Bryant, were all-white jury mett Till, 14, from Chicago ing near here.

After the T man said that the North cau "that case" beca inflamed the p sippi.

NAACP Not Re

But the NAAC the Kimbell trial Mississippi had themselves.

Because the issu bell trial seemed there had not been in the case in Missi

So the trial was the fanfare of the T five reporters and pher were on hand.

Some of the peop hatchie County did like it that way at all. civic organization ha sandwich stand in the yard, but business good.

Till Trial in Shadow

And the Till trial se ever-present in the b mind of everyone in th room yesterday.

There was, for exam Unnamed Man. He was, o J. W. Milam—but you'd

Continued On P

Bomb Blasts Mar Integration Drive

Bomb cities accent racial

Four homes Negro tor of were darkn

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to resu gia's segregation Issue of the warrant Gov. Marvin Griffin National Guard on ready to put down insurrections, and b

Hooded Riders Shoot Up Home Of Ala. Negro

CARROLLTON, Ala., Jan. 5 (AP).—Robed nightriders fired into the home of a Negro tenant farmer and ordered him to leave within 48 hours, Sheriff R. Shields said today.

having taken Jesse Woods from the jail in Wildwood Oct. 27 and having flogged him. Mr. Woods had been arrested

They were not seen however, althou

Alabama Negro's Home Blasted, 2d Bomb Fails

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 27 (AP).—A second attempt to blow up the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King jr. misfired today but another Negro's home was bombed in a new outbreak of racial

come "a city that is dangerous to live full

NEGRO CLERIC FIRED ON

Candidate for Alabama Office —White Intruder Sought

MOBILE, Ala., Sept. 7 (UP)— Four pistol shots were fired

Negro Home Blasted In Florida; 1 Killed

By the United Press.

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., May 17.—A Negro home was dynamited early today, killing a 45-year-old

Klan at Al Slugs Neg 'Didn't See

Tuscaloosa, Ala., Aug. 27—Po vestigate a Ku Klux Klan rally here nce.

A Negro was tossed into the air e head by Klansmen who stormed into

With no police in sight, the Klansmen pursued the fleeing Negroes into the night. Whether there was any further violence could not be learned.

pelled, plans

About the speaking, th

The Klans about 25 Ne rear of a bu

Mob Bars Two Negroes At Texas Junior College

STURGIS TURNS TO BOYCOTTING

By UNITED PRESS

Sturgis, Ky., turned from violence to boycott today to express its dislikes for integration of its high school.

But trouble popped up anew at Texarkana, Tex., where a line was drawn on the sidewalk in front of the all-white junior college, with these words written beside it: "The nigger who crosses this line will die."

Two Negroes who to enter the college back by a jeering were no injuries.

Integration of schoo ville, Ky., was comp with no incident excep of the city board of ed fices by representativ Kentucky White Citizen

An estimated 12, Louisville city-county st rollment of 82,000 are N

Guard on Duty

For the first time in there was no major viol any of the South's critical school integration spots tod gro children attended clas peace at Sturgis and at C Tenn., but National Guar still were on duty at both p

The victory for integratio Sturgis was not complete. seven Negro children arrived, der state police escort, they fo themselves almost alone in sch pupils show

MEMBERSHIP 80,000

Citizens C In 2-Yea

GREENWOOD, Miss. (UP) — Mississippi's pro-segregation Citizens Councils today claimed a membership in excess of 80,000 in 65 of the state's 82 counties.

In its second annual report, the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi also told member "there is no middle ground" the segregation fight.

Executive Secretary Robert P terson wrote that the ideologies segregation and integration engaged in mortal conflict only one can survive."

The report advised local to have committees on, "made it will

Negro Witness Again

Special to the New York Post

Wichita Falls, Tex., Nov. 19—James Black, 35, a Negro who was to have been a witness against a white desperado in a criminal action, was murdered, Sheriff Weldon Bailey said today.

Black disappeared March 7. His skeleton was found yesterday 30 miles northeast of here, near

the rest of the skeleton. It been crushed by two blows the right temple and behind right ear.

A leather key ring and a p knife taken Lee B last n

Mrs cles idew

La had an A the

Negro S

New Orleans, J —A policeman sh who allegedly h segregation signs crowded bus and

Temper of People Is at Fever Pitch in Mansfield Up

By Press Writers

MANSFIELD, Aug. 31.—The red brick high school here is the symbol of bitterness which has consumed the town.

Around it a crowd of men and boys, many carrying clubs, waits for the first Negro to try to enroll in the school that always has been for white students only.

The temper of the people of Mansfield is at fever pitch. They aren't kidding. They aren't putting on a show. They don't want Negroes in their school and they intend to fight to keep them out.

M. C. McMillen, a farmer who has two children in high school and two in elementary, is less outwardly bitter than most, but he's just as determined.

"They talk about the Constitution and all that," he said. "Well, that's all right, but wasn't the Constitution written for white folks, too?

"I thought the majority ruled. The majority doesn't want niggers in our school. But the Supreme Court does, s here we are.

"The niggers should hav enough pride in their race no to try to get into a place wher they're not wanted. I hea they've got a better nigg high school in Fort Wort than our white high school Mansfield, anyway."

About three miles acro town, Jimmie Irene Moo stood on the porch of her whi frame house and told reporte she was ready to back

Police and Patrol Sit by Passively

By HOMER CLONTS

News-Sentinel Staff Writer

CLINTON, Sept. 1—A mob of about 1500 pers whipped white-hot by a fiery segregationist impo from Alabama, made law and order a mockery in East Tennessee city last night.

When they started to ease off, a mob of teen-a fresh from a victorious football game came in, revital the riot, and kept it going until early morning.

Police, deputies and highway patrol officers jus t happen. Passively. Except once, when the mob tu oward the home of Mayor W. E. Lewallen, and fficers turned the mob back.

State authorities apparently nored pleas for assistance.

Night of Terror

Today this city of about 4000 zens was once again quiet, it was most of yesterday when out-of-town racists were around stir things up about the court-ordered integration of Clinton High School.

8:30 tonight, "and tell us we can do about the integ problem."

This was to be at a m called by the Tennessee eration for Constitutional ernment, a prosegregation at Nashville, "in an eff bring peace and order situation."

Klan's cross burns on lawn in Mobile

By UNIT

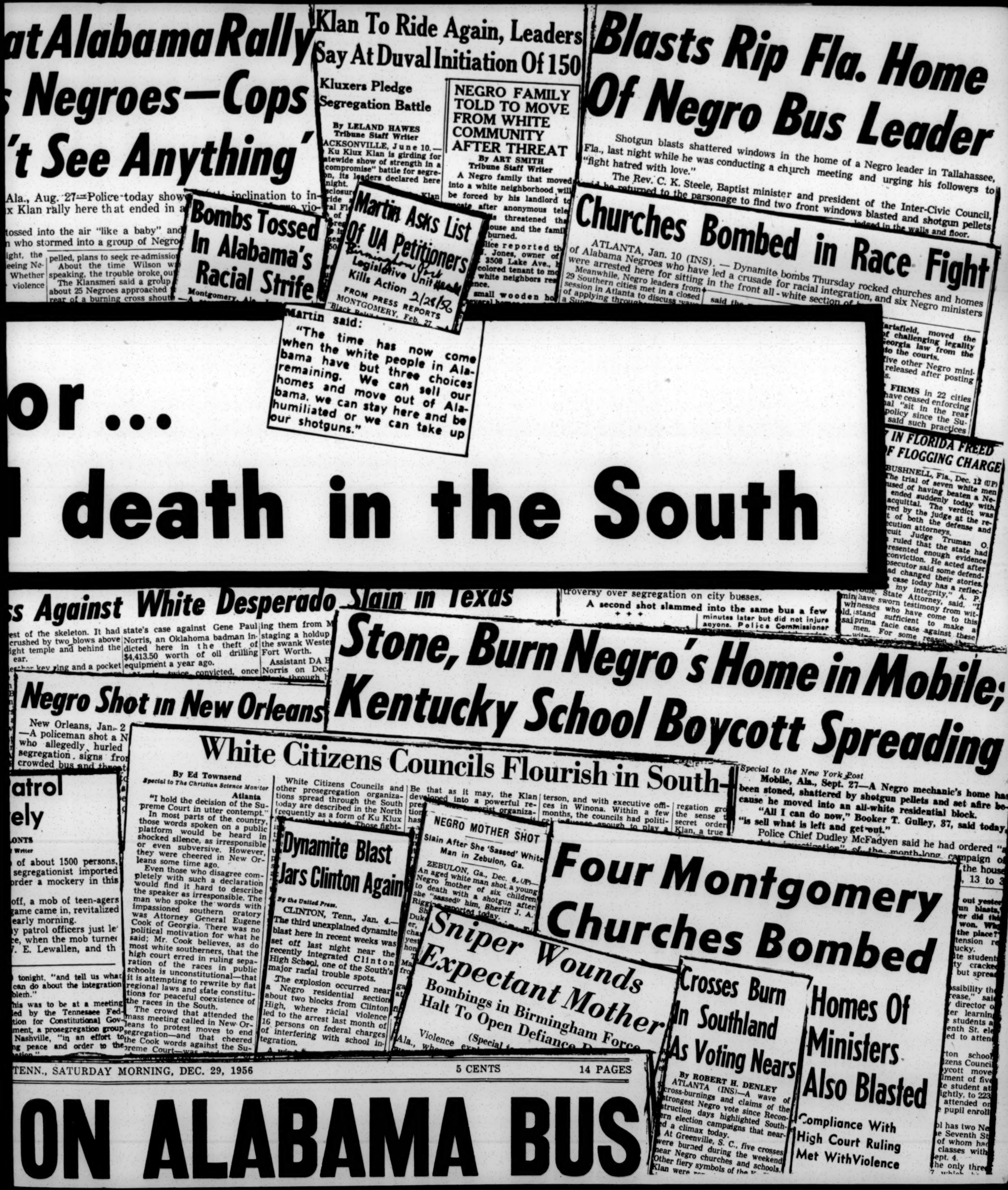
The revived tively joined th lic school integ Tuesday but f with a dought she might sho visitors.

Mrs. Dor wealthy soci tempted to en a white sc

VOL. 50—No. 246

NASHVILLE, TENN., SATURDA

NEGRO SHOT ON



at Alabama Rally
s Negroes—Cops
't See Anything'

Ala., Aug. 27—Police today show inclination to in- x Klan rally here that ended in a vio-

tossed into the air "like a baby" and n who stormed into a group of Negro

ight, the eeing Ne- Whether violence

pelled, plans to seek re-admissio

About the time Wilson w speaking, the trouble broke ou

The Klansmen said a group about 25 Negroes approached rear of a burning cross shout

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Bombs Tossed In Alabama's Racial Strife

Montgomery, Ala.

Klan To Ride Again, Leaders Say At Duval Initiation Of 150

Kluxers Pledge Segregation Battle

By LELAND HAWES
Tribune Staff Writer

ACKSONVILLE, June 10.— Ku Klux Klan is girding for atewide show of strength in a compromise" battle for segre- on, its leaders declared here night.

closur Klan ride al Fl of reg in nea 50

NEGRO FAMILY TOLD TO MOVE FROM WHITE COMMUNITY AFTER THREAT

By ART SMITH
Tribune Staff Writer

A Negro family that moved into a white neighborhood will be forced by his landlord to cate after anonymous tele s threatened tha ouse and the famil burned.

lice reported th . Jones, owner of 3508 Lake Ave., colored tenant to mo white neighbors re nce.

small wooden ho

Martin Asks List Of UA Petitioners

Legislative Unit Kills Action

Birmingham Post Herald 2/28/56

FROM PRESS REPORTS
MONTGOMERY, Feb. 27

Martin said:

"The time has now come when the white people in Alabama have but three choices remaining. We can sell our homes and move out of Alabama, we can stay here and be humiliated or we can take up our shotguns."

Blasts Rip Fla. Home Of Negro Bus Leader

Shotgun blasts shattered windows in the home of a Negro leader in Tallahassee, Fla., last night while he was conducting a church meeting and urging his followers to "fight hatred with love."

The Rev. C. K. Steele, Baptist minister and president of the Inter-Civic Council, returned to the parsonage to find two front windows blasted and shotgun pellets lodged in the walls and floor.

Churches Bombed in Race Fight

ATLANTA, Jan. 10 (INS). — Dynamite bombs Thursday rocked churches and homes of Alabama Negroes who have led a crusade for racial integration, and six Negro ministers were arrested here for sitting in the front all-white section of

Meanwhile, Negro leaders from 29 Southern cities met in a closed session in Atlanta to discuss ways of applying through a Su

said the

artsfield, moved the of challenging legality Georgia law from the to the courts.

ive other Negro mini- released after posting s.

FIRMS in 22 cities have ceased enforcing al "sit in the rear policy since the Su- said such practices

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or …
death in the South

IN FLORIDA FREED OF FLOGGING CHARGE

BUSHNELL, Fla., Dec. 12 (UP) The trial of seven white men used of having beaten a Ne- ended suddenly today with acquittal. The verdict was red by the judge at the re- t of both the defense and ecution attorneys.

cuit Judge Truman O. ruled that the state had resented enough evidence conviction. He acted after osecutor said some defend- ad changed their stories. case today has a reflec- my integrity," A. P. State Attorney, said. "I have sworn testimony from wit- nesses who have come to this stand sufficient to make a prima facie case against these men. For some reason

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troversy over segregation on city busses.

A second shot slammed into the same bus a few

+ + +

minutes later but did not injure anyone. Police Commissioner

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ss Against White Desperado Slain in Texas

est of the skeleton. It had crushed by two blows above ight temple and behind the ear.

key ring and a pocket

state's case against Gene Paul Norris, an Oklahoma badman indicted here in the theft of $4,413.50 worth of oil drilling equipment a year ago.

twice convicted, once

ing them from M staging a holdup the swank Wester Fort Worth.

Assistant DA Norris on Dec.

Negro Shot in New Orleans

New Orleans, Jan. 2 —A policeman shot a N who allegedly hurled segregation signs fro crowded bus and threat

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atrol ely

of about 1500 persons, segregationist imported order a mockery in this

off, a mob of teen-agers ame came in, revitalized early morning.

y patrol officers just le e, when the mob turne . E. Lewallen, and th

tonight, "and tell us what can do about the integration blem."

his was to be at a meeting led by the Tennessee Fed- tion for Constitutional Gov- ment, a prosegregation group Nashville, "in an effort to ng peace and order to the

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Stone, Burn Negro's Home in Mobile; Kentucky School Boycott Spreading

Special to the New York Post

Mobile, Ala., Sept. 27—A Negro mechanic's home has been stoned, shattered by shotgun pellets and set afire because he moved into an all-white residential block.

"All I can do now," Booker T. Gulley, 37, said today, "is sell what is left and get out."

Police Chief Dudley McFadyen said he had ordered " of the month-long campaign o the house , 13 to 3

out yeste un blasts, er did th won. Wh the place?" tension r ucky. te student ty cracke but sprea

ssibility th rease," sai director o er learnin students a enth St. el ed to atten

ton schoo zens Counci ycott move lment of fiv e student a ightly, to 223 attended o pupil enroll

ol has two Ne e Seventh St of whom ha classes with ept. 4. he only thre

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White Citizens Councils Flourish in South

By Ed Townsend
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

"I hold the decision of the Supreme Court in utter contempt."

In most parts of the country, those words spoken on a public platform would be heard in shocked silence, as irresponsible or even subversive. However, they were cheered in New Orleans some time ago.

Even those who disagree completely with such a declaration would find it hard to describe the speaker as irresponsible. The man who spoke the words with impassioned southern oratory was Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. There was no political motivation for what he said; Mr. Cook believes, as do most white southerners, that the high court erred in ruling separation of the races in public schools is unconstitutional—that it is attempting to rewrite by fiat regional laws and state constitutions for peaceful coexistence of the races in the South.

The crowd that attended the mass meeting called in New Orleans to protest moves to end segregation—and that cheered the Cook words against the Supreme Court

White Citizens Councils and other prosegregation organizations spread through the South today are described in the North frequently as a form of Ku Klux

Be that as it may, the Klan developed into a powerful re-

terson, and with executive offices in Winona. Within a few months, the councils had politi-

regation gro the sense secret order Klan, a true

Dynamite Blast Jars Clinton Again

By the United Press.

CLINTON, Tenn., Jan. 4.— The third unexplained dynamite blast here in recent weeks was set off last night near the recently integrated Clinton High School, one of the South's major racial trouble spots.

The explosion occurred near a Negro residential section about two blocks from Clinton High, where racial violence led to the arrest last month of 16 persons on federal charges of interfering with school integration.

NEGRO MOTHER SHOT

Slain After She 'Sassed' White Man in Zebulon, Ga.

ZEBULON, Ga., Dec. 6. (AP)— An aged white man shot a young Negro mother of six children to death with a shotgun after she "sassed" him, Sheriff J. A. Riggins reported today.

Four Montgomery Churches Bombed

Homes Of Ministers Also Blasted

Compliance With High Court Ruling Met With Violence

Sniper Wounds Expectant Mother

Bombings in Birmingham Force Halt To Open Defiance

Violence (Special

Ala.,

Crosses Burn In Southland As Voting Nears

By ROBERT H. DENLEY

ATLANTA (INS)—A wave of cross-burnings and claims of the strongest Negro vote since Reconstruction days highlighted Southern election campaigns that neared a climax today.

At Greenville, S. C., five crosses were burned during the weekend near Negro churches and schools. Other fiery symbols of the K Klan were

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TENN., SATURDAY MORNING, DEC. 29, 1956 5 CENTS 14 PAGES

ON ALABAMA BUS

"There can be only one law, or there will be no peace."

—*President Eisenhower in a speech at Philadelphia, Pa., November 1, 1956.*

If you believe in law, and oppose violence, please write the President urging observance of one law for all Americans as the road to peace among peoples in our own land.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

Supported by voluntary memberships and contributions.
Checks may be made payable to *Allan Knight Chalmers, Treas.*

February, 1957

Washington Post
Times Herald

City Life

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1957

Dr. Olert Quits Richmond

Religion

Pastor Indicates Ideals Didn't Fit

The Rev. Dr. Frederick H. Olert indicated clearly yes- erday that he had resigned from the pastorate of Rich- ond's Second Presbyterian Church because of reaction his moderate views on racial desegregation.

Dr. Olert, President of the irginia Council of Churches, ubmitted his resignation at e close of Sunday morning's orship service. A spokesman r elders of the church said e move was a "surprise."

Dr. Olert at first declined to ve his reasons for resigning, ut yesterday he gave this com- ent: "I believe in basic civil d religious freedom."

He said he did not wish to aborate because he had no alice nor did he wish to ap- ar to be expressing "sour apes."

"I could stay here and weath- this storm," he said, "but I ish to do nothing to hurt this urch."

eaded Pastors' Group

Dr. Olert, who came to the cond Presbyterian Church in 51 from Detroit, was head of Richmond Ministers' Asso- ation last January when it opted a "Statement of Con- tion on Race."

The statement criticized Gov. omas B. Stanley and the Gen- al Assembly for their "ex- edingly inept" handling of racial problem. It accused state leaders of forcing eir own solution without consideration of either al or religious teaching."

Dr. Olert, who said he had t spoken from the pulpit on e subject, stated that the MA statement had brought iticism on him by some of his ngregation. But he also indi- ted that other events in Vir- ia have influenced his deci- n to leave.

He said two articles appear- in the current issue of The istian Century, leading non- nominational weekly, ex- essed how he felt.

One is the lead editorial, "Taking the Hard Stand." It refers to the State Chamber of Commerce's dinner for distinguished Virginians, how Negroes were found among those invited, and how their invitations were withdrawn.

The editorial states the Negroes "are honored everywhere, evidently, except in the old home state," and closes with this prayer: "Lord, give us a sense of Thy propriety and strength to go more by thee than by men's manners. Amen."

The second article cited by Dr. Olert is by Roy C. DeLamotte, a Tennessee Methodist minister, entitled: "Southern Liberal: Prophet or Apostate?"

The author calls "shocking" the "seeming apostasy of Southern liberalism, apparently condoning by innumerable silent pulpits murder, mob violence and the perversion of justice . . .

'Fruitless Wait'

"One waits fruitlessly for a 'Christian Manifesto' drawing some line beneath which no Christian dare sink in the hysteria of white reaction, or for news that 'Christians' Councils' are forming to combat the slanders and covert violence of white supremacy . . ."

Dr. Olert will move to the Central Presbyterian Church in Kansas City, Mo., which has a membership of 1800. It is larger than Richmond's Second Presbyterian.

"That is not why I am leaving, though," he said. "I came from a larger church to become pastor in Richmond, you know."

The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune

MIAMI CONVENTION . . .
Roundup . Governor Collins' Address . Pictures . Editorial

UNDERLING AT OBERLIN
. . . . Kenneth J. Foreman

MANY GIFTS BUT ONE SPIRIT . Ernest T. Thompson

VOLUME 139 OCTOBER 28, 1957 NUMBER 38

To [illegible]
[illegible]

Where Were the Presbyterians?

Months back in one of our towns here in Florida we had a woman doctor, one of our public health doctors, who served three towns. She needed to have a conference with the Negro nurse who worked under her supervision. All of her day was filled with appointments and she couldn't find the time for that conference, so, she asked the Negro nurse to meet her in the back of an eating place downtown where they could have a sandwich and discuss their work. And they did meet and they ate a sandwich together as they discussed professional matters. ¶ The people heard about it and the mob gathered. Citizens went down to the county commissioners of that town and of the other two counties and said, "Fire her! She has violated the traditions and customs of the Southland. Fire her!" ¶ Where in that situation were our Presbyterians? Where were our Methodists? Our Episcopalians? Where were all of our churchmen? Where were all of our people who are dedicated to this proposition of *All for Christ?* Did they go down before these county commissioners and say, "Don't! This is wrong!"? No, they called for a bowl, and they washed their hands, and they said, just as Pontius Pilate said, "The blood of this innocent, righteous person won't be on my hands. See to it yourself." And she was fired, to the everlasting shame of our citizens.

—GOVERNOR COLLINS to the Miami Men's Convention (see pages 5 and 8).

Presb "Outlook 12/16/57

Ed. Ail.

"Defenders" Call for Minister's Horsewhipping

NOTE—Richmond newspapers did not report this development.—Eds.

ARLINGTON, VA. (RNS)—A segregationist group publicly called here for the horsewhipping of a Unitarian minister who has criticized opponents of Supreme Court decisions.

The Arlington unit of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty distributed several thousand copies of a broadside which reprinted an editorial from a Richmond newspaper attacking Ross Allen Weston, 38, pastor of Arlington Unitarian church. To the editorial from the Richmond *News-Leader* was appended a "social note" which said "use of the horsewhip is still legal."

Mr. Weston, who has become a storm center in the growing tension between segregationists and churchmen in northern Virginia, said, "This does not scare me. I will continue to fight for integration from my pulpit and in every other way possible."

The editorial in the Richmond paper declared that "up in Arlington a Unitarian minister is racking up publicity by denouncing those who believe in separate schools as . . . totalitarians, bigots, fanatics and obedient cogs in the Byrd political machine." The editorial went on to criticize Mr. Weston.

The note appended to the editorial reprint by the Defenders said: "It is now open season on squirrels. There is no bag limit on the two-legged variety this season. . . ."

"Hunting with firearms or bow and arrow is prohibited in Arlington county but the use of the horsewhip is still legal and most effective," the Defenders said, "and the 4400 block of Arlington Boulevard is not a state-protected game preserve."

Mr. Weston's church and parsonage are located in that block.

THE VIRGINIAN

Serving the 48 Sovereign States

Racial resolutions of PTA, p 17

Gov. Robinson, etc., p 19

How Big A Hoax Is Foreign "Aid"?

MARCH-APRIL 1958 $4.00 PER YEAR Vol. IV, No. 3 & 4

"Better Schools" -- But "Better" For WHAT?

The high pressure promotion being employed to brainwash the American people into going even more deeply into debt, this time through school bond issues, is directed by a well-financed and smoothly-organized outfit calling itself **Better Schools.** For several years **Better Schools** has been busily at work softening up American citizens for the inevitable assault on their pocketbooks and their minds. Ads have been placed on radio, TV and even on buses, trolleys and subways urging people to take an interest in **Better Schools** and to write to the organization's New York headquarters for information.

As might be expected, **Better Schools** is obsessed with the mania for more and newer buldings as the cure-all for what ails American education. Underlying **Better Schools'**, avid addition to buildings is its deeper passion for "social change." This "social change," as revealed by the organization's propaganda, implies an acceptance of race-mixing, "progressive" education, federal control of education and all the other pro-Communist inventions usually associated with the big spenders and left-wing internationalists.

The average American, concerned with his childrens' education, is not expected to see the connection between big new, expensive school buildings and the sought-after "social changes," but the connection is there none the less. Underlying the agitation for buildings is the knowledge on the part of the "planners" that one of the best ways to facilitate the longed-for social change is by using the new buildings as "social centers," and by designing them in such a way that they will most effectively serve the purposes of the left-wing "progressive" educational methods.

The Origin Of "Better Schools"

But first, of course, the taxpayers, who would really have to finance their own social change, need to be sold on new school construction. With this in mind, the **National Education Association (NEA)**, through its powerful **Educational Policies Commission,** devised a plan of prominent citizens support. A "front organization" was established called the **National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (NCCPS),** now known as the **Citizens Commission for Better Schools,** or for publicity purposes, simply **Better Schools.**

In order to get **Better Schools** rolling, the superintendent of schools at University City, Missouri, compiled the first list of 'public-spirited' people who would form the nucleus. Meeting in October, 1946 with a committee of educators for this purpose were:

Dr. Paul R. Mort, head of the **Institute of Educational Research at Teachers College, Columbia University,** an educational hotbed of socialism and "progressivism;"

John Cowles, Edward Eastman, Agnes Meyer, Robert Littel — leading lights from the publishing world and ardent backers of a "new social order;"

Roy E. Larsen president of the violently anti-white, anti-South and pro-mongrelization **TIME** Magazine;

Beardsley Ruml, left-wing "economist," notorious for his iniquitous "pay-as-you-go" income tax deduction plan;

Leo Perlis, of the **C.I.O.**

The money to put **Better Schools** on the map was easy enough to come by, for it was readily available from some of the pro-Communist tax-exempt foundations. The original financing of **Better Schools** was done by the **Carnegie Foundation,** which also financed the publication of the false racial theories of the Swedish socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, whose book, **An American Dilemma,** was used by Earl Warren's Supreme Court as the basis for its Communist-inspired 1954 pro-mongrelization decree. Alger Hiss was president of the **Carnegie Foundation** before his conviction for perjury in connection with Communist espionage.

Better Schools now publishes a newspaper which plugs for more and more school buildings and more and more huge bond issues to finance them. It also depicts integration as a desirable and inevitable goal for these new schools, and emphasizes that one of the best ways to bring integration about is through integrated housing because when neighborhoods are mixed, mixture in schools is automatic.

Virginia P.T.A.'s Adopt Important Program

The Staunton River District of the *Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers,* consisting of the counties of Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Charlotte, Halifax and Brunswick, produced on March 14 a set of constructive resolutions which should serve as a model to similar groups throughout the nation.

The Staunton River *PTAs* represent a region heavily populated by Negroes. Schools are completely segregated. Race relations are harmonious. The area is noted for its political stability and social calm. Its white population is primarily Nordic. The economy is basically agricultural. There are no mass assaults of Negroes against whites such as occur in the integrated schools of New York where rapes, knifings and beatings of white students by Negroes are daily occurrences.

The resolutions adopted by the *PTA* members of this Southside Virginia region show a growing awareness of the dangers lurking in public schools today. The resolutions are as follows:

"(1) Examine more closely than ever before teaching methods which tend to reduce the creative and thinking ability of our children in basic courses being taught today and report.

"(2) Read carefully all textbooks being taught in high school and grades (a) any instances of author depreciation of Southern heritage or its past and present leaders; also (b) any evidence of author acceptance of socialism, communism, or collectivism in general at the expense of States Rights and the Republic of the United States of America.

"(3) Uphold disciplinary measures, not injurious physically, as deemed necessary by our teachers, and others associated with the training of our children, to help correct juvenile delinquency in an effort to crush and curb what may prove later to be adult criminal tendencies.

"(4) Recognize the separation of church and State in our educational system but (a) condone the use of non-denominational use of Grace at meal times in cafeterias and (b) the observance of Christmas and other Christian holidays by pageants in which children may participate, unless parents object, (and) to extend the same privilege to other faiths.

"(5) Acknowledge the right of free enterprise to produce a profit with a fair tax result and resist the encroachment of government into business as a step toward total socialism.

"(6) Search into the background aims and goals of all youth or young peoples' movements and organizations, directly or indirectly associated with education, which attempt to destroy Southern social customs.

"(7) Rededicate ourselves to the high ideals, purposes and intents of our early founding fathers who fought, bled and died for our great Commonwealth—through which was initiated the Republic of Sovereign States.

"(8) Reaffirm our opposition to Federal control, handouts, grants, gifts, etc., knowing that acceptance on our part will be followed by dictatorial direction of use and expenditure."

A Special Study: Some Basic Facts About Race

By Lacy Jeffreys

So many VIRGINIAN readers have written to us asking for a more complete discussion of race and its place in today's turmoil that we have outlined below some basic facts of race. The importance of this most suppressed of all knowledge cannot be overestimated, but our discussion is necessarily limited by space requirements. Other articles on race will appear in future issues of THE VIRGINIAN.

Those Who Deny Race Admit It

All of us know that "race" is one of the most fundamental facts of life. It is as meaningful as "family," "home," "mother," "nation." Even the most ardent race-mixers are themselves "racists," for their race-mixing activity would be unnecessary if races were not different. Though the race-mixers agitate to destroy racial differences they are themselves living proof of the existence of racial differences, for if it were not for racial differences their agitation would be pointless. In a very real sense, the race-mixers confirm that which they deny, namely, racial difference.

Even the Communist-minded Supreme Court recognized racial difference in its pro-mongrelization edict of 1954. The Court said, in effect, that the only difference between white and colored schools is the difference of race. At the same time, it cited "authorities" which deny racial difference. On the one hand we see the court taking an action caused by racial difference. On the other hand we see it denying racial difference.

The Science Of Race Biology

The science of race biology brings scientific fact into a world torn by ignorance involving race. The science of race biology is probably the least known of all the sciences, and undoubtedly the most feared and suppressed. Few men dare to tackle its controversies and most are not even allowed to know that it exists. Some of the most eminent and intelligent men in the world have devoted their lives to the scientific study of race, such outstanding men as **Hans F. K. Gunther, Madison Grant, Col. Earnest S. Cox, Count de Gobineau** and others, only to have their work belittled, destroyed or suppressed by the mongrel elements which control the world's news media.

Definition Of Race

What does the term "race" really mean? For all practical purposes we can say that a race is a group of people having similar mental and physical characteristics, obviously related to one another, springing from the same source. **Professor Hans F. K. Gunther** defines "race" as follows: **"A race shows itself in a human group which is marked off from every other human group through its own proper combination of bodily and mental characteristics, and in turn produces its like."**

The Difference Between Race And Nationality

Race and nationality are often confused. This is like confusing who you are with where you are. Actually, a person's race is biological and is determined by heredity. Nationality is incidental and secondary to race. For example, members of the Nordic race are found in Germany, Scandinavia, England, Northern Italy, France and the United States, to mention six different countries. Though these Nordics belong to six different nationalities they are all of one race—basically all of one blood. Though these Nordics speak different languages they have, biologically and racially, and therefore emotionally and spiritually, much in common. Obviously an American Nordic has infinitely more in common with an English or a German Nordic than he has with a Negro living in America. The underlying basic fact of race ties all Nordics together all over the world, in that it gives them a common emotional and spiritual outlook on life, though they may be unaware themselves of the biological (racial) ties which bind them.

Nordic Physical Traits

Though blondness and blue eyes are typical of the pure Nordic type there are millions of brown-haired and brown-eyed people who are predominantly Nordic, and who, for all practical purposes share the mental characteristics of the Nordic race. Race scientists tell us that hair color is one of the most easily lost racial traits of the Nordic, hence the scarcity of true blondes. The slightest mixture with a brunette race (such as the Mediterranean) can produce an "off-color" specimen, that is, one which is Nordic in almost all respects except coloration. It is not uncommon for pure Nordic children to be quite blond and then to have their hair turn gradually darker until it becomes quite dark in adulthood.

Many Nordics contain elements or "strains" of some other race in their makeup. General Stonewall Jackson, for example who typified the Nordic character, was himself an "off-color" specimen, having dark hair.

Nordic Mental Traits

The following is part of **Professor Hans F. K. Gunther's** definition of the mental characteristics of the Nordic race:

" . . . He (the Nordic) feels a strong urge toward truth and justice, and shows

"A race is . . . a group of people . . .obviously related to one another . . ."

SWEDEN NORWAY AMERICA GERMANY

"The underlying basic fact of race ties all Nordics together all over the world . . ."

ENGLAND NORWAY SCOTLAND NORWAY

therefore, a practical attitude, an attitude of weighing, which often makes him look cool and stiff. He is distinguished by a highly developed sense of reality, which, in combination with an energy that may rise to boldness, urges him on to far reaching undertakings . . . His inclinations are always towards prudence, reserve, steadfastness, calm judgement . . . He is reserved and individualistic. The disclination to show his feelings often springs in the Nordic man from a remarkable depth of character, which cannot and will not express itself quickly and vividly in word and bearing. This disinclination may become a deep reserve, and then it is generally all the more the sign of a steadfast character, thorough trustworthiness, and a lively sense of honour. Fairness and trustworthiness are peculiarly Nordic virtues. His word once given after reflection he looks on an inviolable. The sense of reality, the energy, self-reliance, and boldness of the Nordic race are one reason why all the more important statesmen in European history would seem, judging from the portraits, to be predominantly Nordic."

Nordic Weaknesses

Though capable of extremely high character development the Nordic is more vulnerable in many ways than other races. When Nordics fail "to measure up," their failure seems particularly degrading and unnatural since their failure reflects a betrayal of a comparatively high racial potential.

Alcohol, "easy" and "loose" living, lack of discipline, lack of order and purpose, and lack of training seem to affect the Nordic more adversely than any other race. Scientific studies of Nordics and Nordic nations show that the Nordic race requires, for its fullest development, a clean, healthy life, with emphasis on nature and the outdoors, discipline, order and a sense of purpose.

Self-Destruction Of The Nordic

His love of conquest and his courageous nature make the Nordic prefer open, physical combat to the conspiratorial cunning of such Oriental tribes as the Jews. He is direct, open and above-board. Nordics, ignorant of their spiritual kinship, have been killing each other off for centuries, in Europe, in the U. S. War Between the States, in World War I, and in World War II.

Nordics And The Communist Threat

Today the world is threatened with another un-Nordic kind of "law and order," a cruel Oriental, Mongolian order led by Communist Russia. Racially the Communist order is Jewish in origin and leadership. This accounts for its success at conspiratorial activity. On the worker level it utilizes the Nordic and East Baltic populations of Russia and Central Europe for its productivity and depends on the lower orders of Mongolian and Asiatic peasants in Russia and Asia for a reservoir of almost unlimited manpower.

Through the unscrupulous use and manipulation of the world's propaganda agencies the Jewish leadership of the Communist Revolution is able to appeal to the humanitarian impulses of Nordics, thereby gaining for itself recruits from the only race capable of successfully opposing it.

Nordic Law And Order

Traditionally, the Nordic race has maintained law and order in the world. Nordics created orderly law-abiding civilizations in Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, Renaissance Italy, and later, in Spain, Portugal, England, France, Germany and the United States.

The Nordic nations have, historically, provided the world with the most equitable systems of law and order. South America, by contrast, with its mongrel non-Nordic population is almost daily the scene of a new revolution or change in government. The instability and mercurial nature of its people lend the same traits to its governments. North America, with the large Nordic populations of the U. S. and Canada, have, so far, been able to maintain a stabilizing influence over South America, furnishing it with technological assistance and incentives for trade. Nevertheless, South America, with its mongrel population is, in itself, almost incapable of the kind of sane stable government to which the Nordic is accustomed.

The Nordic's Place In The World Today

It is true that the world is a much smaller place today than formerly, and that races cannot, even if they wish to, isolate themselves completely from each other. It is for this very reason that racial differences must be recognized and mutual respect accorded each race. Instead of the entire world, including many misguided Nordics, working to destroy the Nordic race through "integration" and mongrelization, it should instead encourage a fuller flowering of Nordicism.

The Nordic loves law and order. He administers it with a fairness and justice unknown to the mongrels who aspire to world leadership. The survival of the Nordic race is the world's best insurance that law, order, and justice will be maintained in the world.

EDITORIAL

LOOKING AHEAD

Most people who believe in race difference have encountered others who sneer at them for holding what seem to them outdated beliefs. The alien elements have succeeded in convincing the more thoughtless—and many of the young and impressionable—that to stand up for one's home, family, nation and race is, indeed, unfashionable.

The fact remains that in spite of the massive and expensive propaganda war waged on a world wide scale against us there are growing signs of vigorous new movements on "our side."

THE VIRGINIAN is one publication which is active in this new "counter revolution." We are not content to merely preserve things as they are or to maintain the status quo. We want something better. But we don't think it is necessary to destroy what our forefathers created or to deny their wisdom in order to create a bright new future. Significant in this direction is a group of young Europeans who are finding a growing audience through such publications as *NORTHERN WORLD*, the new cultural globe-girdling magazine dedicated to the continuing growth of our heritage.

Edward Langford writing recently in *NORTHERN WORLD* put the case for racial faithfulness very well in a recent article from which we quote:

"For those who still feel a loyalty beyond the limits of their own generation, for those who feel a loyalty to the untold generations which are still to come, who thrill to the story of man and the greatness of human achievement, to those who would yet see a bright future for mankind, and who would yet build that 'brave new world' of which we have dreamed for so long, there can be only one answer—we must at all costs protect the biological heritage that is within us. Environmental care and improved schooling techniques for backward children can do much for below-standard individuals, but environment can only work between limits which are determined by biology and heredity. It is up to us to focus attention away from the present sentimental fixation on the handicaps of those who are backward, and focus it *onward*, instead, to the welfare and well-being of the untold generations which are yet to come in the future.

"Today mankind, in the conceit of new knowledge and new technological power, seeks to destroy the biological and evolutionary structure on which the whole edifice of human progress is raised, and seeks to discard the work of thousands of generations of evolutionary specialization and shaping. We can only prevent the destruction of this edifice if we take it upon ourselves to overcome our inherent shyness of such topics, to forget that we might possibly say something that might offend our neighbors, and start talking about race, racial hygiene and human eugenics. Only thus can we ensure the survival of our own kind and our own species."

PUBLISHER'S LETTER

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

to reporting, for example, the vicious, conspiratorial activities of such organizations as the self-styled "Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith" and the American Jewish Committee.

There is an unfortunate tendency among many commercial newsmen to avoid exercising their God-given freedoms, if such exercise entails telling the truth about these organizations.

I can't think of anything which would be more gratifying to me than to see you turn your own considerable talents to investigating and reporting the charges made against these two organizations. If they are guilty as charged by the patriotic press, it seems to me that you would be performing a great service by informing your readers about them. If they are innocent, you would be performing a great service by exposing those of us who repeatedly make the charges.

Whatever the outcome, you will be performing a service and exercising the freedom of press and speech in which you believe. Should you care to take action on my suggestion the staff of THE VIRGINIAN is at your disposal, prepared to give sworn affidavits and any other evidence you may require.

In all fairness to myself, to the others responsible for THE VIRGINIAN and to its loyal readers in every state in the Union and a number of foreign countries I must take issue with you on the charge of "race-hating." You cannot substantiate this charge and you must be as aware of that fact as I am. THE VIRGINIAN does not and never has preached "hate." It does, and expects to continue to, preach race consciousness. This is, as you must know, deliberately confused with "race-hate" by precisely such organizations as those to which I invite your attention in the foregoing paragraphs.

As for your charge of "name-calling," which I dismiss as a canard beneath a writer of your abilities, I deny it, unless, of course, you mean that we do not hesitate to print full identification of those individuals and organizations which we feel present a clear and present danger to the United States, the United States Constitution, the Christian faith and the white race. We do find ourselves able to name these forces by the names which are legitimately theirs, and I think those who do not do so are cowards and poltroons, unworthy to enjoy our much vaunted freedoms of speech and press.

Quite frankly, as students, if not always admirers, of the commercial press we were amazed to see the statements which we quoted from your column in our October, 1957, issue. I remember remarking at the time that you would soon hear some squeals of indignation and rage from those shadowy figures who encourage "self-censorship" and who apparently are able to mesmerize their victims into silence. We wondered, frankly, if you were about to "break through the paper curtain," as good men before you have done, and if you had any idea of the price you'd pay for daring to do it.

Your letter seems to answer the questions fully which were in our minds.

In closing I would like to say that we of THE VIRGINIAN do not object, for any reason, to quotation from our material. Should you ever care to quote from THE VIRGINIAN, please do so, without further permission from us. I feel sure that your many readers would find our factual articles on the real backers of the integration-segregation controversy of great interest, and our experience here indicates that you could build yourself a much greater reputation overnight, if you dared to print any of our factual exposes of international Zionism.

In short, use anything which you like from THE VIRGINIAN, at any time you like and in any way you like. This is a standard offer, made to all men of good will.

Thank you again for letting me have your views, and I sincerely hope this clears you of any complicity in THE VIRGINIAN's patriotic activities.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Lacy Jeffreys,
Business Manager

SEP 5 1958

Arlington Is Set To Open Monday With No Negroes

Ed. art

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

© New York Times News Service

ALEXANDRIA, Va. — The public schools of Arlington County will open Monday on a racially segregated basis.

Federal District Judge Albert V. Bryan cleared the way for this action Thursday when he announced that he would not rule on a pending school lawsuit until after the United States Supreme Court hands down its decision in the Little Rock case.

The Supreme Court is to meet Sept. 11 to hear further argument in the Little Rock case. It is likely to announce its decision before the scheduled opening of the Little Rock schools the following Monday, Sept. 15.

Judge Bryan ended three full days of testimony and legal argument Thursday evening. He said he would have to make "a very meticulous and tedious study" of the evidence in any case and could not have his opinion ready before the end of next week.

Two other Virginia communities facing the possibility of court orders requiring an early start toward desegregation have postponed their school opening. Charlottesville has put it off until Sept. 15, Norfolk until Sept. 22.

Thus Arlington will be the only one of the three areas under litigation in Virginia to reopen its schools with segregation still in effect. But Judge Bryan made it plain that the opening would be without prejudice to any further transfers of Negroes to white schools.

Thirty Negro children have made application for transfer to all-white schools in Arlington. Altogether seven schools, among them the county's largest, would be affected.

The 30 applications include some of the county's two white high schools, Washington-Lee and Wakefield; to four junior highs, Stratford, Kenmore, Gunston and Thomas Jefferson, and to one grade school, Patrick Henry.

The Virginia pupil placement

See Page Two, Column Four

ARLINGTON SETS ALL-WHITE START

From Page One

board, which state law requires to make all school assignments, rejected the applications of all 30.

On the assumption that Judge Bryan might declare the placement law invalid, the Arlington school board then considered the 30 cases itself and again rejected them all. They attempted to justify this action in court on the ground that the Negro children had failed o meet academic, psychological and other criteria.

Judge Bryan said Thursday that he would first consider whether the pupil placement law is valid and applicable. If it is, then the Negroes will presumably have no chance to enter white schools this year.

May Review Criteria

If, as the state expects, Judge Bryan finds that the placement law does not apply, he will review the criteria applied by the school board to each of the 30 cases. He will then decide whether there is evidence, without regard to race, to support the board decision.

The reason for delaying a ruling in Arlington until after a Little Rock decision was made plain today by Judge Bryan. He suggested that the whole question of the speed of desegregation of Southern schools was at stake in the Arkansas case.

The immediate issue before the Supreme Court will be the correctness of a decision by District Judge Harry J. Lemley postponing a Little Rock integration program until 1961. He based that order on violence in the community.

Judge Bryan noted that the Lemley order had been reversed by the Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit. He said that court's opinion "unequivocally" rejected the idea that violence could be the basis of a delay in integration.

But he said a "reasonable inference" could be drawn from the 8th Circuit's staying its own order, and from the extended consideration in the Supreme Court, that the "fundamental question of timing" of desegregation decrees might be considered by the high court.

'More Time' Asked

Virginia's Atty. Gen. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. made a plea to Judge Bryan earlier in the day for "more time" to arrange a "transition" to desegregated schools. Harrison said he was not asking for "indefinite delay."

The Democratic state leadership in Virginia is committed to a policy of "massive resistance" against admission of any Negro children to any white schools—a policy successful so far.

"There is no obligation of the Arlington school board to come up with a plan to desegregate," he said, "so long as they deliberate on applications on a nondiscriminatory basis."

One of the attorneys for the Negro children, Frank D. Reeves, argued that the Arlington case and others in Virginia differed from all others that have gone up to the Supreme Court so far precisely because no Virginia community, even under the spur of court orders, has come up with "an affirmative plan for desegregation."

He said that fact should bar any further delay in Virginia if nothing else did. Judge Bryan first enjoined segregation in Arlington in 1956.

Oliver W. Hill, another lawyer for the children, attacked the position of the school board that the Negroes should be barred because average test scores at the Negro school which they want to leave, Hoffman-Boston, are lower than at white schools.

"I'm not surprised when they say achievement is low at Hoffman-Boston," Hill said. "We've been saying that for years.

"But if you are crippled, it certainly doesn't help you to be crippled further.

"Suppose all the Negro children fall below the median of the white children in a school. So what? They are entitled to compete with the white children who are at their level. One of our beliefs is that we should have a right to succeed or fail—the right to compete."

EMERGENCY

YOU are in danger of ARREST right this minute - and YOU may be branded as a "SUBVERSIVE" in the next session of Congress. Your safety depends on how well you understand this EMERGENCY situation - and on how well you act to fight it. Please read this Report carefully and act on it today.

Wm Stephenson

November 1958

Dear Fellow Patriot:

This is an emergency communication to you. I implore you with all the persuasion at my command to read it at once and to read it carefully. For the sake of everything we hold dear I urge you to read this as carefully as if it were a personal letter sent to you via Air Mail.

A state of real emergency exists. And while I do not want to frighten you unnecessarily I must, in all fairness, warn you that you are in danger of arrest right this minute. After I outline the existing emergency I will explain just why you are in danger of arrest.

The emergency of which I speak has three main parts.

Part 1 - Atlanta, Georgia: As you no doubt know, a Jewish synagogue was "bombed" on Sunday, Oct. 12 in Atlanta, Ga. Probably you have read or heard that five men are being held in jail under charges of being implicated in some way in the "bombing." What you probably have not heard is that the police have not one shred of evidence connecting those five men with the "bombing." They were arrested on suspicion and suspicion only.

Why are they under suspicion? Because they read what the Atlanta police and the "Anti-Defamation League" call "anti-Semitic" literature - and because they have dared to speak out against the race-mixing plot and against Zionist intrigue.

In other words, they are guilty of trying to find out the truth - and of repeating that truth to others! Because of this "crime" they are being held in jail without bail and they will be tried for a crime they and their families insist they did not and could not have committed.

WARNING: Every person who receives this letter is just as "guilty" of reading "anti-Semitic" literature as are the five men being held in jail in Atlanta, Georgia. Probably most of you have also talked with others about things you've read in THE VIRGINIAN or other patriotic publications. That means that if a synagogue is "bombed" in your area YOU may be arrested on "suspicion" and charged with participating in the bombing!

If you think this is ridiculous, please read on. Mr. Lacy Jeffreys and I have just returned from a conference which we held with some of the relatives of the men being held in Atlanta. We have also conferred with attorneys interested in the case. The details are fantastic, frightening and unbelievable.

I give you my solemn word that there is every indication that the Atlanta affair, - if it succeeds - will be used to set a pattern,-and if this comes to pass not a patriot who knows even the smallest fact about the true nature of the dangers facing America will be safe. Every last one of us will be in danger of jail and trials - which will ruin us socially and financially even if we escape imprisonment on trumped up charges.

This is Part 1 of the emergency. I will return to it in a moment.

Part 2 - New Jersey: The Christian Education Association reports that the Post Office in Union, New Jersey has accepted issue No. 309 of the newspaper Common Sense but refuses to mail it out. This is clearly a violation of the rights of the publishers to use the mails.

The most informed observers say that this shocking, illegal act by the Post Office Department is the beginning of a campaign to bar all patriotic publications of any kind from the mails. (Many of you know that various efforts have been made in the past to get bills through Congress which would bar so-called "hate" publications from the mails. Such bills have always failed. Now the enemy is striking through executive order and the courts, just as they did in the segregation-integration matter.)

The Post Office's shocking act has to be fought. Common Sense has to hire lawyers and fight through the courts to get their rights - at their own expense.

And make a note of this: If Common Sense loses its fight and thus loses its right to use the mails, it will just be a matter of time until THE VIRGINIAN and all other patriotic publications are also barred from the mails. If they can kill one publication by keeping it out of the mails, they can kill any other publication the same way.

This is Part 2 of the emergency. More about it in a moment, also.

Part 3 - Washington, D. C.: The Nov. 6 issue of "Heritage," a Jewish weekly newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, reports as follows:

> "Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in a letter to the Jewish War Veterens, said that if he is in Congress next session, the Committee will take 'appropriate action' in the matter of investigating the financing of hate sheets and hate-mongering groups."

You do not need to be told that virtually every patriotic publication in the nation has been smeared as a "hate sheet" by such professional smear groups as the "Anti-Defamation League," or that virtually every patriotic group in the nation has been smeared as a "hate-mongering group" by the same gang.

In other words, Congressman Walter - whom almost all of us have supported and backed - has just promised the Jewish War Veterans that he will do all that he can to ruin us.

And he isn't kidding! In the same letter to Sam Shaikewitz of St. Louis, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Congressman Walter boasted that "the Post Office Department has moved as a result of my prodding."

Congressman Walter is boasting to the Jewish War Veterans that he is responsible for the Post Office Department depriving Common Sense of its rights.

There, then, is your 3-part emergency. Police terror and persecution in Atlanta, Georgia .... suppression of freedom of the press in New Jersey by the Post Office Department, and suppression of your freedom to read anything you want to read, at the same time .... a threat to brand every patriotic publication and organization in the United States as subversive - and make no mistake about this, either: If the patriotic publications and organizations can be branded as subversive their readers and members will also be branded as subversives.

> This is one of the most desperate situations America has ever faced. Many, many observers believe that the enemy has taken over completely in Washington, D. C. - and that we are right now living under the Communist Revolutionary Government.

Once before this nation had to deal with a would-be tyrant. And as she gathered her strength to face him a noble, fearless Virginian hurled the challenge in his face. Do we not all remember how Patrick Henry, the fearless Voice of Freedom, arose in St. John's church in Richmond, Virginia, and shouted these immortal words?

> "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take - but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

These were the defiant words of a great Virginian spat into the face of a bullying king. They are the words we here at THE VIRGINIAN's headquarters shout in the face of the would-be tyrants of today.

We do not have the immortal Henry's genius. We have not been blessed with his God-given abilities. But by all that is holy and all that is dear to us, we do not lack his nerve, we do not lack his determination.

We, too, can say - and we do say - Give us liberty or give us death!
And we pledge this to you: We will fight as long as we can fight. We will not surrender nor give way before these 20th Century terrorists. If they do dare to so far trample under their dirty feet the Constitution of the United States as to take away our sacred God-given rights, they will do so at the embarrassment of chains and slavery. We will never surrender. If they conquer us, it will be by naked force, by illegal acts and by the tools of dictators - and these will return again and again to haunt them.

We ask only one thing - that you stand by our side.

Without your moral, physical and financial support, we cannot fight back.

Now among those who receive this frightening Report there will be some who will weaken, some who will feel fear, some who will want no part in the great climactic struggle which we are facing.

To those, I say this: God bless you for what you have done - and God help you in the future. If you cannot stand up for what you believe please cancel your subscription to THE VIRGINIAN and go your own way. In the perilous days ahead we do not want to be burdened down by dead weight. If you are ever going to fall back for fear of the consequences, please fall back now.

Now, a word to the rest of you - those who elect to stand with us and fight for Truth, Freedom and Justice.

There are several things you can do. First, look to the safety of yourself, your family and your friends. Take steps at once to protect yourself against the possibility of being hauled off to jail on "suspicion" if any "bombing" happens in your area. I suggest that you write - at once - to your police chief or sheriff and request that all Jewish synagogues in your area be put under 24-hour-per-day guard. Tell him that one was blown up in Atlanta - and that patriots were thrown into jail "on suspicion." Explain the ADL to him - and tell him that you are in danger of being smeared as a suspect, because you know the facts about the ADL, and the other dangers facing America. We have already taken this step here in Newport News and it was reported in the newspapers. We have shown by our request for police protection for the synagogues that if one is blown up it won't be us who did it.

We urge you to take similar action at once.

Another thing to do: Get to as many people as you can, at once, and tell them about this emergency situation. And don't tell just other patriots, either. If you can't reach people any other way, give a party this week and tell your guests. Read this Report aloud to them. Do whatever you have to do but get this information into immediate circulation. Tomorrow will be too late!

Something else: Write to Senator Herman Talmadge, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and also to your own Senators, requesting them to pay close attention to the trial of the Atlanta Five. We feel that these men are innocent of the charges made against them. We feel as we do because we know facts which have not been made available to you at this time. These facts will come to you shortly. But in the meantime, write or wire Sen. Talmadge and your own Senators, requesting a fair trial for the Atlanta Five.

If Senator Talmadge and your own Senators can be shown that the eyes of informed patriots are on Atlanta, the five men will come a lot nearer to getting a fair trial than they appear to be at the moment.

Write, write, write!!! Start writing right now to your Congressmen and Senators to head off Congressman Walter's plan to brand you as a subversive - and also protest to your Congressmen and the Post Office Department the outrageous suppression of Common Sense. It does not matter whether you or I agree with every word Common Sense has ever printed or not. There is the principle of freedom of the press at stake here. If we don't save that principle, we are all lost.

And now, can you make a donation?

If the Atlanta Five are to get the fair trial to which all people are entitled they will have to have lawyers and funds for their defense. We are confident that they cannot be condemned because we are convinced they are innocent - but they must have funds with which to defend themselves.

But speed is essential. Please send your donation; at once, to "JUSTICE," P. O. Box 91, Sandy Springs, Georgia. The money you send will be used to pay the expenses of the Atlanta trials. And bear this in mind: Unless you help, the Atlanta Five will almost certainly not get a fair trial - because of lack of funds for defense.

As I write this appeal to you I am well aware that we have just appealed to you for funds for THE VIRGINIAN. Many of you have responded to that appeal in the true spirit of self-sacrificing patriotism. Truly, I am sorry to have to ask you for funds again this month - but, remember, we are asking you to send whatever you can directly to Georgia, to help the Atlanta Five secure justice. They have no place to turn but to you. I have promised them, their families and their counsel that you would help.

Won't you, please ? Send whatever you can and send it quickly. Cash, checks, money orders and Western Union money orders will all be welcome. The address is "JUSTICE," P. O. Box 91, Sandy Springs, Georgia.

As this appeal goes out to you we are hard at work on the next issue of THE VIRGINIAN, which will bring you the full, shocking story of the ATLANTA INQUISITION. When it reaches you I am sure you will be glad that you responded to this appeal. And on behalf of the Atlanta Five and their families, I thank you in advance for whatever you can do.

Note: During this very great emergency we are absolutely unable to write personal letters. We owe hundreds of letters. When we can we will answer them; in the meantime, please be patient. We are in the front lines right now and it is almost impossible for us to take care of our usual correspondence. We are doing the best we can.

Also, those of you who have been sending clippings and newspapers bearing on this struggle, thank you very much. And please continue to send them. This is especially directed to those good friends in Washington, New York, California and Atlanta who are keeping us supplied with papers and clippings. Many thanks to you all and we'll write when we can.

To 100 CLUB MEMBERS: CLUB Reports must be suspended during this emergency. We will resume them when we can. In the meantime, please be understanding of the very grave problems here and continue to make your usual monthly donations if you possibly can.

May God bless and protect you, fellow patriot, and we ask you to do whatever you can at this time, from prayer to financial support.

Sincerely yours,

Wm Stephenson

William Stephenson, Editor
THE VIRGINIAN
P. O. Box 494
Newport News, Virginia

P. S. During this emergency period I am acting as Secretary of the National Committee To Secure Justice For The Atlanta Five. Mrs. Wallace Allen, wife of one of the defendants, is the Honorary Chairman.

(copy)

MINISTERS LOSING THEIR PASTORATES

August, 1959

This list of ministers forced from their pulpits because of their position on questions of race and discimination cannot be considered a complete compilation of all such incidents since 1954. These cases have come to our attention via newspaper reports; all such dismissals have not been reported, or the reasons for dismissal may have been disguised. Wesley Shrader explains the impossibility of listing all "forced out" cases in his "Segregation in the Churches," (Esquire, May, 1958):

> "Most ministers who have openly opposed segregation, especially on the church level, have run afoul of their congregations. In churches where the minister's status is entirely dependent upon congregational action or action by boards representing the congregation, severance of pastoral relations can be accomplished easily and quickly. They have been forced out of their pulpits from Los Angeles, California, to Norfolk, Virginia; from Louisville, Kentucky, to Miami, Florida. Sometimes the dispute over the race issue between pastor and congregation becomes public knowledge, such as the incident in a large Baptist church in Batesburg, South Carolina, the church where the present governor holds his membership. On the other hand, many churches prefer to follow the pattern of the Presbyterian church in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which instead of charging the pastor with integrationist ideas, charged him with being doctrinally unsound. A congregation in Farmville, Virginia, disturbed by their pastor's race views, sought to dismiss him on the grounds of "ineffective pastoral leadership." The majority of "forced out" cases are handled in this manner."

Paul L. Stagg - First Baptist Church, Front Royal, Virginia - Resigned "in view of my desire to keep the church from being divided." - Had received threats, had petition for his ouster circulated after he opposed use of the church for private school. (1959)

Rev. John H. Teeter - Vicar of Trinity Episcopal Church, Rocky Mount, Virginia. Resigned after vestry instructed church's delegate to a diocesan convention to vote against desegregation at a church camp-conference center. (1959)

Thomas Reeves - Shelby County Church (Methodist), Alabama. Fired, after opposing "propaganda" circulated at a Methodist Layman's Union meeting. (1959)

Robert B. McNeill - First Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Georgia. Dismissed from his pulpit after dissension within the church following an article he write for Look Magazine, advocating a "creative contact between leaders of both races" to ease the South's racial tensions. (1959)

~~Fred B. Man~~they - ~~Plymouth Congregational Church, Levittown, Pennsylvania. Found it necessary to resign after championing the desegregation of his church. (1959)~~

Rev. C. D. Ashby - Carmel Baptist Church, Carmel Church, Virginia. Voted out of pulpit by an 87 to 37 roll call vote of congregation. No reason was given in ouster motion, but Rev. Ashby said the fact he preached a sermon at a Negro church had something to do with the action. (1958)

Rev. Peter Doyle - Removed at his own request as deacon-in-charge at St. Peter's Church, Altavista, Virginia (Episcopal). A. P. reports he was "ousted from his church post over the integration question." (1958) (A.P. report, 9-11-58)

John Lyles - Presbyterian Church in Marion, South Carolina. "Was told he should look for another congregation because of his involvement in ... 'South Carolinians Speak.'" (1958)

Rev. Frederick H. Olert - Dissension over racial views prompted his surprise resignation as pastor of Richmond, Virginia's Second Presbyterian Church. Dr. Olert was head of the Richmond Ministers Association when it adopted its "Statement of Conviction on Race." (1957)

(Merrix)

Rev. Ronald Merrix - Rector of Macon, Georgia's St. James Episcopal Church. Reportedly forced out of his pastorate because of his activities in the area of race relations, after having suggested a panel discussion on the subject of segregation as program for a joint meeting of white and Negro Ministerial Associations. (1956)

Rev. Reese Griffin - retired supply pastor of Bass Memorial Methodist Church, Macon, Georgia, spoke to Macon Optimist Club on the subject, "The Ministers and Segregation." Criticism from members of his church forced his resignation and the following session of the South Georgia Conference did not reappoint Rev. Griffin. (1956)

Dr. William Kirkland - Episcopal Church, Milledgeville. His church forced him to resign (threatening to fire him if he did not resign) after he accepted a position as executive board member on the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. (1956)

Rev. Harry M. Wilson - Pastor of First Christian Church, Danville, Virginia. Resigned, after a letter he wrote was published in Richmond Times-Dispatch. He wrote opposing discontinuing public education by means of the Gray Amendment. (1956)

Rev. Marsh Calloway - Durant, Mississippi. Reported that elders of the Durant Presbyterian Church fired him because he spoke against the Citizens Councils. (1955)

Rev. John Murry - (Methodist) - Transferred from Orangeburg County to Gilbert, South Carolina because some of his parishioners protested his support of a resolution deploring economic sanctions against Negroes with integrationist views. (1955)

Rev. Ed Jones - pastor, Fortune Baptist Church, near Parkin, Arkansas. Said he was dismissed because he preached segregation in the church was unchristian. (1955)

Rev. Roy C. Delamotte - Jackson, Mississippi (Methodist). Was not accepted by any Mississippi congregation after protesting a resolution in the Mississippi Annual Conference calling for continued segregation. (1955)

Rev. Henry A. Buchanan - Shellman, Georgia, Baptist. Board of deacons demanded his resignation from church. He had publicly backed Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation. (1955)

Rev. George Jackson Stafford's resignation as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Batesburg, South Carolina, was accepted because his racial views differed from those of some in his congregation. (1955)

Rev. Bobby Trotman, a Mercer University student, was dismissed as pastor of the Bronwood, Georgia, Baptist Church, (Terrell County) because of anti-segregation views. (1954)

Additional actions cited from newspaper clippings in files:

The Rev. Philip Gresham - ~~associate rector, St. James's Episcopal Church,~~ rector, Christ Episcopal Church, Martinsville, Va., resigned because of a disagreement with the vestry over an integrated service scheduled at Roanoke. (Richmond News Leader, 5-6-60)

The Rev. Edward H. Harrison - removed by Board of Trustees of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Private Day School from the Board because he attended a racially integrated meeting in his parish house. Jackson, Miss. (New York Times, 4-14-61)

The Rev. Dr. H. H. Stembridge, Jr. - resigned as pastor of First Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Va., as a result of..."pressure" put on him because of his racial views. Washington Post, 5-25-62

Reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, September 27, 1959

The Agony of the Southern Minister

In most cases, he is pressed between his conscience, which dictates racial tolerance, and members of his congregation, who have set their faces against even token integration.

By RALPH McGILL

ATLANTA.

IN the 131-year-old city of Columbus, Ga., a town on the bank of the Chattahoochee River with a population of 85,000 whites and 40,000 Negroes, the Rev. Mr. Robert Blakely McNeill, 44, endured with faith and patience the slow progress of convalescence following a coronary suffered June 10.

His severe physical shock came just three days after a spiritual one. A judicial commission of the Southeast Georgia Presbytery had dismissed him from the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, its chairman reading the brief, almost curt, notice from the pulpit Mr. McNeill had filled for six and a half years.

Seven long months before, the same commission, after a request for a hearing by seven of the congregation, had said that the racial issue was the central one behind the opposition to the pastor. According to Rob McNeill's friends, this "Spanish-Inquisition-like hostility" was fostered by a hard core of "about fifty church members."

Actually, Rob McNeill, Alabama-born, Southern-reared and educated, had never once used his pulpit to urge integration. Even his most bitter enemies admit as much. But in an article published in Look magazine in May, 1957, he had advocated a moderate course of creative contact between the races as a necessary approach to racial harmony and Christian duty. He emphasized that he rejected sexual and contrived social mixing. But he also made it plain he had meant that Negroes should, and must, be accepted in the administration of community affairs.

FROM that day on, there were those in his congregation who, for these mild statements, remorselessly set out to drive him from the church. By June they were appealing to the Presbytery. Statements like these were heard, "No nigger will ever darken the door of the church," and, "If a nigger comes, I go."

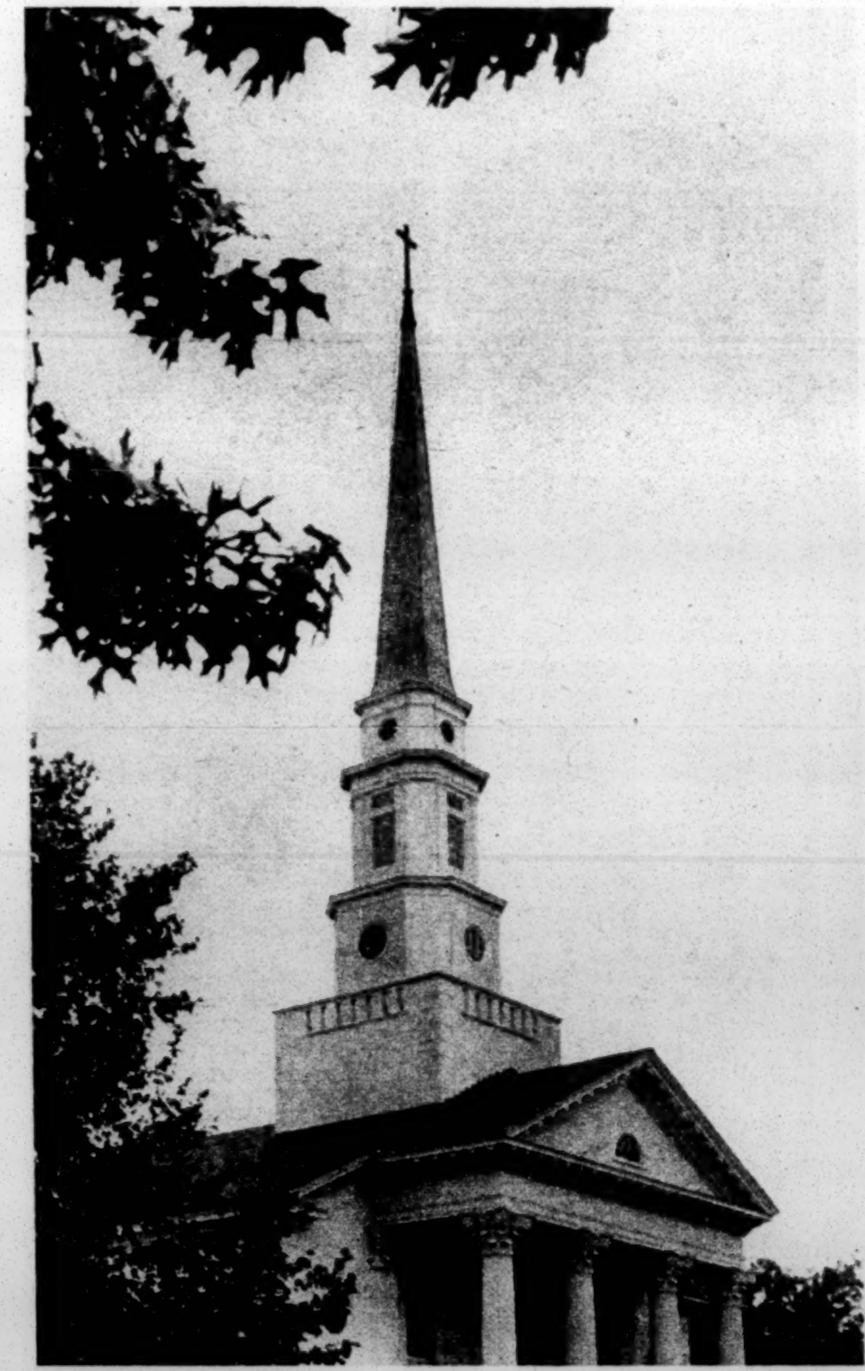
It was even reported that some of the more relentless opponents among the 1,200 professed Christians in the congregation were heard to say, on learning of the coronary that brought Mr. McNeill close to death, that the Lord finally had "taken care of him." Others, seemingly dismayed at the possibility that the illness might create sympathy, said, "It's a fake attack."

However, Rob McNeill was not alone. Members of his congregation manned a reception table outside his hospital room in two-hour shifts from early morning until late at night to greet and register visitors and to protect him from intruders. There were special prayers in hundreds of homes, and his wife and three children, who suffered their share of vile language and death threats by phone, were never without friends.

McNeill's supporters agreed then that he must go to another pastorate, though they longed to confront his opposition in a further church hearing. He was, at the time of his heart attack, considering a call to a large Charleston, W. Va., church, but was unwilling to surrender to the malignant forces against him. But now he has accepted.

A leader among those who opposed him is quoted as saying, "Now we must find a preacher with the right kind of religion."

This story of Robert McNeill, Christian minister in the Deep South, who sought to have his own life reflect the two great commandments of love as specifically designated by his Master, is—save for the heart attack and the drama of his unexpected public firing—not an unusual one in the South. In varying degrees it is shared by all Southern ministers and priests who have the courage to take even the most moderate of positions on racial integration. Pressure from some of the congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, repeated telephone calls in the dead of night, ugly, whispered filth, threats of violence and death inspired by minds stewing with God alone knows what evil—these are all part of a pattern familiar to the ministers of Southern churches who try to take the attitude of tolerance required by Christianity, the ethics of Western civilization, the Constitution and courts of the United States and their own national church organizations.



CHURCH IN ATLANTA—"Every aware minister sees that, just as the racial question is the greatest political issue before the world today so it is the greatest Christian issue."

Despite the virulence of the attacks upon them, these moderate ministers do not, in general, take the position that each church should have a thoroughly mixed congregation. That is not likely to come about in the South any more than it has or will soon in the North; social and economic patterns of community life preclude it, quite aside from the integration controversy.

THE stand these ministers do take is twofold: First, Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and obedience to the law, particularly in the matter of public school integration. Second, as a token of this principle, white congregations should cease to reject the very thought of a Negro crossing the threshold; although Negroes need not be admitted to full membership, any who wish to worship should be welcomed.

The basic position of the moderates was set forth in November, 1957, by eighty Atlanta ministers who issued what came to be known as a manifesto calling for communication between the [redacted] National Conference of the Methodist Church has made a similar affirmation.

THE Southern Baptist Convention—representing by far the largest Southern denomination—met in St. Louis in June, 1954, and adopted a five-point resolution recognizing that "this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." In its 1959 convention in *(Continued on Page 57)*

RALPH McGILL, the editor of The Atlanta Constitution, won a Pulitzer Prize earlier this year for his distinguished editorial writing.

Agony of the Southern Minister

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Louisville, Ky., the convention beat down attemps to repeal this resolution and also heard retiring president Brooks Hays—the former Congressman from Little Rock who was defeated for re-election because of his moderate racial position—read a report denying scriptural basis for the separation of the races.

Bishops of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches have, without exception, ordered that every person is welcome in the House of God. When a Roman Catholic layman's organization in New Orleans angrily and publicly defied a local Church order against segregation and appealed directly to the Pope, the Vatican took a "serious and most unsympathetic view" of the appeal. A high Vatican source said "the Church is unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination — in New Orleans as much as in South Africa."

Such policy statements by national and regional church organizations are, of course, gratifying. They provide a necessary yardstick. Nor is it fair to say they are without influence at the church or parish level. But church congregations — particularly the dominant Protestant ones of the South — either have or assume considerable local authority.

MOST of them harbor an element—perhaps only a minority, but a potent one—who will never agree that a Negro should be admitted to [redacted]

Lay attacks on ministers rarely are so open as that which attracted national attention in Columbus, Ga. For the most part, they take the form of relentless, petty harassments and slow destruction of the pastor's program. Some of the "big givers" reduce their pledges and let their dislike become known. Some move to another church where the "religion" is the "right kind." Or the meeting of the church board will produce budget wrangles and decisions which, while not so stated, have the effect of negating the pastor's program.

WHEN, for example, the congregation of an Atlanta church, sensing the intention of some hostile members to reduce their giving, bestirred itself to extra effort and sacrifice and turned in the full amount of the budget anyhow, the board suddenly found a need for an expensive addition to the physical equipment of the church. By this and other devices, the board so depleted the budget that the pastor's program was wrecked.

One of the largest Methodist churches in Georgia had a strongly worded resolution offered at an April meeting of the stewards which called for the instant dismissal of any church officials (including the pastor) or Sunday school teachers using the facilities of the church to practice or advocate integration. It was defeated—but the chairman of the board said the vote did not mean the church would permit Negroes to attend.

THUS ministers are squeezed between the dictates of conscience and church policy, on the one hand, and the prejudices of those who "run" the church, on the other. Save for the so-called "Bible floggers," the Ku Klux chaplain breed, and those who are sure that God himself is chief among segregationists, this is a time of agony of spirit for the ministers of sensitive heart and mind.

"We are all in a long period of Gethsemane," said one recently. "And once again Judas is with us."

Every minister with any shred of awareness sees that, just as the racial issue is the greatest political issue before the world today, so it is for Christianity. If the first great commandment of Jesus, and the second which is "like unto it," have no validity in the minds of church members, then the churches are finished, or eventually will be.

"The thing that gets me," said one minister who has taken a moderate stand, "is the silence I encounter. I go and expose myself to members of my congregation who I know to be in opposition, so that we may talk. They won't. The silence is worst.

"Then, too, it is uncomfortable to see successful business and professional men, who have been old friends and strong financial props, suddenly become cold and aloof because one voices the opinion that a colored person is a child of God and has a right to worship in any of God's houses. You want to kneel and pray with these men or to put your arms around them and say, 'Please, what is it in your hearts that makes you so stubborn and afraid?' But today too many men are wrapped in the armor of unreasonable fears and anger."

Many ministers sorrowfully note another effect of the church's position on desegregation. It is that many people today love their church, but not Christ and the faith He taught.

"It had never occurred to me," said one, as he talked of it, with genuine grief in his voice, "that for so many people the church was the building, the meeting with old friends, the association in the women's organizations, and that Christ meant little, if anything. But it is true. There is a great gulf between what some mean when they say they love the church and what another means for whom Christ has validity. It saddens me to learn how many persons do not want Christ to intrude on them, indeed will not permit it, if He makes them uncomfortable."

A sense of shame and self-accusation is especially noticeable among younger ministers, encountering for the first time the harshness of some older men whom they had regarded as great Christian lay leaders. They have stories to tell which, while sometimes wryly humorous, are always sad with disillusionment.

MANY a minister today is holding on in a Southern church, developing a technique of survival, merely because he does not want to desert those in the congregation who depend on him and need him. Still others remain, believing that time and God are working together in their behalf.

There are some grounds for this optimism. Slowly but surely, if not always clearly, one may see at work among lay groups the influence of Christian ministers courageous enough, and with status enough to counter some of the fanaticism. More and more individuals, and a slow procession of churches, are making the decision that houses of worship should be open to all seeking God. It will be slow, in some areas tortuously so, but it will come. It will come most slowly of all in those Deep South states where there is sure to be the closing of public schools over the same issue. But there are a few churches even there which welcome Negroes to mass and to worship.

ALTHOUGH no Southern church is integrated in the true sense of the word, almost every Southern city has one or two churches to which Negroes come with some regularity. So far the doors are open mainly in Catholic churches, although beginnings toward desegregation are evident in some others. This development is limited entirely to the cities; solid opposition to integration persists in rural areas.

As some things cannot be measured in dollars and cents, just so the impact of all that has happened, and is in progress, in this field of race, religion and church, cannot be put down in statistics or any sort of box score. It is something which involves the heart, mind and adrenal glands.

An example of what could be called an awakening, or impact, is the experience of a Methodist Church congregation in Georgia whose minister has recently accepted a call to a large church in the Southwest. The board of deacons had harassed him for more than a year without ever making the harassment overt. It had depleted his budget unnecessarily. It had dismissed his assistant and otherwise frustrated his program.

The pastor believed most of the members were on his side, but he did not feel he could appeal to them over the heads of his board. The board was, as usual, made up largely of the major financial contributors.

SOME few of these had come to him privately to protest and argue that his policy of being willing to admit Negroes to worship was wrecking the church and to urge him to renounce it. Some treated him with contemptuous condescension, saying he was just trying to attain publicity at the expense of the church. One, who said he wanted to talk to him "like a father," appealed to him not to ruin his career by being so radical.

Still another board member, a man of considerable wealth, asked him to his office. "I like you," he said, "but you have outlived your usefulness. I will give you $5,000 if you will resign quietly and go elsewhere. It will be a matter between us. No one will know." The minister managed to restrain his anger, refused, and quietly walked out.

The pastor stayed on for about a year. Then, to prevent a tragic, open break, he resigned. He himself did not know what the impact of the affair had been on his congregation. But soon afterward an excited, happy member came to him and said, "We had a meeting to discuss your replacement. And you know, we found that we have just about fifty-three die-hard segregationists in our congregation of more than 2,000. We are going to engage a man with convictions like yours."

Other congregations are slowly learning more about themselves. Without question, the controversy over desegregation is causing soul-searching; the result in the months and years ahead may be to break the race barriers in most churches.

THOSE ministers who have come to grips with this problem see the church as fulfilling its greatest role in the years ahead — that of binding up the spiritual wounds, and of moving mankind another inch or so forward toward a brotherhood of man, under God, so that this nation, or any nation so dedicated, can and shall have a new birth of freedom.

The pastor of one large Southern church has said: "We are all integrated * * * every one of our churches is integrated. The faces in the pews may all be white. But the Negro is there. He is present in the anger and guilt of some of the congregation. He is present in the consciences of many. He is present in the fears of the ushers who wait each Sunday to see if he will come. He waits in the wings, invisible, but present just the same.

"God is at work. Some of the churches may become private clubs and establish rigid rules against the presence of nonmembers. They will never be happy. They will never know peace. We are all integrated and here is nothing we can do about it save ask God's grace to make us see it."

The Saturday
Evening
POST
FOUNDED IN 1728 BY
Benj. Franklin

Reprint

Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?

Many clergymen in the South, says this Arkansas pastor, are compromising their beliefs by playing it safe on the integration issue.

By Robert Paul Sessions

In 1956, when Van Buren, Arkansas, became the first town in the state ordered by a Federal court to desegregate its schools, a handful of clergymen led the way to eventual community acceptance of integration, despite riots, student walkouts and threats from vehement segregationists. One pastor, the Rev. William Wilder of St. John's Methodist Church, rose in a White Citizens Council meeting to defend gradual integration as the working out of a Christian ideal. Resentment of his stand was widespread among ardent segregationists. One woman expressed her contempt for Mr. Wilder with these words: "I'd rot in hell before I'd join his church!"

Her reaction is representative of the feelings of many Southerners toward any white minister who might appear to be taking "the Negroes' side" in the human-rights struggle. Throughout Dixie, whites will oppose Negro ministers, such as Georgia's Martin Luther King, who lead "their own people" toward realization of their civil rights. But Southerners are much more resentful toward, and often feel betrayed by, white ministers or church groups who, in the words of a White Citizens Council pamphlet, "give aid and comfort to the enemies of the South."

Last November five-year-old Pamela Lynn Foreman was the first child to defy a white boycott at William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans. A Federal court decree had admitted one Negro girl to previously all-white classes in the school, and militant segregationists were determined to fight even token integration with a complete boycott by white students.

Pamela, accompanied by her father, the Rev. Lloyd Foreman, a Methodist minister, and a Catholic priest, the Rev. Jerome Drolet, had had to approach the school through lines of angry, cursing women.

Despite the screaming, resentful crowds, Mr. Foreman continued to bring his daughter to the school. As days went by, he helped hesitant white mothers get their children in and out of the school building, and gradually the boycott began to crumble. Kept away from the school by police, the segregationists gathered outside Mr. Foreman's home, throwing stones at Mr. Foreman's dog and house and chanting over and over:

> *Nigger lover, nigger lover, nigger lover, boo,*
> *We hate niggers and we hate you.*

Even after Mr. Foreman temporarily moved his family to a private dwelling, vandals tossed a brick through a window of the parsonage, dumped red paint inside and on the porch and damaged an air conditioner.

On December second, while the New Orleans school troubles continued, Dr. Marion A. Boggs, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Little Rock, flew to New Orleans to preach before a church group. He told reporters that his church believes a Negro should be given equal opportunity in every field, and although counseling "forbearance and moderation," insisted that "there is no question that integration will come."

Last year, in Nashville, white ministerial students from Vanderbilt School of Religion helped Negroes plan and carry out successful sit-ins at downtown department-store lunch counters. Earlier, in

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Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?

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Houston and Atlanta, separate resolutions by white ministers had urged continuance of public education and orderly compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings. Still earlier, in Little Rock, four white ministers—a Southern Baptist. a Christian (Disciples of Christ) and two Presbyterians—had walked with the first Negro students through the mobs gathered around Central High School.

"My husband has been a Methodist all his life, but if it comes to choosing between being a Methodist and an American, he'll be an American every time." Those words were in a personal letter sent to me by Mrs. Jim Johnson, wife of a present justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court. She heatedly took issue with a widely published sermon in which I had declared that "a leader of the so-called White Citizens Councils"—whom Mrs. Johnson assumed to be her husband—"would like to ride a wave of race prejudice right into the governor's mansion."

"I am aware that a large number of ministers in the Presbyterian Church have been very effectively brainwashed." Thus spoke Arkansas's Gov. Orval Faubus at a press conference when a reporter asked him about opposition by Presbyterian ministers to his segregationist policies.

Another reporter inquired of the governor, "By whom have they been brainwashed?"

He answered, "The left-wingers and the Communists."

These statements are typical of many which have been spoken or written since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on integration of the public schools. They reflect a widespread distrust among Southerners toward those of their white ministers who have stood apart from or opposed the prevailing tide of segregationist sentiment.

We Southerners have been quick to blame our racial difficulties on everyone but ourselves. "Communists," "Yankees," "the Supreme Court," the N.A.A.C.P., the Justice Department, newsmen and, more recently, college professors—all have come in for their share of vilification. But on the local level, perhaps no single group has felt more keenly the pressure of adverse public opinion than the Protestant ministers, Roman Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. Integration is a dirty word in the South, and what little talk there has been of its moral rightness has come primarily from the clergy.

Letters to the editors of Southern papers and editorials in those papers have condemned white ministers with such words as "do-gooders," "meddlers," "traitors to the Southern way of life."

Are Southern ministers betraying the South?

The question deserves an honest answer. But if we are to answer intelligently, we must understand the situation of the average Southern clergyman. We must determine what the place of a minister should be in such a situation and ask if a majority of Southern pastors are fulfilling that role. When we have done this, we will discover that most ministers involved are betraying the South—but not in the way radical segregationists so vehemently claim.

A survey by a leading interdenominational ministers' journal disclosed that the average pastor in the South today is an integrationist at heart. He recognizes it will take time, thought, prayer and patience to work out the ideal of brotherhood in public life and even in the church itself.

But there is little uncertainty in his mind as to what the ultimate Christian ideal is. Every major Christian denomination and Jewish body has voted its approval of the principle behind the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

It is one thing to hold a belief, however, and another to express it. How easy it must be for concerned Christians in the North and West to minimize the troubles, even the tragedies, which confront those in the South who would express openly and unmistakably a belief in a brotherhood which knows no racial barriers.

Perhaps the greatest pain for a sensitive spirit is actually to experience the unbelievable, frustrating, sheer blindness of racial prejudice in persons whom you love and who are praiseworthy in other ways. Many a Southern pastor has come to understand more clearly during the current unrest Jesus's words from the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Another dreaded agony is that of having to choose between protecting the organized church we love and proclaiming the universal gospel we believe. There are places in the South where a clergyman's forthright advocacy of even gradual integration might mean not only his own dismissal but the wholesale withdrawal of members from his church. For the concerned pastor it means the loss of particular members, individuals who may have many fine qualities and whose spiritual needs are related to more than this one issue.

Loss of membership also means loss of financial support for the total program of the organized church, with its mission stations, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, colleges, church schools and youth work. Many a local pastor has had to decide, "Shall I endanger the financial lifeblood of these causes by preaching my convictions on the one cause of brotherhood?"

And if we choose to remain silent lest we destroy the church as a prospering institution, then we are haunted by the realization that in watering down its message we may already have destroyed the true church, the mystical body of Christ whose fellowship knows no color line.

For the minister who dares to speak out, there are other unpleasant, sometimes frightening, experiences—burning crosses on the lawn, telephoned threats at midnight, bricks through windows, social ostracism within the community, loss of job and its attendant effect on his family.

One pastor serving in a strongly segregationist area told me, "I don't mind the threats against myself, but I shudder to think what they might do to my little daughter."

In another community a Baptist minister confided to a Methodist pastor who openly had supported the Supreme Court decisions, "I want you to know that I appreciate and agree with all you have said and written upholding the Supreme Court decision. But I don't have the church organization to protect me that you Methodists have. If I said publicly what you have, I could be voted out on my ear overnight. Finding a new church at my age would be hard if not impossible."

Church organization or not, Methodists, too, feel this fear. A year ago I said to a trustee of Hendrix College, a Methodist school in Conway, Arkansas, "I notice that thirteen of the thirty-odd members of the Hendrix board of trustees are ministers. Especially with our state colleges integrated, why don't those ministers have more influence toward opening our church college to all qualified applicants?"

His answer: "But look at the thirteen and you'll find that almost without exception they occupy our larger pulpits and higher offices. They are not going to jeopardize their positions by championing unpopular causes, even if they favor those causes in their hearts."

How correct he was became evident a few weeks later when the board voted to continue the school's segregation policy. Of the twenty-three trustees present, ten were ministers. Two of the ministers abstained when the vote was taken; the others, including Bishop Paul E. Martin, voted for segregation.

Reprinted from

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

May 13, 1961

There are some less obvious, though just as insidious, dangers facing the clergyman who would make a clear witness for racial brotherhood. One is the temptation to seek crucifixion for its own sake, or just to prove to ourselves that "we're not afraid." Some of the clergy, well-intentioned but thoughtless, seem to seek out ways of rubbing salt into the wounds of segregationist members of their flocks. Spirit, manner and timing are important. We are physicians as well as prophets.

Another peril is the temptation to oversimplify either the principles or the principals involved. Every Southern minister is familiar with the desire expressed in this oft-quoted prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference."

The average pastor in a Southern state today is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't speak his honest convictions. There is a story making the after-dinner rounds in Arkansas which illustrates this dilemma. A group of doctors and psychiatrists were debating whether there might be a physiological difference between persons of differing opinions on the integration controversy. So they performed exploratory operations on three ministers, one an outspoken integrationist, the second an ardent segregationist, and the third a bishop who had not committed himself either way. The integrationist was discovered to have no brain, the segregationist no heart, and the bishop no backbone.

As one wag put it, "There are no black and white answers to this question," nor are divisions among the clergy as easily discernible as might be imagined. One can be genuinely Christian in his theoretical concept of brotherhood, yet be thoroughly un-Christian in the practical working out of his ideal—through cowardice or intolerance or lack of understanding. It is possible to be prejudiced toward those who are prejudiced and bigoted in your attitude toward the bigoted. A segregationist can be un-Christian in denying the kinship of all men, yet in expressing his convictions display many commendable traits—patience or kindness or thoughtfulness.

Countless complexities and numberless extenuating circumstances cloud the issues and make rationalization easy for the Southern pastor who believes that racial discrimination is morally wrong. What is he to do? A clergyman in any time of controversy is under pressure to "speak for the people," to reflect as closely as possible the feelings and standards of his congregation. But most intelligent churchgoers know that when the pulpit becomes a mere echo of the pew, the preacher becomes a parrot, and religion a mockery.

In theory at least, the pastor's role is clear. With humility and affection, and respecting honest differences of opinion, he is to make plain and work for what he believes is God's will in the particular situation. Nineteen centuries ago the Christian missionary St. Paul described this as "speaking the truth in love."

Are we freely and openheartedly "speaking the truth in love"? Is there a clear, united voice in the pulpits of the South, challenging people to recognize and renounce their racial prejudices? Are bishops and other denominational leaders declaring consistently and without equivocation that removing barriers of discrimination is not only technically the law of the land but ethically and morally right? Is there an unmistakable call to brotherhood as a principle?

The truth is that the vast majority of ministers in the South are compromising what they believe, diluting or suppressing their convictions, for motives ranging from self-preservation to preservation of the church. Instead of speaking the truth in love, we soft-pedal it in fear.

When Jesus of Nazareth faced controversy, he was willing to go to a cruel death on a cross rather than withdraw and compromise his convictions. Most ministers in the South today are not willing to face a personal Calvary themselves for their faith. Some of them may even wonder if perhaps Jesus Himself made a mistake in pressing His hand so far that crucifixion became the result. One thing appears certain: If He were a minister today—say in Georgia, Mississippi or Arkansas—and if He dealt with people and controversial issues as do successful pastors in many of our larger Southern churches, Jesus might have escaped most of the opposition, suffering and tragedy which marked His life and death in the first century.

We modern ministers, on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, recognize good human relations as the key to professional achievement. Paraphrasing scripture, we study to show ourselves approved unto man, rightly compromising the word of truth. "Surely," we tell ourselves, "Jesus was wrong, or misquoted by Luke, when He said, 'Woe unto you when all men speak well of you.'" Our goal, the mark of our success, is to have all men speak well of us. In fairness it might be said that we seek men's approval not for personal glory, but so that "the program of the church" may prosper and that "the kingdom" may advance.

We are experts at keeping our people happy—with themselves and with their church. Thus we win acclaim as "successful" ministers, heads of flourishing churches. In an age of financial prosperity and booming attendance at worship services, it is relatively easy in the average congregation to have one great year after another—*if* we stay on good terms with our people.

Staying on good terms means not only pleasing as many as possible but avoiding the slightest suggestion of dissension, controversy, or ill will. Discretion is the better part of our valor. As pastors, we never push changes, administrative or moral, faster than our people are ready to accept them. We employ ingenious methods to avoid, postpone, or soft-pedal any possibility of friction between our laymen and ourselves, and we shrink in terror from the thought of outright opposition to our ministry.

We enjoy standing richly gowned in art-carved pulpits and preaching "Christ crucified." But there is no place in our scheme of things for a personal Calvary for ourselves. We eulogize the blood of the martyrs, but are much too practical to let ourselves become martyrs to any cause. Do not misunderstand me. We have the highest of ideals and we long to have a real part in promoting their practice by our people, *provided* we can remain comfortable and popular in the process.

To an outsider it might seem difficult for a Christian minister with genuine convictions of brotherhood to remain comfortable and popular amid the South's present turmoil. But it's fairly easy—if you know how. Several techniques have proved eminently useful to Southern ministers who wish to be successful and yet whose Christian leanings on integration may differ sharply from those of a sizable majority of their parishioners or the general public within their community. The genius of these techniques is that each, up to a point, makes sense. But all together, and misused, they add up to a betrayal both of the peoples' need for moral leadership and of the principles for which the church is supposed to stand. There are other methods, but these ten seem most popular in the South today:

One: If possible, as is true in the present case, appeal for your position not on the basis of its moral rightness, but as "the law of the land." If a clergyman is careful how he says it, he'll not get in much trouble plugging for law and order. Here in the South one of our cardinal rules is never, never, never to say plainly that integration is morally right. We play it smart and let the Justice Department and the N.A.A.C.P. fight our battle for us. We may even imply to our people that we ourselves "don't necessarily" like the Supreme Court decision, but "it's the law of the land," and so "whether we like it or not" we will obey, "as good citizens."

This position does have its embarrassing moments, however, as when we remember that the church cannot make the law of the land the measure of its moral code. There are acts condemned by the church as immoral, but condoned by the laws of our states and nation. There are evil deeds no human laws punish, and good deeds no laws of man require. Nor can we forget that there might be times when a man will oppose the law of the land *because* he is a Christian.

Two: Take the public pulse. If you can't lick 'em, join 'em, and if your conscience won't let you join them, be clever enough not to do anything which would offend them. A Baptist minister in Arkansas, asked by a reporter what he'd do if Negroes came to worship at his church, replied, "I'd have to talk to my deacons, and whatever they decided would be all right with me."

This technique we Arkansans have learned from Orval Faubus, our astute governor, who from the very beginning of this controversy has had regular public-opinion polls taken by an independent firm, presumably so he can decide what his own public stand will be. Judging by Faubus's success, it seems a pity Jesus didn't have the latest poll from Jerusalem before He set His face steadfastly to go there.

Three: Try the silent treatment. Ignore controversy in the pulpit. Preach always on safe topics like prayer, the Bible and the gospel, applying these to life only in areas where there is no danger of disagreement. As one minister told me, "You'll never get many people against you by what you don't say."

On the weekday morning in September, 1957, when Governor Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to turn Negro students away from Central High School, I joshed a minister who at the time was the pastor of a large Methodist church in the Little Rock area. "Say," I told him, "I see your last Sunday's sermon on brotherhood didn't do much good."

Not in a joking mood, he snapped back, "Listen, brother, I've had enough sense through this whole affair to keep my mouth shut."

Four: Be "concerned." The closest some Episcopal and Methodist bishops in the South have come to expressing publicly their own convictions about integration is to voice "concern." The genius of this approach is obvious—the most ardent segregationist on your church roll can agree with you. He, too, is concerned, so is the lonesome integrationist. You have your entire congregation with you, so long as you do not get too specific with your concern.

This trick, too, we have learned from the politicians. Before his very narrow and much-questioned defeat at the polls by segregationist Dale Alford, "concern for this grave problem" was a favorite approach of Brooks Hays, former Arkansas Congressman and former head of the Southern Baptist Convention, now a Kennedy appointee as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

One of the ablest and most sincere men who ever tried to bring his religion to his public service, Congressman Hays constantly had to walk a tightrope stretched between the high ideals of his great church and strong segregationist sentiment in his home district. It likely would have been political suicide for him to proclaim as his personal views the clear pronouncement by the Southern Baptist Convention that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is a reflection of the Christian goal of brotherhood. Had he been more open, Hays probably would have lost by a landslide instead of almost winning.

Five: Walk the middle ground. This technique involves being neither for nor against integration, neither hot nor cold about segregation, at least in the eyes of your congregation or the general public.

Such an approach has many advantages for the minister who is more concerned with keeping his people together than with making clear the ethical demands of his religion. But it is a disturbing solution; for if, as most denominational bodies have declared, forced segregation and discrimination are sins, then the pastor who walks the middle ground finds his silence condoning sin and neglecting the claims of brotherhood. His refusal to take sides must be measured by Jesus's words, "He who is not with me is against me." In being neither hot nor cold the Bible-minded minister must rationalize or ignore Revelation 3:15-16: "I know your works; you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were cold or hot! So, because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew you out of my mouth."

Six: Take a stand for taking a stand. Preach sermons defending the freedom of the pulpit and a minister's responsibility for expressing his honest convictions, but never use that freedom to fulfill your own responsibility to let the people know how you stand.

A Methodist Church bishop took the opportunity, when guest preacher in one of his larger churches, to read a prepared statement voicing his concern about a racial crisis facing the South. He urged "obedience to law and orderly processes," "a spirit of humility, penitence and prayer," and a demonstration of "love rather than hate." He upheld in telling words the right of every pastor to preach whatever he feels is God's will. However, the bishop's statement failed to hold up what his own beliefs about integration are, or how he believed "love" might have been applied in the particular crisis facing the people to whom he spoke. One wonders whether the true freedom of the pulpit is best maintained by defending it or by using it. But there's no question which is easier—and safer.

Seven: Obfuscate. If the meaning of this word is unclear, you get the idea. A highly effective formula for safely salving your conscience is to preach your honest convictions in uncertain terms. Use words and phrases so general, or so ambiguous, that even those who think they understand you cannot be offended.

The secretary of one Methodist annual conference Board of Social and Economic Relations was instructed not to use the words, "race," "integration" or "Supreme Court," in composing the board's annual report. The resulting vague section on "brotherhood" was, in his own words, "one of the finest expressions of nothing ever written." Another member of this same board described facetiously the ideal for a Social and Economic Relations report: "Be against sin in all its many forms, but don't name any of them, lest you offend someone."

Eight: Delay adopting a policy. Not many weeks after Little Rock became world news because of its racial troubles, Henderson Methodist Church in that city turned away five Negroes who came to worship. The minister, head usher, and official-board chairman conferred while the Negroes waited outside, then turned the five away, explaining to them and the press that "the church board had not taken any action about Negroes' attending our services." To an outsider it appeared this pastor and his people did not know whether they believe in brotherhood and that they would have to wait until they adopted a policy to find out.

More than four years have passed since then. The church has a new pastor and has erected a beautiful new sanctuary. But according to the minister, the church's official board still has not "taken any action about Negroes' attending."

A good way to put off adopting a policy and thus delaying the necessity of taking a stand is to refer the matter to a committee for study. Five years ago the Board of Education of the North Arkansas Conference of the Methodist Church petitioned the trustees of Hendrix College, asking them "to remove any bar or restriction to the admission of students because of race, creed or religion." The trustees include several wealthy, influential Methodist laymen who are ardent segregationists. The board referred the matter to a "committee on enrollment," where it stayed despite repeated yearly resolutions from the church conference favoring elimination of racial discrimination.

Finally, in April, 1960, under pressure from the state Methodist Student Movement, the Hendrix trustees made a public statement that the college would continue segregation. To indignant student and ministerial groups, the college president, Dr. Marshall Steel, gave assurances that the subject would be considered again at a future date. It now appears that two sectarian schools, Hendrix and Ouachita Baptist College, may be the last strongholds of segregation among Arkansas colleges, not because their leaders believe in permanent moral and ethical neutrality, but because of a seemingly eternal delay in adopting a policy.

NINE: Act collectively and avoid personal involvement. Some of our successful clergymen in the South have worked for integration by backing collective statements at convention, synod or conference meetings. There, they are glad to vote for a clear resolution on brotherhood, provided their lay delegate is not present and the vote is not recorded by name. They are glad to attend off-the-cuff meetings with other ministers to consider the crisis and pray about it, but find it inexpedient in their own communities to do or say anything about the issue.

Perhaps this difference between ministerial action on the local church and other levels is responsible for the frequent apparent surprise of Southern laymen at "official" pronouncements by responsible church bodies.

TEN: Take your time. Do not expect human nature to change overnight, or even in a few years. Be content with people as they are, not as you or God might wish them to be. When an issue arises which might cause dissension, never press for what you feel is right if it will offend a vocal minority or majority. Tell yourself over and over, "These things take time." This is one of the easiest ways to quiet your conscience and escape your Calvary.

An old gospel song expresses this temptation.

Seems now some soul to say,
"Go, spirit, go Thy way;
Some more convenient day
On Thee I'll call."

Across the South today there are thousands of ministers with firm convictions of brotherhood, but waiting for "some more convenient day" to express them.

Let me hasten to discount any impression I may have given that no pastors are giving a clear and effective witness. There are a few in every denomination who have been altogether honest with their congregations and who have dared to speak and act in love for what they believe to be the will of God. When their story is written, it will be an inspiring one of courage, of sacrifice, of surprising influence and of an inner satisfaction which cannot be described, only experienced. This satisfaction the world can neither give nor take away.

But one unavoidable conclusion remains. There is evidence all over the Southland that most of us are compromising our convictions for the sake of continued popularity and the surface prosperity of "the church." A Methodist district superintendent who has had the fortitude to make his own beliefs known told me, "Bob, one of the big troubles with our church today is that we have too many ministers who are trying to play it safe."

Just to recognize the situation, however, is not enough. Desperately needed is change—new attitudes and actions by laymen and clergy alike. Let us pray that God will inspire Americans in general and Southerners in particular to expect honesty and conviction in their ministers. Let us pray that God will give our pastors the courage and wisdom to help the Christians of the South find a Christian solution to a baffling problem which cannot be wished away. THE END

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THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

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AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by delegates of the American Council of Christian Churches attending its sixteenth Spring Convention April 29 - May 2, Greenville, S.C.

RACIAL SEGREGATION

The American Council of Christian Churches in emphasizing that Christian principles should govern the conduct of all believers, regardless of their race or color, declares that so-called liberal Christianity today and the program of the National Council of Churches, calling for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated world, does violence to the true gospel of Jesus Christ.

Segregation within the church on racial, linguistic, and national lines is not unChristian nor contrary to the specific commands of the Bible. An avalanche of propaganda sponsored by modernist church leaders now in control of ecclesiastical machinery is being deliberately directed against the South.

The religious shiboleth the integrationists use is not even found in the Bible. The so-called universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man was repudiated by Christ and has been rejected by historic Christianity which makes the clearest distinction between the saved and the lost, the children of the devil and the children of God and maintains that man must be born again in order to become a son of God. At stake in the present conflict is true Christian doctrine as opposed to a false Christianity being subtly substituted.

To make integration the standard of Christian conduct and to hurl the charge "unChristian" against conscientious, God-fearing men of both races who desire to maintain a social pattern in their churches and communities in keeping with the principles of states rights and their convictions and faith, stimulates bitterness and strife and denies the liberty that every believer has in Christ. The National Council's propaganda for integration will destroy not only our races, but Christianity itself. Only the Christian faith which generates real love among men can give mutual respect and proper relations between the races as each carries on its work for Christ according to its convictions.

The attempt of church bodies to tell local congregations and individual Christians that they cannot use their local properties for private or religious schools is simply an expression of the growing authoritarianism developing in American Protestantism and which denies to the individual Christian his rights in Christ.

It is time for Christian people to repudiate this false Christianity which is attempting to take from them their churches, their liberty and ultimately their Christ.

Paul Harvey:

Giveaway Bosses Employ Trickery

The administration, determined to perpetuate massive spending for foreign aid, is using every device to silence your objections.

They say "all is fair in love and war and politics."

Then it is within their liberal ground rules to call the politicians, the publishers and the preachers to the White House and flatter them by telling them how important they are, sell them on how "necessary" foreign aid is and enlist their efforts toward convincing you.

It is not difficult to sell the foreign aid theory to a man of God. There are many quotations from from Scripture which clearly define the Christian's responsibility to those less fortunate.

EXPLOIT CLERGY

Thus, the administration has secured impressive support from behind the pulpit. Thus, generous, well-meaning Americans are led to allow the spenders a blank check—with no further questions.

A lifetime of unwavering respect for the clergy obligates me to offer certain evidence; I offer it in a spirit of humility and genuine anxiety.

Foreign aid "in theory," and as practiced, are not the same things.

Foreign aid in theory is helping our brothers in the Christ-like concept of unselfishness.

Foreign aid in practice is not so humanitarian.

Former Ambassador Spruille Braden (who has seen foreign aid administered in foreign hands) has referred to it as "treasonous," for it so often is used to strengthen the godless Communist enemies of all religions.

Reverend, are you sure you want to submit another billion dollars to the Red dictator of Yugoslavia who locks the church doors?

Are you sure you want to send more money to the French who use some of it to bomb and kill civilians in Tunisia?

If you do, that is your choice. But know what you are doing! Communism is not a "political party," it is an armed attempt to overthrow God!

Don't let an invitation to the White House flatter and fluster you so that you throw your influence into a controversy which you have not thoroughly examined.

Is it in the best interests of mankind for you to urge more money for Indonesia where, Secretary Dulles admits, "all-out Communist despotism is taking over" and bombing anti-Communists?

Are you certain you want, in Poland, to pay tithe to Communism?

That is where some of your foreign aid is going.

I do not believe you intend our moral obligation to include strengthening God's enemies.

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

Thus I have dared to ask that you withhold endorsement of "foreign aid," per se, however the politicians seek to flatter your ego and brainwash your intellect and propagandize your pulpit.

You men of God do not have to pay that high a price for an invitation to the White House. You will be here——and that for which you stand will prevail——long after the politicians are dead and forgotten.

They can afford to be wrong. You dare not.

And if it is charity that you would have us administer, it is not unselfish to think first of our own people.

Indeed, I Timothy admonishes, "But if any provide not for his own, specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA**

ALABAMA REGISTRATION STATISTICS

County	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-white Registered 1958	% Non-white Registered
Autauga	18,186	5,517	4,616	80.7	4,042	100	2.5
Baldwin	40,997	18,028	15,520	86.1	4,493	480	10.7
Barbour	28,892	8,012	6,289	78.5	7,158	450	6.3
Bibb	17,987	6,681	5,700	85.3	2,801	200	7.1
Blount	28,975	15,369	10,900	70.9	429	100	23.3
Bullock	16,054	2,633	2,200	83.6	5,425	5	.9
Butler	29,228	9,467	8,171	86.3	6,024	629	10.4
Calhoun	79,539	37,379	21,386	57.2	8,304	1,948	23.5
Chambers	39,528	15,710	12,415	79.0	7,175	650	9.1
Cherokee	17,634	8,821	7,600	86.2	736	400	54.3
Chilton	26,922	12,888	11,661	90.5	2,027	342	16.9
Choctaw	19,152	4,914	5,228	100.0	4,822	172	3.7
Clarke	26,548	7,832	7,200	91.9	6,434	450	7.0
Clay	13,929	6,934	6,800	98.1	1,011	200	19.8
Cleburne	11,904	6,058	5,742	94.8	380	58	15.3
Coffee	30,720	13,516	11,357	84.0	3,114	1,375	43.9
Colbert	39,561	18,063	12,800	70.9	4,519	3.200	70.8
Conecuh	21,776	6,734	5,550	82.4	4,435	650	14.7
Coosa	11,766	4,734	4,413	93.2	1,828	550	30.1
Covington	40,373	19,986	16,500	82.6	3,157	500	15.8
Crenshaw	18,981	7,604	6,947	9.14	2,801	500	17.9
Cullman	49,046	26,538	17,825	67.2	249	100	40.2
Dale	20,828	9,418	8,450	89.7	2,454	300	12.2
Dallas	56,270	12,597	7,480	59.4	18,145	520	2.9
De Kalb	45,048	24,601	19,300	78.5	443	300	67.7
Elmore	31,649	12,247	11,300	92.3	5,543	300	5.4
Escambia	31,443	11,767	11,000	93.5	5,425	1000	18.4
Etowah	93,982	47,217	33,005	69.9	7,672	2100	27.4

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

County	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-white Registered 1958	% Non-white Registered
Fayette	19,388	9,279	8,359	90.1	1,497	750	50.1
Franklin	25,705	13,460	11,150	82.8	700	350	50.0
Geneva	25,899	12,660	7,490	59.2	1,686	82	4.9
Greene	16,482	1,820	1,566	86.0	6,628	174	2.6
Hale	20,832	3,680	3,050	82.9	7,041	150	2.1
Henry	18,674	5,646	4,751	84.1	4,029	393	9.8
Houston	46,522	19,698	13,249	67.3	7,211	700	9.7
Jackson	38,998	19,381	12,919	66.7	1,242	675	54.3
Jefferson	558,928	226,280	119,000	5.3	121,667	11,000	9.0
Lamar	16,441	8,141	7,925	97.3	1,204	175	14.5
Lauderdale	54,179	26,831	13,600	50.7	4,022	3,400	84.5
Lawrence	27,128	10,905	9,200	84.4	3,010	800	26.6
Lee	45,073	16,207	8,375	51.7	8,954	625	6.9
Limestone	35,766	14,937	9,585	64.2	4,013	500	12.5
Lowndes	18,018	2,057	2,306	100.0	6,512	-	--
Macon	30,561	3,081	3,102	100.0	14,539	1,218	8.4
Madison	72,903	30,662	18,691	60.9	10,333	3,285	31.8
Marengo	29,494	5,546	5,392	97.2	10,626	132	1.2
Marion	27,264	14,271	12,074	84.6	384	219	57.0
Marshall	45,090	24,740	19,294	77.9	604	37	6.1
Mobile	231,105	93,506	47,560	50.9	45,493	10,440	22.9
Monroe	25,732	7,184	5,815	80.9	5,914	160	2.7
Montgomery	138,965	51,869	25,520	49.2	34,079	3,480	10.2
Morgan	52,924	26,602	14,025	52.7	4,641	2,475	53.3
Perry	20,439	3,757	4,050	100.0	6,351	250	3.9
Pickens	24,349	7,324	5,750	78.5	5,547	550	9.9
Pike	30,608	10,062	7,850	78.0	6,866	750	10.9
Randolph	22,513	9,860	9,994	100.0	2,728	306	11.2
Russell	40,364	11,860	8,006	67.5	10,135	500	4.9
St. Clair	26,687	12,125	8,054	66.4	2,363	696	29.5
Shelby	30,362	13,255	9,625	72.6	3,356	875	26.1
Sumter	23,610	3,600	2,875	79.9	8,700	425	4.9
Talladega	63,639	24,317	14,500	59.6	9,318	3,500	37.6

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

County	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-white Registered 1958	% Non-white Registered
Tallapoosa	35,074	15,015	13,400	89.2	5,083	600	11.8
Tuscaloosa	94,092	42,200	24,151	57.2	14,157	2,680	18.9
Walker	63,769	30,852	23,240	75.3	3,850	2,580	67.0
Washington	15,612	4,929	4,850	98.4	2,835	750	26.5
Wilcox	23,476	3,056	3,040	99.5	8,218	--	--
Winston	18,250	9,484	8,208	86.5	63	11	17.5
TOTAL	3,061,743	1,231,514	828,646	67.3	516,245	73,272	14.2

* 1956 Figures latest available.

Population shifts, changes in age of population, have resulted in percentage calculations in excess of 100% "registered" in some counties. 100% is shown in such cases.

Population figures are from Bureau of Census, 1950.
Registration figures are from Birmingham News, February 17, 1959

ARKANSAS REGISTRATION STATISTICS

County	(1) Total Pop. 1950	(2) White Pop. Over 21 1950	(3) Whites Registered 1958	(4) % White Pop. Over 21 Registered	(5) Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	(6) Non-white Registered 1958	(7) % Non-white Registered
Arkansas	23,665	10,770	7,308	67.9	2,934	700	23.9
Ashley	25,660	8,980	6,868	76.5	5,062	1,182	23.4
Baxter	11,683	6,811	3,597	52.8	3	--	--
Benton	38.076	23,957	12,284	51.3	43	25	58.1
Boone	16,260	10,133	5,869	57.9	--	--	--
Bradley	15,987	6,468	4,443	68.7	2,744	1,123	40.9
Calhoun	7,132	2,844	2,607	91.7	1,277	300	23.5
Carroll	13,244	8,354	4,195	50.2	13	--	--
Chicot	22,306	5,639	3,761	66.7	6,924	2,525	36.5
Clarke	22,998	10,043	5,872	58.4	3,228	1,211	37.5
Clay	26,674	14,800	5,337	36.1	, 6	--	--
Cleburne	11,487	6,668	2,839	42.6	2	--	--
Cleveland	8,956	3,831	2,536	66.2	1,061	350	32.9
Columbia	28,770	10,801	6,534	60.5	5,603	1,010	18.0
Conway	18,137	8,018	6,189	77.2	2,196	1,396	63.4
Craighead	50,613	27,255	13,929	55.1	998	310	31.1
Crawford	22,727	12,779	6,489	50.8	414	95	22.9
Crittenden	47,184	8,502	5,778	68.0	16,695	1,145	6.9
Cross	24,757	8,965	4,036	45.0	4,041	606	14.9
Dallas	12,416	4,642	3,240	69.8	2,504	1,028	41.1
Desha	25,155	7,073	4,693	66.4	6,511	2,159	33.2
Drew	17,959	6,940	4,500	64.8	3,118	500	16.0
Faulkner	25,289	13,137	8,767	66.7	1,480	456	30.8
Franklin	12,358	7,285	4,518	62.0	91	29	31.9
Fulton	9,187	5,383	2,647	49.2	5	--	--
Garland	45,102	27,227	16,647	61.1	3,751	700	18.7
Grant	9,024	4,872	3,479	71.4	370	186	50.3
Greene	29,149	16,451	8,134	49.4	40	10	25.0
Hempstead	25,080	9,443	5,884	62.3	5,244	1,150	21.9
Hot Springs	22,181	11,297	8,559	75.8	1,575	-,300	19.0

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

County	(1) Total Pop. 1950	(2) White Pop. Over 21 1950	(3) Whites Registered 1958	(4) % White Pop. Over 21 Registered	(5) Non-white Pop. over 21 1950	(6) Non-white Registered 1958	(7) % Non-white Registered
Howard	13,342	6,604	3,852	58.3	1,406	260	18.5
Independence	23,488	13,675	6,787	49.6	407	75	18.4
Izard	9,953	5,744	2,910	50.7	62	23	35.9
Jackson	25,912	12,169	6,553	53.8	2,067	815	39.4
Jefferson	76,075	23,591	15,308	64.9	21,174	5,662	26.7
Johnson	16,138	9,607	4,877	50.8	144	15	10.4
Lafayette	13,203	4,363	2,725	62.5	3,004	1,105	36.8
Lawrence	21,303	11,632	5,506	47.3	164	30	18.3
Lee	24.322	5,213	2,805	53.8	7,572	1,366	18.0
Lincoln	17,079	4,521	2,569	56.8	4,808	1,302	27.1
Little River	11,690	4,554	3,230	70.9	2.107	500	23.7
Logan	20,260	12,215	5,996	49.1	209	45	21.5
Lonoke	27,278	11,857	6,597	55.6	3,267	1,158	35.4
Madison	11,734	6,643	3,645	54.9	9	--	--
Marion	8,609	5,007	2,792	55.8	--	--	--
Miller[1]	32,614	14,432	9,172	63.6	5,000	1,568	31.4
Mississippi	82,375	30,738	12,919	42.0	11,975	3,922	32.8
Monroe	19,540	5,685	3,453	60.7	4,930	936	18.9
Montgomery	6,680	3,903	2,625	67.3	24	--	--
Nevada	14,781	5,970	3,285	55.0	2,578	736	28.5
Newton	8,685	4,509	2,465	54.7	1	--	--
Quachita	33,051	12,001	7,401	61.7	7,020	4,020	57.3
Perry	5,978	3,298	2,117	64.2	133	30	22.6
Phillips	46,254	10,503	5,900	56.2	15,226	3,612	23.7
Pike	10,032	5,596	3,139	56.1	294	103	35.0
Poinsett	39,311	18,029	8,653	79.9	1,754	350	19.9
Polk	14,182	8,740	4,803	55.0	--	--	--
Pope	23,291	13,369	6,969	52.1	426	90	21.1
Prairie	13,768	6,485	3,632	56.0	1,192	200	16.8
Pulaski	196,685	99,194	61,771	62.3	28,881	10,419	36.1

County	(1) Total Pop. 1950	(2) White Pop. Over 21 1950	(3) Whites Registered 1958	(4) % White Pop. Over 21 Registered	(5) Non-white Pop. over 21 1950	(6) Non-white Registered 1958	(7) % Non-white Registered
Randolph	15,982	8,965	4,403	49.1	102	25	24.5
St. Francis	36,841	8,632	5,262	61.0	10,734	1,900	17.7
Saline	23,816	14,202	9,328	65.7	974	87	8.9
Scott	10,057	5,782	3,230	55.9	94	45	47.9
Searcy	10,424	5,908	2,766	46.8	3	--	--
Sebastian	64,202	37,821	20,209	53.4	2,678	836	31.2
Sevier	12,293	6,784	3,205	47.2	610	201	32.9
Sharp	8,999	5,199	2,823	54.3	5	--	--
Stone	7,662	4,249	2,770	65.2	3	--	---
Union	49,686	21,778	15,158	69.6	8,434	2,770	32.8
Van Buren	9,687	5,570	3,280	58.9	59	20	33.9
Washington	49,979	31,044	13,921	44.8	309	12	3.9
White	38,040	21,117	9,480	44.9	726	300	41.3
Woodruff	18,957	6,423	3,224	50.2	3,549	916	25.8
Yell	14,057	8,122	4,902	60.4	335	73	21.8
TOTAL	1,909,511	863,415	499,955	57.9	232,182	64,023	27.6

(1)	Bureau of Census
(2)	Bureau of Census
(3)	Auditor of State of Arkansas
(4)	Column 3 divided by column 2.
(5)	Bureau of Census
(6)	Auditor of State of Arkansas
(7)	Column 6 divided by column 5.

Arkansas has no "registration" as such. Registration figures represent poll tax payments as reported by the State Auditor.

GEORGIA REGISTRATION STATISTICS

County	Total Pop. 1950(1)	1950 Whites Over 18(2)	Whites Registered 1958(3)	% Whites over 18 Registered(4)	1950 Negroes Over 18(5)	1958 Negroes Registered(6)	% Negroes over 18 Registered(7)
Appling	14,003	6,296	6,612	100 —	1,361	1,140	83.8
Atkinson	7,362	3,139	4,168	100 —	897	797	88.9
Bacon	8,940	4,428	6,105	100 —	555	22	4.0
Baker	5,952	1,362	1,670	100 —	1,817	0	0
Baldwin	29,706	14,479	7,675	53.0	8,450	2,618	31.0
Banks	6,935	3,882	4,420	100 —	228	44	19.3
Barrow	13,115	7,205	5,848	81.2	1,303	312	23.9
Bartow	27,370	14,226	11,239	79.0	3,394	1,208	35.6
Barrien	13,966	6,985	4,177	59.8	1,106	403	36.4
Ben Hill	14,879	6,481	3,797	58.6	2,655	930	35.0
Bibb	114,079	50,674	26,124	51.6	25,993	4,913	18.9
Bleckley	9,218	3,865	3,346	86.6	1,588	45	2.8
Brantley	6,387	3,051	3,767	100 —	465	226	48.6
Brooks	18,169	5,755	4,321	75.1	4,675	695	14.9
Bryan	5,965	2,156	1,972	91.5	1,267	817	64.5
Bullock	24,740	9,553	7,897	82.7	4,752	1,390	29.3
Burke	23,458	4,592	3,664	79.8	8,782	427	4.9
Butts	9,079	3,288	3,810	100 —	2,161	1,437	66.5
Calhoun	8,587	1,812	1,682	92.8	3,221	132	4.1
Camden	7,322	2,247	2,606	100 —	2,053	1,385	67.5
Candler	8,063	3,233	3,195	98.8	1,480	1,174	79.3
Carroll	34,112	17,861	13,680	76.6	3,585	925	25.8
Catoosa	15,146	9,008	9,938	100 —	181	70	38.7
Charlton	4,821	2,009	2,293	100 —	775	40	5.2
Chatam	151,481	63,849	36,943	57.9	38,310	9,250	24.1
Chattahoochee	12,149	7,594	284	3.7	1,431	8	0.55
Chattooga	21,197	12,008	11,250	93.7	1,027	1,011	98.4
Cherokee	20,750	12,361	12,874	100 —	474	195	41.1
Clarke	36,550	19,618	14,255	72.7	6,210	3,136	50.5
Clay	5,844	1,224	1,013	82.8	2,151	94	4.4
Clayton	22,872	12,258	11,441	93.3	2,075	477	23.0
Clinch	6,007	2,305	2,429	100 —	1,216	319	26.2
Cobb	61,830	35,297	28,134	79.7	3,929	1,908	48.6
Coffee	23,961	10,517	10,058	95.6	3,137	942	30.0

GEORGIA (Cont'd)

County	Total Pop. 1950(1)	1950 Whites Over 18(2)	Whites Registered 1958(3)	% Whites over 18 Registered(4)	1950 Negroes Over 18(5)	1958 Negroes Registered(6)	% Negroes over 18 Registered(7)
Colquith	33,999	15,685	13,000	82.9	4,393	965	22.0
Columbia	9,525	3,171	3,423	100 —	2,446	510	20.9
Cook	12,201	5,261	6,000	100 —	1,846	500	27.1
Coweta	27,786	11,517	11,597	100 —	5,776	1,647	28.5
Crawford	6,080	1,647	1,496	90.8	1,798	155	8.6
Crisp	17,663	6,368	4,785	75.1	4,383	721	16.4
Dade	7,364	4,087	3,678	90.0	71	40	56.3
Dawson	3,712	2,152	2,172	100 —	0	0	0
Decatur	23,620	7,853	7,530	95.9	6,209	960	15.5
De Kalb	136,935	85,764	64,450	75.1	8,678	2,153	24.8
Dodge	17,865	7,657	8,728	100 —	2,855	2,028	71.0
Dooly	14,159	4,203	4,252	100 —	3,871	722	18.7
Dougherty	43,617	16,893	10,815	64.0	11,747	2,628	22.4
Douglas	12,173	6,289	6,946	100 —	1,040	832	80.0
Early	17,413	5,045	4,335	85.9	4,774	226	4.7
Echols	2,494	990	804	81.2	379	15	4.0
Effingham	9,133	3,510	2,618	74.6	1,828	188	10.3
Elbert	18,585	8,120	9,012	100 —	3,376	1,104	32.7
Emmanuel	19,789	7,932	7,252	91.4	3,586	1,762	49.1
Evans	6,653	2,600	2,206	84.8	1,340	483	36.0
Fannin	15,192	8,635	8,503	98.5	47	19	40.4
Fayette	7,978	3,387	3,402	100 —	1,255	25	2.0
Floyd	62,899	35,231	19,244	54.6	6,059	1,523	25.1
Forsyth	11,005	6,448	4,148	64.3	25	0	0
Franklin	14,446	7,880	5,500	69.8	968	300	31.0
Fulton	473,572	237,042	104,877	44.2	99,307	28,414	28.6
Gilmer	9,963	5,746	4,454	77.5	13	6	46.2
Glascock	3,579	1,589	1,339	84.3	464	19	4.1
Glynn	29,046	12,695	7,425	58.5	6,077	2,039	33.6
Gordon	18,922	10,019	7,130*	71.2	636	527*	82.9
Grady	18,928	7,788	5,076	65.2	3,428	831	24.2
Greene	12,843	4,162	5,053	100 —	3,541	2,728	77.0
Gwinnet	32,320	18,333	16,498	90.0	1,745	1,002	57.4
Habersham	16,553	9,741	8,223	84.4	380	200	52.6

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* 1956 Figures.

County	Total Pop. 1950(1)	1950 Whites Over 18(2)	Whites Registered 1958(3)	% Whites over 18 Registered(4)	1950 Negroes Over 18(5)	1958 Negroes Registered(6)	% Negroes over 18 Registered(7)
Hall	40,113	22,949	17,542	76.4	2,344	1,209	51.6
Hancock	11,052	2,056	2,064	100 —	4,076	1,730	42.4
Haralson	14,663	8,280	11,443	100 —	715	751	100
Harris	11,265	3,277	3,635	100 —	3,665	215	5.9
Hart	14,495	6,852	5,944	86.7	1,800	294	16.3
Heard	6,975	3,145	2,475	78.7	868	374	43.1
Henry	18,587	5,802	5,449	93.9	3,659	1,662	45.4
Houston	20,964	8,764	6,943*	79.2	3,821	443*	11.6
Irwin	11,973	4,450	4,500	100 —	2,161	700	32.4
Jackson	18,997	10,040	7,209	71.8	1,565	450	28.8
Jasper	7,473	2,231	2,530	100 —	2,307	804	34.9
Jeff Davis	9,299	4,099	6,130	100 —	1,040	56	5.4
Jefferson	18,855	5,162	4,120	79.8	5,560	264	4.7
Jenkins	10,264	2,998	2,502	83.5	2,899	694	23.9
Johnson	9,893	4,030	3,655	90.7	1,695	268	15.8
Jones	7,538	2,237	2,048	91.6	2,209	611	27.7
Lamar	10,242	4,059	2,801	69.0	2,227	899	40.4
Lanier	5,151	2,102	1,892	90.0	920	452	49.1
Laurens	33,123	12,587	13,218	100 —	7,285	3,507	48.1
Lee	6,674	1,179	1,281	100 —	2,544	29	1.1
Liberty	8,444	1,954	2,128	100 —	2,822	2,472	87.6
Lincoln	6,462	2,179	2,437	100 —	1,571	3	0.2
Long	3,598	1,377	2,201*	100 —	1,693	1,061*	62.7
Lowndes	35,211	13,519	11,860	87.7	8,354	2,704	32.4
Lumpkin	6,574	3,833	3,912	100 —	81	83	100
McDuffie	11,443	4,087	4,089	100 —	2,915	379	13.0
McIntosh	6,008	1,460	1,396	95.6	2,045	1,219	59.6
Macon	14,213	3,126	3,024	96.7	4,815	178	3.7
Madison	12,238	6,213	4,588	73.8	1,161	55	4.7
Marion	6,521	1,599	1,330	83.2	1,866	52	2.8
Meriwether	21,055	6,749	5,457	80.9	5,715	927	16.2
Miller	9,023	3,728	3,357	90.0	1,371	6	0.43
Mitchell	22,528	6,793	7,298	100 —	5,951	375	6.3

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* 1956 Figures.

County	Total Pop. 1950(1)	1950 Whites Over 18(2)	Whites Registered 1958(3)	% Whites over 18 Registered(4)	1950 Negroes Over 18(5)	1958 Negroes Registered(6)	% Negroes over 18 Registered(7)
Monroe	10,523	3,442	3,333	96.8	2,874	753	26.2
Montgomery	7,901	2,911	3,315	100	1,609	1,005	62.5
Morgan	11,899	3,555	2,615	73.6	3,263	738	22.6
Murray	10,676	6,027	4,962	82.3	93	35	37.6
Muscogee	118,028	58,554	22,859	39.0	20,009	3,729	18.6
Newton	20,185	8,720	9,058	100	3,868	1,905	49.3
Oconee	7,009	3,342	3,224	96.5	925	372	40.2
Oglethorpe	9,958	3,540	2,958	83.6	2,176	199	9.1
Paulding	11,752	6,500	7,851	100	600	435	72.5
Peach	11,705	3,048	2,539	83.3	4,235	679	16.0
Pickens	8,855	5,182	4,393	84.8	255	101	39.6
Pierce	11,112	4,831	3,388	70.1	1,289	381	29.6
Pike	8,459	2,958	2,520	85.2	1,912	496	25.9
Polk	30,976	10,158	9,852	97.0	2,787	1,154	41.4
Pulaski	8,808	2,808	2,853	100	2,360	235	10.0
Putnam	7,731	2,264	2,366	100	2,300	570	24.8
Quitman	3,015	643	721	100	994	43	4.3
Rabun	7,424	4,278	4,867	100	70	11	15.7
Randolph	13,864	3,233	2,585	80.0	4,950	493	10.0
Richmond	108,876	50,658	23,260	45.9	23,683	5,820	24.6
Rockdale	8,464	3,825	3,501	91.5	1,310	563	43.0
Schley	4,036	1,094	1,006	92.0	1,177	158	13.4
Screven	18,000	4,992	3,027	60.6	5,132	335	6.5
Seminole	7,904	2,927	3,172	100	1,631	29	1.8
Spalding	31,045	15,060	--	--	5,077	1,151*	22.7
Stephens	16,647	9,277	8,242	88.8	1,268	627	49.4
Stewart	9,194	1,734	1,555	89.7	3,438	107	3.1
Sumter	24,208	7,430	5,164	69.5	7,403	483	6.5
Talbot	7,687	1,519	1,448	95.3	2,750	219	8.0
Taliaferro	4,515	1,087	913	84.0	1,560	756	48.5
Tattnall	15,939	7,465	8,224	100	2,383	1,680	70.5
Taylor	9,113	3,058	3,103	100	2,229	347	15.6
Telfair	13,221	5,554	7,389	100	2,374	169	7.1

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* 1956 Figures.

GEORGIA (Cont'd)

County	Total Pop. 1950(1)	1950 Whites Over 18(2)	Whites Registered 1958(3)	% Whites over 18 Registered(4)	1950 Negroes Over 18(5)	1958 Negroes Registered(6)	% Negroes over 18 Registered(7)
Terrell	14,314	3,233	2,810	86.9	5,036	48	0.95
Thomas	33,932	13,290	8,422	63.4	8,226	1,579	19.2
Tift	22,645	10,039	6,681	66.6	3,592	1,113	31.0
Toombs	17,382	7,615	5,543	72.8	2,636	170	6.4
Towns	4,803	2,818	--	--	3	0	0
Treutlen	6,522	2,735	3,541*	100	1,038	18	1.7
Troup	49,841	21,936	13,836	63.1	9,398	2,104	22.4
Turner	10,479	3,112	3,893	100	1,996	474	23.7
Twiggs	8,308	2,027	2,517	100	2,583	348	13.5
Union	7,318	4,245	4,944	100	--	--	--
Upson	25,078	11,698	5,437	46.5	3,827	466	12.2
Walker	38,198	22,463	23,324	100	1,401	1,127	80.4
Walton	20,230	9,024	6,873	76.2	3,199	805	25.2
Ware	30,289	13,940	11,418	81.9	4,495	2,318	51.6
Warren	8,779	2,152	2,006	93.2	2,823	195	6.9
Washington	21,012	8,934	6,696	74.9	6,389	1,704	26.7
Wayne	14,248	6,659	7,931	100	1,649	1,439	87.3
Webster	4,081	949	934	98.4	1,296	--	--
Wheeler	6,712	2,808	3,157	100	1,084	435	40.1
White	5,951	3,296	3,932	100	193	189	97.9
Whitfield	24,432	20,291	15,920	78.5	864	857	99.2
Wilcox	10,167	4,003	3,059	76.4	1,836	230	12.5
Wilkes	12,388	3,634	3,364	92.6	3,724	290	7.8
Wilkinson	9,781	3,260	3,041	93.3	2,619	411	15.7
Worth	19,357	5,975	5,855	98.0	4,802	296	6.2
	3,444,578	1,554,784	1,130,515	72.7	623,458	161,082	25.8

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(1) Bureau of the Census. Reliable County population figures since 1950 not available.
(2) Computed and interpolated from Bureau of the Census figures.
(3) Furnished by Secretary of State Ben Fortson; published in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Sept. 29, 1958.
(4) Computed. Where ageing, population shifts, or failure to purge voter lists results in more than 100% of over-18 group being registered, it is shown as 100%.
(5) See Note 2 above. (6) See Note 3 above. (7) Computed.

KENTUCKY REGISTRATION STATISTICS

County	Total Population Est. 1956	White Pop. Voting Age 1950	White Registration 1956	% Voting Age White Registration	Estimated Non-white Pop. Voting Age. 1956	Non-white Registration 1956	% Voting Age Non-white Registration
Adair	14,400	10,148	10,250	100.0	657	550	83.7
Allen	13,000	9,133	7,275	79.7	187	125	66.8
Anderson	7,800	5,606	4,250	75.8	313	250	79.9
Ballard	10,900	5,461	5,220	95.6	398	380	95.5
Barren	30,000	17,218	11,633	67.6	1,505	867	57.6
Bath	9,400	6,184	6,200	100.0	368	300	81.5
Bell	37,400	25,264	19,755	78.2	1,173	845	72.0
Boone	16,700	8,603	6,731	78.2	135	69	51.1
Bourbon	17,600	9,904	7,700	77.7	1,976	1,000	50.6
Boyd	57,200	31,876	25,800	80.9	720	300	41.7
Boyle	21,700	12,443	8,595	69.1	1,920	705	36.7
Bracken	9,300	5,665	4,537	80.1	98	363	100.0
Breathitt	18,000	9,999	11,687	100.0	56	13	23.2
Breckinridge	14,400	9,336	11,249	100.0	463	451	97.4
Bullitt	13,800	6,907	7,428	100.0	202	72	35.6
Butler	9,300	6,825	6,159	90.2	111	41	36.9
Caldwell	14,000	8,285	6,450	77.9	763	250	32.8
Calloway	16,300	13,720	11,450	83.5	575	350	60.9
Campbell	84,800	50,071	34,471	68.8	1,043	829	79.5
Carlisle	6,100	3,938	4,950	100.0	82	50	61.0
Carroll	8,600	5,209	5,440	100.0	187	160	85.6
Carter	24,200	12,580	12,590	100.0	29	10	34.5
Casey	14,400	9,553	1,108	100.0	42	15	35.7
Christian	67,000	23,289	12,341	53.0	7,072	3,759	53.2
Clark	20,800	11,214	8,149	72.7	1,343	851	63.4
Clay	19,800	11,295	8,613	76.3	306	87	28.4
Clinton	7,800	6,074	5,780	95.2	40	20	50.0
Crittenden	8,700	7,014	4,919	70.1	98	81	82.7
Cumberland	8,100	5,400	4,396	81.4	408	304	74.5
Daviess	61,300	34,948	3,1475	90.1	2,141	1,125	52.5
Edmonson	7,600	5,349	1,555	29.1	84	45	53.6

KENTUCKY (Cont'd)

County	Total Population Est. 1956	White Pop. Voting Age 1950	White Registration 1956	% Voting Age White Rgeistration	Estimated Non-white Pop. Voting Age 1956	Non-white Registration 1956	% Voting Age Non-white Registration
Elliot	6,800	3,733	4,200	100.0	--	--	--
Estill	11,300	8,447	5,955	70.5	64	45	70.3
Fayette	118,500	61,754	38,378	62.1	12,719	5,622	44.2
Fleming	10,300	7,409	9,640	100.0	255	260	100.0
Floyd	42,900	22,437	29,650	100.0	427	350	82.0
Franklin	26,200	16,539	12,349	74.7	2,022	851	42.1
Fulton	12,300	7,519	7,500	99.7	1,578	1,100	69.7
Gallátin	3,700	2,578	3,360	100.0	64	40	62.5
Garrard	12,000	6,448	7,275	100.0	759	525	69.2
Grant	10,400	6,417	7,760	100.0	64	40	62.5
Graves	33,100	20,535	16,694	81.3	1,293	1,006	77.8
Grayson	16,300	10,340	9,458	91.5	62	42	67.7
Green	8,900	6,912	4,825	69.8	509	275	54.0
Greenup	28,700	14,079	15,138	100.0	115	262	100.0
Hancock	5,000	3,772	3,573	94.7	114	27	23.7
Hardin	61,000	31,096	13,450	43.3	2,441	450	18.4
Harlan	67,700	35,800	33,800	94.4	3,620	3,500	96.7
Harrison	15,500	9,114	6,950	76.3	478	150	31.4
Hart	12,900	8,955	10,800	100.0	993	500	50.4
Henderson	34,300	10,211	14,722	100.0	2,562	1,478	57.7
Henry	11,100	7,040	7,600	100.0	608	400	65.8
Hickman	6,900	4,667	3,450	73.9	602	450	74.8
Hopkins	41,900	23,176	18,800	81.1	2,654	1,800	67.8
Jackson	10,800	6,944	4,600	66.2	2	--	----
Jefferson	568,000	299,854	212,600	70.9	49,000	25,000	51.0
Jessamine	14,200	7,947	6,450	81.2	818	450	55.0
Johnson	18,600	13,773	9,000	65.3	2	-	--
Kenton	115,300	71,312	54,200	76.0	3,328	2,100	64.9
Knott	16,700	9,894	12,475	100.0	110	225	100.0
Knox	26,200	16,582	8,300	50.1	383	200	52.2
Larue	11,300	6,310	5,400	88.1	366	400	100.0
Laurel	24,300	14,466	9,780	67.6	189	220	100.0
Lawrence	15,300	8,310	12,370	100.0	57	30	52.6

KENTUCKY (Cont'd)

County	Total Population Est. 1956	White Pop. Voting Age 1950	White Registration 1956	% Voting Age White Registration	Estimated Non-white Pop. Voting Age 1956	Non-white Registration 1956	% Voting Age Non-white Registration
Lee	7,700	4,764	4,485	94.1	24	15	62.5
Leslie	15,900	7,491	6,595	88.0	9	5	55.6
Letcher	30,600	19,927	17,495	87.8	772	805	100.0
Lewis	12,900	7,805	6,785	86.9	25	15	60.0
Lincoln	19,000	10,526	12,585	100.0	777	515	66.3
Livingston	7,100	4,599	4,159	90.4	82	41	50.0
Logan	23,600	13,039	20,400	100.0	1,769	1,200	67.8
Lyon	7,500	4,255	3,750	88.1	624	150	14.0
Madison	34,100	18,979	14,050	74.0	2,048	1,650	80.6
Magoffin	11,500	7,176	6,997	97.5	10	3	30.0
Marion	14,600	9,192	11,600	100.0	1,021	700	68.6
Marshall	15,900	9,046	7,496	82.9	14	4	28.6
Martin	10,700	5,755	5,600	97.3	0	0	0
Mason	20,200	11,436	8,200	71.7	1,350	1,000	74.1
McCracken	73,400	30,124	28,764	95.5	4,451	2,036	45.7
McCreary	13,300	8,380	7,485	89.3	24	15	62.5
McLean	12,000	6,344	5,472	86.3	78	28	35.9
Meade	11,500	5,429	4,941	91.0	212	759	75.0
Menifer	3,600	2,659	4,495	100.0	12	5	41.7
Mercer	13,800	9,185	7,810	85.0	731	590	80.7
Metcalfe	6,500	5,958	5,698	95.6	304	302	99.3
Monroe	11,300	8,099	5,290	65.3	271	310	100.0
Montgomery	12,100	7,567	6,960	92.0	937	540	57.6
Morgan	9,300	7,604	11,100	100.0	2	-	-
Muhlenberg	29,400	17,624	13,300	75.5	1,140	900	78.9
Nelson	20,000	10,745	8,300	77.2	1,095	700	63.9
Nicholas	6,800	4,852	4,132	85.2	210	168	80.0
Ohio	17,300	13,080	9,020	69.0	284	180	63.4
Oldham	12,000	6,892	4,500	65.3	967	1,500	51.7
Owen	8,700	6,273	6,100	97.2	284	100	35.2
Owsley	6,200	4,001	3,985	99.6	45	15	33.3
Pendleton	9,700	3,169	5,650	100.0	71	50	70.4

KENTUCKY (Cont'd)

County	Total Population Est. 1956	White Pop. Voting Age 1950	White Registration 1956	% Voting Age White Registration	Estimated Non-white Pop. Voting Age 1956	Non-white Registration 1956	% Voting Age Non-white Registration
Perry	35,800	23,284	24,300	100.0	990	700	70.7
Pike	68,400	42,234	38,500	91.2	837	500	59.7
Powell	6,600	3,712	3,600	98.6	93	140	100.0
Pulaski	33,300	22,619	24,700	100.0	565	500	88.5
Robertson	2,700	1,918	2,185	100.0	24	15	62.5
Rockcastle	11,200	7,632	6,590	86.3	13	10	76.9
Rowan	11,600	7,428	6,496	87.5	11	4	36.4
Russell	10,500	8,031	5,960	74.2	99	40	40.4
Scott	15,500	9,334	8,000	85.7	1,283	900	70.1
Shelby	21,100	10,468	9,400	89.8	1,573	1,000	63.6
Simpson	13,100	6,964	5,050	72.5	1,042	350	33.6
Spencer	5,500	3,618	2,675	73.9	261	125	47.9
Taylor	14,300	8,567	6,350	74.1	726	550	75.8
Todd	12,200	6,972	5,400	77.5	1,568	1,500	95.7
Trigg	7,900	5,370	5,100	95.0	1,002	800	79.8
Trimble	5,800	3,229	2,994	92.7	12	6	50.0
Union	13,100	8,666	7,000	80.8	936	700	74.8
Warren	44,400	26,226	20,400	77.8	3,469	2,500	72.1
Washington	11,200	6,972	6,304	90.4	826	296	35.8
Wayne	14,700	9,146	8,074	88.3	279	326	100.0
Webster	14,000	9,703	10,200	100.0	1,140	400	35.1
Whitley	26,100	18,327	15,910	86.8	140	90	64.3
Wolfe	5,700	4,019	5,995	100.0	6	5	83.3
Woodford	11,600	6,250	4,250	68.0	1,325	850	64.2
TOTALS	3,013,300	1,725,365	1,447,327	83.9	150,526	87,073	57.8

Registration figures furnished by Kentucky State Advisory Committee.
Estimated population figures furnished by Kentucky State Advisory Committee.
White population voting age 1950 extrapolated from Bureau of Census figures.

LOUISIANA REGISTRATION STATISTICS

Parish	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	White Registered 1956	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1956	% Non-whites Registered
Acadia	47,050	21,237	18,060	85.0	4,369	3,264	72.5
Allen	18,835	8,090	7,773	96.1	2,353	1,194	48.3
Ascension	22,387	8,172	7,416	90.1	4,109	2,009	48.1
Assumption	17,278	5,751	4,738	90.7	3,481	2,007	59.4
Avoyelles	38,031	16,223	13,686	84.4	4,738	2,029	42.2
Beauregard	17,766	8,402	7,187	85.5	1,734	1,068	55.1
Bienville	19,105	6,123	5,282	86.3	4,478	35	0.9
Bossier	40,139	15,768	9,475	60.1	6,974	516	6.4
Caddo	176,547	73,073	49,095	67.2	37,772	3,615	8.3
Calcasieu	89,635	40,930	34,057	83.2	11,408	6,039	40.3
Caldwell	10,293	4,309	3,863	89.6	1,481	124	8.7
Cameron	6,244	3,238	2,902	89.6	302	236	94.4
Catahoula	11,834	4,116	4,293	100.0	2,186	359	17.3
Claiborne	25,063	7,748	5,874	75.8	6,277	17	0.3
Concordia	14,398	3,329	3,667	100.0	4,641	508	11.1
De Soto	24,398	6,644	5,692	85.4	6,859	770	11.9
E. Baton Rouge	158,236	66,063	54,575	82.6	30,455	8,981	22.1
E. Carroll	16,302	3,223	2,000	62.1	5,330	0	.0
E. Feliciana	19,133	6,214	2,817	45.3	6,235	1,319	20.6
Evangeline	31,629	13,972	13,216	94.6	3,038	3,255	98.9
Franklin	29,376	9,870	8,372	84.8	5,070	651	12.8
Grant	14,263	6,364	5,819	91.4	1,757	867	51.6
Iberia	40,059	15,953	15,010	94.1	6,704	4,276	60.0
Iberville	26,750	8,160	6,808	83.4	7,170	2,383	33.5
Jackson	15,434	6,415	5,534	86.3	2,299	167	7.5
Jefferson	103,873	52,836	54,942	100.0	9,187	6,409	46.8
Jeff. Davis	26,298	11,105	9,484	84.0	2,673	1,688	58.4
Lafayette	57,743	25,103	21,652	86.3	7,733	4,601	51.2
LaFourche	42,209	19,888	20,363	100.0	2,820	1,590	53.9
LaSalle	12,717	6,615	6,963	100.0	813	765	89.0
Lincoln	25,782	9,297	7,638	82.2	5,242	1,011	18.7
Livingston	20,054	9,185	10,068	100.0	1,496	1,252	76.8

LOUISIANA (Cont'd)

Parish	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	White Registered 1956	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1956	% Non-whites Registered
Madison	17,451	3,372	3,058	90.7	6,332	0	0
Morehouse	32,038	9,466	9,565	100.0	7,907	947	11.0
Natchitoches	38,144	11,828	9,916	83.8	8,445	3,013	36.1
Orleans	570,445	271,421	180,317	66.4	113,241	32,578	26.1
Ouachita	74,713	31,381	24,154	77.0	14,532	956	5.8
Plaquemines	14,239	5,229	5,031	96.6	2,642	46	1.6
Point Coupee	21,841	5,873	4,946	84.2	5,711	1,326	23.8
Rapides	90,648	37,185	27,108	72.9	17,618	2,895	14.1
Red River	12,113	3,569	3,616	100.0	2,917	1,360	52.3
Richland	26,672	8,452	6,311	74.7	5,427	587	11.2
Sabine	20,880	9,272	7,615	82.1	2,220	1,417	64.7
St. Bernard	11,087	5,594	11,415 ✓	100.0	858	449 ✓	39.4
St. Charles	13,363	5,139	5,676	100.0	2,254	1,783	75.9
St. Helena	9,013	2,440	2,615	100.0	2,085	1,614	74.4
St. James	15,334	4,288	4,115	96.0	3,818	2,097	56.1
St. John the Baptist	14,861	4,298	3,820 ✓	88.9	3,745	2,455 ✓	65.8
St. Landry	78,476	24,230	21,961	90.6	15,026	13,060	79.2
St. Martin	26,353	9,101	7,631	83.8	4,363	2,592	58.9
St. Mary	35,848	12,680	10,674	84.2	7,260	2,673	34.2
St. Tammany	26,988	11,455	13,393	100.0	4,155	2,038	45.8
Tangi Pahoa	53,218	21,254	18,231	85.8	8,696	3,765	39.4
Tensas	13,209	2,587	2,053	79.4	4,592	0	0
Terrabonne	43,328	17,440	14,109	80.9	5,170	1,067	18.1
Union	19,141	7,542	6,895	91.4	3,162	1,099	34.8
Vermillion	36,929	18,892	16,304	86.3	2,323	1,801	75.4
Vernon	18,974	9,536	9,649	100.0	1,312	892	60.7
Washington	38,371	15,188	15,529	100.0	6,155	1,843	28.3
Webster	35,704	13,606	12,957	95.2	6,618	1,776	25.6

LOUISIANA (Cont'd)

Parish	Total Pop. 1950	White Pop. Over 21 1950	White Registered 1956	% White Pop. Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1956	% Non-whites Registered
W. Baton Rouge	11,738	3,158	3,062	97.0	3,440	1,039	29.4
W. Carroll	17,248	7,223	2,650	36.7	1,531	292	20.6
W. Feliciana	10,169	2,134	1,290	60.4	4,076	0	0
Winn	16,119	7,012	6,649 ✓	94.8	2,489	1,435 ✓	57.9
Totals	2,683,516	1,105,861	900,636	82.0	481,304	151,900	28.7

NOTES:

1950 Population figures, U. S. Bureau of Census.
Registration figures from Secretary of State of Louisiana.

MISSISSIPPI

County	1950 Population	Negro Population	% Negro Population	Negroes Over 21	Negroes Registered	% Negroes Over 21 Registered
Adams	32,256	16,103	49.9	9,338	641	6.9
Alcorn	27,158	3,904	14.4	2,225	78	3.5
Amite	19,261	10,438	52.2	4,598	3	0.07
Attala	26,652	11,568	43.4	5,179	34	0.66
Benton	8,793	3,850	43.8	1,749	35	2.0
Bolivar	63,004	43,136	68.5	21,805	511	2.3
Calhoun	18,369	4,289	23.3	1,893	6	0.32
Carroll	15,499	8,836	57.0	3,958	0	0
Chickasaw	18,951	8,426	44.5	4,016	0	0
Choctaw	11,009	3,329	30.2	1,482	19	1.3
Claibourne	11,944	8,934	74.8	4,728	111	2.3
Clarke	19,362	7,803	40.7	3,849	0	0
Clay	17,757	10,097	56.9	4,922	12	0.24
Coahoma	49,361	35,659	72.2	19,136	1,070	5.6
Copiah	30,493	18,283	53.4	7,841	16	0.20
Covington	16,036	5,213	32.5	2,354	419	17.8
De Soto	24,599	16,522	67.2	8,013	1	0.01
Forrest	45,055	12,965	28.8	7,406	16	0.22
Franklin	10,929	4,304	39.4	2,294	70	3.1
George	10,012	1,231	12.3	618	0	0
Greene	8,215	1,504	18.3	758	38	5.0
Grenada	18,830	9,829	52.2	4,980	39	0.78
Hancock	11,891	2,039	17.1	1,131	449	39.7
Harrison	84,073	13,421	16.0	7,858	1,569	19.9
Hinds	142,164	63,917	45.0	35,021	4,089	11.7
Holmes	33,301	24,477	73.5	11,468	45	0.39
Humphreys	23,115	16,102	69.7	7,712	(now 0)37	0.48
Issaquena	4,966	3,349	67.4	1,790	0	0
Itawamba	17,216	937	5.4	470	42	8.9
Jackson	31,401	6,737	21.5	3,752	900	24.0
Jasper	18,912	9,719	51.4	4,313	9	0.21
Jefferson	11,306	8,419	74.5	4,304	0	0
Jeff Davis	15,500	8,610	55.5	3,923	1,038 (now 100)	26.5
Jones	57,235	15,028	26.3	8,046	872	10.9
Kemper	15,893	9,433	59.4	4,023	20	0.49
Lafayette	22,798	8,089	35.5	3,844	105	2.7
Lamar	13,225	2,106	15.9	1,110	0	0
Lauderdale	64,171	23,376	36.4	12,965	1,039	8.0
Lawrence	12,639	4,758	37.6	2,229	268	12.0
Leake	21,600	9,164	42.4	3,835	66	1.7
Lee	38,237	10,659	27.9	5,531	97	1.8
Leflore	51,813	35,331	68.2	17,893	297	1.7
Lincoln	23,899	9,185	32.9	4,507	516	11.4
Lowndes	37,852	18,410	48.6	9,177	117	1.3
Madison	33,860	24,934	73.6	11,586	431	3.7
Marion	23,967	8,392	35.0	4,103	331	8.1
Marshall	25,106	17,732	70.6	8,210	15	0.18
Monroe	36,543	13,714	37.5	6,734	18	0.27
Montgomery	14,470	6,224	43.0	2,978	0	0
Neshoba	25,730	6,666	25.9	2,984	8	0.27
Newton	22,661	7,852	34.6	3,687	52	1.4

MISSISSIPPI

County	1950 Population	Negro Population	% Negro Population	Negroes Over 21	Negroes Registered	% Negroes Over 21 Registered
Noxubee	20,022	14,905	74.4	6,764	0	0
Oktibbeha	24,569	11,751	47.8	5,409	128	2.4
Panola	31,271	17,489	55.9	8,628	1	0.01
Pearl River	20,641	4,493	21.8	2,454	0	0
Perry	9,108	2,211	24.3	1,136	58	5.1
Pike	35,137	15,709	44.7	7,608	137	1.8
Pontotoc	19,994	3,816	19.1	1,847	6	3.2
Prentiss	19,810	2,333	11.8	1,170	18	1.5
Quitman	25,885	15,702	60.7	7,844	234	2.9
Rankin	28,881	13,671	47.3	7,295	33	0.45
Scott	21,681	9,371	43.2	4,329	15	0.35
Sharkey	12,903	9,196	71.3	4,533	1	0.02
Simpson	21,819	7,270	33.3	3,351	61	1.8
Smith	16,740	3,390	20.3	1,400	6	0.43
Stone	6,264	1,365	21.8	746	25	3.4
Sunflower	56,031	38,159	68.1	18,949	114	0.60
Tallahatchie	30,486	19,408	63.7	9,235	0	0
Tate	18,011	10,371	57.6	4,989	0	0
Tippah	17,522	3,393	19.4	1,603	144	8.9
Tishomingo	15,544	806	5.2	463	17	3.7
Tunica	21,664	17,725	81.8	9,123	27	0.29
Union	20,262	3,856	17.9	1,904	67	3.5
Walthall	15,563	7,166	46.0	3,017	0	0
Warren	39,616	20,092	50.7	12,312	1,099	8.9
Washington	70,504	47,068	66.8	25,823	1,464	5.7
Wayne	17,010	6,218	36.6	2,857	0	0
Webster	11,607	2,692	23.2	1,243	3	0.24
Wilkinson	14,116	9,758	69.1	4,588	40	0.87
Winston	22,231	9,293	41.8	4,162	30	0.72
Yalobusha	15,191	6,662	43.9	3,142	9	0.29
Yazoo	35,712	22,080	61.8	11,126	81	0.73
TOTAL	2,178,914	990,282	45.4	497,354	19,367	3.89

Counties with NO Negroes registered	14	41
Counties with less than 1% of eligible Negroes registered	27	
Counties with more than 1% but less than 5% of eligible Negroes reg.	22	
Counties with more than 5% but less than 10% of eligible Negroes reg.	10	
Counties with more than 10% but less than 15% of eligible Negroes reg.	4	
Counties with more than 15% but less than 20% of eligible Negroes reg.	2	
Counties with more than 20% of eligible Negroes registered	3	
Total Counties	82	

Of the 82 counties in Mississippi, 73 counties have less than 10% of the Negroes over 21 years of age registered.

Perhaps even more dramatically, 41 counties (1/2 of all the counties) have less than 1% of the Negroes over 21 years of age registered.

Total population in Counties with NO Negroes registered - 229,524 of which 108,955 (47.5%) are Negroes.

SOUTH CAROLINA REGISTRATION STATISTICS**

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered May 1958	% White Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered May 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Abbeyville	22,456	8,951	5,420	60.6	3,678	118	3.2
Aiken	53,137	20,241	18,454	91.2	9,896	1,762	17.8
Allendale	11,773	2,091	2,419	100	3,891	140	3.6
Anderson	90,664	42,103	23,424	55.6	9,993	1,624	16.3
Bamberg	17,533	4,491	3,267	72.7	4,485	393	8.8
Barnwell	17,266	3,903	4,786	100	4,776	531	11.1
Beaufort	26,993	5,698	2,855	50.1	7,624	1,286	16.9
Berkeley	30,251	5,903	5,147	87.2	8,125	1,913	23.5
Calhoun	14,753	2,690	1,699	63.2	4,437	74	1.7
Charleston	164,856	59,381	32,859	55.3	34,111	7,277	21.3
Cherokee	34,992	15,304	10,612	69.3	3,692	664	18.0
Chesterfield	36,236	12,012	8,196	68.2	6,059	1,401	23.1
Chester	32,597	11,276	8,463	75.1	6,788	680	10.0
Clarendon	32,215	5,121	3,458	67.5	9,279	324	3.5
Colleton	28,242	7,942	5,695	71.7	6,768	735	10.9
Darlington	50,016	15,127	10,191	67.4	10,455	2,444	23.4
Dillon	30,930	8,481	4,924	58.1	6,520	816	12.5
Dorchester	22,601	5,931	5,330	89.9	5,772	412	7.1
Edgefield	16,591	4,190	3,267	78.0	4,312	270	6.3
Fairfield	21,780	5,207	4,218	81.0	5,931	750	12.6
Florence	79,710	24,652	16,090	65.3	16,650	1,863	11.2
Georgetown	31,762	8,038	4,667	58.1	7,321	911	12.4
Greenville	168,152	83,923	--	--	17,150	9,000*	52.5
Greenwood	41,628	18,050	10,844	60.1	6,782	838	12.4
Hampton	18,027	4,617	3,210	69.5	4,607	250	5.4
Horry	59,820	21,930	13,892	63.3	6,969	1,230	17.6
Jasper	10,995	2,181	1,975	90.6	3,281	489	14.9
Kershaw	32,287	9,527	8,706	91.4	7,065	1,084	15.3
Lancaster	37,071	14,582	12,084	82.9	5,111	893	17.5
Laurens	46,974	18,954	10,102	53.3	7,313	931	12.7
Lee	23,173	4,570	4,166	91.2	6,246	742	11.9
Lexington	44,279	20,628	14,106	68.4	4,698	213	4.5

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* Estimated, 1956, by Southern Regional Council.

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered May 1958	% White Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered May 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
McCormick	9,577	2,077	1,399	67.4	2,625	--	--
Marion	33,110	8,119	5,280	65.0	8,668	972	11.2
Marlboro	37,766	8,567	7,016	81.9	7,460	395	5.3
Newberry	31,711	12,540	7,984	63.7	5,896	496	8.4
Oconee	39,050	18,561	7,717	41.6	2,457	560	22.8
Orangeburg	68,726	15,339	10,068	65.6	19,158	2,220	11.6
Pickens	40,058	19,935	10,435	52.3	2,364	299	12.6
Richland	142,565	60,734	32,110	52.9	28,385	6,665	23.5
Saluda	15,924	5,517	4,135	75.0	2,971	216	7.3
Spartanburg	150,349	69,013	41,914	60.7	17,546	3,170	18.1
Sumter	57,634	14,453	7,574	52.4	14,807	2,704	18.3
Union	31,334	12,501	11,100	88.8	4,879	1,024	21.0
Williamsburg	43,807	7,572	6,156	81.3	12,121	234	1.9
York	71,596	28,100	16,552	58.9	10,904	2,414	22.1
	2,117,027	760,723	479,711	63.1	390,026	57,978	14.9

Total Non-white Pop. 1950	823,622
Total Negro Pop. 1950	822,077
Total Non-whites other than Negroes	1,545
Total White Pop. 1950	1,293,405
% Negro Pop. 1950	38.8
% Non-white Pop. 1950	38.9

** Population figures from Bureau of the Census, 1950. Registration figures from Secretary of State, South Carolina, as reproduced in a Report prepared by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for the Southern Regional Council.

TEXAS STATISTICS

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Anderson	31,875	14,292	5,345	37.4	5,323	1,761	33.1
Andrews	5,002	2,829	--	--	25	34	100.0*
Angelina	36,032	18,262	8,285	45.4	3,563	1,198	33.6
Aransas	4,252	2,532	--	--	73	63	86.3
Archer	6,816	4,119	--	--	17	2	11.8
Armstrong	2,215	1,433	--	--	6	--	--
Atacosa	20,048	10,495	--	--	125	36	28.8
Austin	14,663	8,100	4,151	51.2	1,642	800	48.7
Bailey	7,592	4,026	2,044	50.8	141	35	24.8
Bandera	4,410	2,896	--	--	14	2	14.3
Bastrop	19,622	8,556	2,793	32.6	3,385	1,524	45.0
Baylor	6,875	4,215	--	--	72	14	19.4
Bee	18,174	9,955	--	--	295	175	59.3
Bell	73,824	40,752	11,472	28.2	5,273	1,231	23.3
Bexar	500,460	279,792	122,430	43.7	22,310	7,767	34.8
Blanco	3,780	2,442	--	--	64	38	59.4
Borden	1,106	603	--	--	10	--	--
Bosque	11,836	7,748	--	--	215	68	31.6
Bowie	61,966	29,394	11,261	38.3	8,813	2,891	32.8
Brazoria	46,549	23,634	14,516	61.4	4,470	2,120	47.4
Brazos	38,390	17,372	8,878	51.1	5,006	1,583	31.6
Brewster	7,309	4,152	--	--	27	14	51.9
Briscoe	3,528	2,037	--	--	41	12	29.3
Brooks	9,195	4,841	--	--	22	6	27.3
Brown	28,607	18,019	--	--	590	258	43.7
Burleson	13,000	5,487	2,257	41.1	2,318	1,212	52.3
Burnet	10,356	6,463	--	--	133	42	31.6
Caldwell	19,350	9,637	3,527	36.6	1,785	818	45.8
Calhoun	9,222	4,957	--	--	429	177	41.3
Callahan	9,087	5,936	--	--	6	2	33.3
Cameron	125,170	65,317	--	--	648	127	19.6
Camp	8,740	3,473	2,216	63.8	1,946	1,000	51.4
Carson	6,852	4,098	--	--	11	5	45.5

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Cass	26,732	10,993	4,314	39.2	4,332	2,241	51.7
Castro	5,417	2,920	--	--	32	20	62.5
Chambers	7,871	3,795	3,429	63.9	876	795	90.8
Cherokee	38,694	18,376	6,595	35.9	6,447	1,984	29.2
Childress	12,123	7,007	--	--	517	123	23.6
Clay	9,896	6,166	--	--	65	30	46.2
Cochran	5,928	3,110	--	--	96	30	31.3
Coke	4,045	2,463	--	--	5	--	--
Coleman	15,503	9,765	--	--	237	86	36.3
Collin	41,692	24,349	6,653	27.3	2,077	688	33.1
Collingsworth	9,139	4,983	--	--	391	129	32.9
Colorado	17,576	8,506	5,187	60.9	2,567	1,222	47.6
Comal	16,357	9,794	--	--	160	16	10.0
Comanche	15,516	10,285	--	--	8	3	37.5
Concho	5,078	3,081	--	--	6	1	16.7
Cooke	22,146	13,138	--	--	616	130	21.1
Coryell	16,284	9,972	--	--	199	57	28.6
Cottle	6,099	3,387	--	--	213	60	28.2
Crane	3,965	2,259	--	--	51	54	100.0
Crocket	3,981	2,203	--	--	81	18	22.2
Crosby	9,582	5,123	--	--	410	138	33.7
Culberson	1,825	1,036	--	--	4	--	--
Dallam	7,640	4,631	--	--	27	8	29.6
Dallas	614,799	357,415	224,453	62.8	54,332	18,689	34.4
Dawson	19,113	9,963	13,051	100.0	550	134	24.4
Deaf Smith	9,111	5,291	--	--	4	4	100.0
Delta	8,964	5,025	--	--	509	125	24.6
Denton	41,365	23,438	7,455	31.8	1,362	305	22.4
DeWitt	22,973	12,386	4,638	37.4	1,975	934	47.3
Dickens	7,177	3,943	--	--	212	45	21.2
Dimmit	10,654	5,501	--	--	38	8	21.1
Donley	6,216	3,720	--	--	124	33	26.6
Duval	15,643	8,257	--	--	18	10	55.6
Eastland	23,942	15,725	--	--	213	100	46.9

TEXAS (Contd)

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Ector	42,102	24,726	12,724	51.5	988	217	21.9
Edwards	2,908	1,681	--	--	12	1	8.3
Ellis	45,645	22,445	4,750	21.2	5,811	2,122	36.5
El Paso	194,968	108,349	10,275	9.5	3,139	962	30.6
Erath	18,434	11,987	--	--	121	29	23.9
Falls	26,724	11,475	4,290	37.4	4,612	1,480	32.1
Fannin	31,253	18,121	14,675	80.9	1,851	874	47.2
Fayette	24,176	13,587	4,867	35.8	2,185	918	42.0
Fisher	11,023	6,060	--	--	304	79	25.9
Floyd	10,535	6,161	--	--	218	52	23.9
Foard	4,216	2,345	--	--	195	38	19.5
Fort Bend	31,056	13,805	6,531	47.3	4,437	1,861	41.9
Franklin	6,257	3,770	--	--	216	104	48.1
Freestone	15,696	6,219	2,244	36.1	3,197	1,611	50.4
Frio	10,357	5,365	--	--	45	14	31.1
Gaines	8,909	4,957	--	--	64	19	29.7
Galveston	113,066	57,319	37,393	65.2	15,520	7,330	47.2
Garza	6,281	3,536	--	--	151	47	31.1
Gillespie	10,520	6,826	--	--	11	6	54.5
Glasscock	1,089	632	--	--	4	1	25.0
Goliad	6,219	3,299	--	--	402	182	45.3
Gonzales	21,164	10,438	3,225	30.9	2,134	784	36.7
Gray	24,728	14,857	--	--	424	77	18.7
Grayson	70,467	42,093	12,725	30.2	3,892	2,132	54.8
Gregg	61,258	29,620	18,912	63.8	8,595	5,102	59.4
Grimes	15,135	5,783	4,558	76.9	3,427	1,688	49.3
Guadalupe	25,392	12,911	4,297	32.3	2,101	979	46.6
Hale	28,211	15,995	--	--	602	100	16.6
Hall	10,930	5,804	--	--	480	156	32.5
Hamilton	10,660	7,152	--	--	4	1	25.0
Hansford	4,205	2,506	--	--	4	--	--
Hardeman	10,212	5,934	--	--	475	164	34.5
Hardin	19,535	9,643	4,339	45.0	1,815	1,099	60.6
Harris	806,701	426,225	252,248	54.3	96,679	5,994	6.2

TEXAS (Cont'd

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Harrison	47,745	14,623	4,449	11.2	12,840	3,743	29.2
Hartley	1,913	1,176	--	--	10	1	10.0
Haskell	13,736	7,707	--	--	454	80	17.6
Hays	17,840	9,396	2,750	29.3	718	315	43.9
Hemphill	4,123	2,427	--	--	--	--	--
Henderson	23,405	11,663	6,478	55.6	2,531	981	38.8
Hidalgo	160,446	82,211	--	--	801	150	18.7
Hill	31,282	17,370	5,261	30.3	2,445	595	24.3
Hockley	20,407	10,774	--	--	483	59	12.2
Hood	5,287	3,487	--	--	28	29	100.0
Hopkins	23,490	13,528	9,235	68.3	1,395	493	35.3
Houston	22,825	8,818	3,859	43.8	4,631	1,755	37.9
Howard	26,722	15,611	--	--	522	186	35.6
Hudspeth	4,298	2,289	--	--	19	10	52.6
Hunt	42,731	23,752	7,997	33.7	3,411	998	29.3
Hutchinson	31,580	18,099	--	--	340	172	50.6
Irion	1,590	953	--	--	11	--	--
Jack	7,755	4,983	--	--	42	12	28.6
Jackson	12,916	6,405	3,561	55.6	993	369	37.2
Jasper	20,049	8,720	3,988	45.7	2,790	1,211	43.4
Jeff Davis	2,090	1,187	--	--	19	5	26.3
Jefferson	195,083	96,405	67,282	69.8	26,477	10,161	38.4
Jim Hogg	5,389	2,938	--	--	10	3	30.0
Jim Wells	27,991	14,545	--	--	275	51	18.5
Johnson	31,390	19,296	6,743	34.9	1,048	181	17.3
Jones	22,147	12,877	2,626	20.4	700	167	23.9
Karnes	17,139	9,049	--	--	359	170	47.4
Kaufman	31,170	14,969	3,989	26.6	4,782	1,507	31.5
Kendall	5,243	3,991	--	--	49	27	55.1
Kenedy	632	307	--	--	--	--	--
Kent	2,249	1,321	--	--	36	10	27.8
Kerr	14,022	8,782	--	--	393	114	29.0
Kimble	4,619	2,855	--	--	4	3	75.0
King	870	448	--	--	36	9	25.0
Kinney	2,668	1,473	--	--	126	92	73.0

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Kleberg	21,991	11,589	--	--	521	255	48.9
Knox	10,082	5,434	--	--	312	63	20.2
Lamar	43,033	22,150	8,285	37.4	4,617	1,200	26.0
Lamb	20,015	10,575	--	--	645	203	31.5
Lampass	9,929	6,215	--	--	146	62	42.5
LaSalle	7,485	3,887	--	--	11	7	63.6
Lavaca	22,157	12,803	6,648	51.9	1,291	499	38.7
Lee	10,144	4,763	2,399	50.4	1,399	751	53.7
Leon	12,024	4,787	1,798	37.6	2,538	1,318	51.9
Liberty	26,729	12,323	9,098	73.8	3,359	1,756	52.3
Limestone	25,251	11,906	5,229	43.9	3,959	2,154	54.4
Lipscomb	3,658	2,241	--	--	2	1	50.0
Live Oak	9,054	4,807	--	--	21	2	9.5
Llano	5,377	3,541	--	--	40	13	32.5
Loving	227	136	--	--	1	4	100.0
Lubbock	101,048	55,662	21,605	38.8	4,481	542	12.1
Lynn	11,030	5,930	--	--	330	51	15.5
Madison	7,996	3,544	1,442	40.7	1,352	539	39.9
Marion	10,172	2,778	823	29.6	3,086	1,606	52.0
Martin	5,541	2,856	--	--	120	40	33.3
Mason	4,945	3,153	--	--	37	3	8.1
Matagorda	21,559	10,017	6,182	61.7	2,787	1,182	42.4
Maverick	12,292	6,762	--	--	27	4	14.8
McCulloch	11,701	7,154	--	--	238	79	33.2
McLennan	130,194	70,656	31,700	44.9	13,326	4,800	36.0
McMullen	1,187	729	--	--	5	10	100.0
Medina	17,013	9,481	--	--	139	44	31.7
Menard	4,175	2,570	--	--	27	8	29.6
Midland	25,785	14,329	10,405	72.6	1,258	763	60.7
Milam	23,585	11,853	5,086	42.9	2,735	925	33.8
Mills	5,999	3,954	--	--	2	1	50.0
Mitchell	14,357	8,022	--	--	447	263	58.8
Montague	17,070	11,078	--	--	4	--	--
Montgomery	24,504	10,901	5,642	51.8	3,530	1,788	50.7
Moore	13.349	7,443	--	--	16	1	6.3

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Morris	9,433	4,047	1,705	42.1	1,529	545	35.6
Motley	3,963	2,221	--	--	130	34	26.2
Nacogdoches	30,326	13,524	5,961	44.1	4,378	1,499	34.2
Navarro	39,916	19,427	5,468	28.1	5,574	1,535	27.4
Newton	10,832	3,971	2,181	54.9	1,923	1,071	45.7
Nolan	19,808	11,741	--	--	449	90	20.0
Nueces	165,471	88,949	40,608	45.7	5,182	1,696	32.7
Ochiltree	6,024	3,618	--	--	4	--	--
Oldham	1,672	924	--	--	1	--	--
Orange	40,567	20,784	13,731	66.1	20,784	664	3.2
Palo Pinto	17,154	11,031	--	--	454	643	100.0
Panola	19,250	7,806	3,737	47.9	3,035	1,434	47.2
Parker	21,528	13,562	--	--	185	86	46.5
Parmer	5,787	3,356	--	--	11	3	27.3
Pecos	9,939	5,451	--	--	87	18	20.7
Polk	16,194	6,949	2,432	34.0	2,624	1,247	47.5
Potter	73,366	44,735	7,419	16.6	2,408	319	13.2
Presidio	7,354	3,974	--	--	50	10	20.0
Rains	4,266	2,417	--	--	198	92	46.5
Randall	13,774	8,356	--	--	45	4	8.9
Reagan	3,127	1,809	--	--	78	20	25.6
Real	2,479	1,432	--	--	4	1	25.0
Red River	21,851	10,285	3,528	34.3	2,787	965	34.6
Reeves	11,745	6,546	--	--	146	43	29.5
Refugio	10,113	5,054	--	--	653	235	36.0
Roberts	1,031	649	--	--	--	--	--
Robertson	19,908	7,288	3,017	41.4	4,371	1,900	43.5
Rockwall	6,156	2,935	2,368	80.7	770	313	40.6
Runnels	16,771	10,050	--	--	286	60	21.0
Rusk	42,348	18,879	9,464	50.1	6,614	3,380	51.1
Sabine	8,568	3,833	2,819	73.5	1,198	507	42.3
San Augustine	8,837	3,412	1,288	37.7	1,515	538	35.5
San Jacinto	7,172	2,042	654	32.0	1,981	1,070	54.0
San Patricio	35,842	18,133	--	--	406	93	22.9

TEXAS (Cont'd)

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
San Saba	8,666	5,325	--	--	48	21	43.8
Schleicher	2,852	1,610	--	--	39	17	25.6
Scurry	22,779	13,820	--	--	197	62	31.5
Shackelford	5,001	3,164	--	--	84	25	29.8
Shelby	23,479	10,971	4,379	39.9	2,963	1,284	43.3
Sherman	2,443	1,474	--	--	2	--	--
Smith	74,701	33,642	12,287	36.5	12,599	3,776	29.0
Somervell	2,542	1,713	--	--	1	--	--
Starr	13,948	7,175	--	--	4	--	--
Stephens	10,957	6,796	--	--	244	201	82.4
Sterling	1,282	777	--	--	11	1	9.1
Stonewall	3,679	2,118	--	--	59	26	44.1
Sutton	3,746	2,038	--	--	17	5	29.4
Swisher	8,249	4,808	--	--	72	16	22.2
Tarrant	361,253	212,892	131,076	61.6	26,495	5,265	19.9
Taylor	63,370	38,112	11,883	31.2	1,659	333	20.1
Terrell	3,189	1,796	--	--	9	4	44.4
Terry	13,107	7,080	--	--	216	62	28.7
Throckmorton	3,618	2,328	--	--	1	1	100.0
Titus	17,302	8,894	--	--	1,721	871	50.6
Tom Green	58,929	35,053	--	--	1,891	612	32.4
Travis	160,980	88,502	47,355	53.5	13,890	5,353	41.5
Trinity	10,040	4,549	1,703	37.4	1,576	1,524	96.7
Tyler	11,292	5,435	--	--	1,172	432	36.9
Upshur	20,822	9,366	4,942	52.8	3,032	1,523	50.2
Upton	5,307	3,004	--	--	122	95	77.9
Uvalde	16,015	8,975	--	--	130	33	25.4
Val Verde	16,635	9,099	--	--	202	60	29.7
Van Zandt	22,593	13,306	--	--	811	361	44.5
Victoria	31,241	16,836	6,745	40.1	2,051	648	31.6
Walker	20,163	8,297	2,109	25.4	4,322	1,677	38.8
Waller	11,961	3,598	1,225	34.0	3,150	1,391	44.2
Ward	13,346	7,349	--	--	213	98	46.0
Washington	20,542	9,200	6,048	65.7	3,957	2,048	51.8

TEXAS (Cont'd)

County	Pop. 1950	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1956	% Whites Over 21 Registered	Non-white Pop. Over 21 1950	Non-whites Over 21 Registered 1958	% Non-whites Over 21 Registered
Webb	56,141	30,238	--	--	82	4	4.9
Wharton	36,077	16,248	8,899	54.8	4,337	1,957	45.1
Wheeler	10,317	5,937	--	--	162	35	21.6
Wichita	98,493	56,513	20,748	36.7	3,935	1,021	25.9
Wilbarger	20,552	11,591	--	--	1,011	323	31.9
Willacy	20,920	10,574	--	--	80	25	31.3
Williamson	38,853	20,885	6,499	31.1	3,203	711	22.2
Wilson	14,672	7,998	--	--	179	84	46.9
Winkler	10,064	5,778	--	--	120	77	64.2
Wise	16,141	10,341	--	--	83	23	27.7
Wood	21,308	11,519	--	--	1,712	677	39.5
Yoakum	4,339	2,425	--	--	8	18	100.0
Young	16,810	10,737	--	--	103	26	25.2
Zapata	4,405	2,461	--	--	1	--	--
Zavala	11,201	5,738	--	--	59	31	52.5
TOTAL	7,711,194	4,154,281	1,489,847	48.8**	582,944	226,450	38.8

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* Where percentages exceed 100, 100 is shown. Population shifts, changes in age, since 1950 account for this discrepancy.

** Computed on basis of counties for which white registration figures are available.

NOTES:
(1) Texas Negro population, 1950, 977,458; total non-white population, 984,660.
(2) Population figures are from Bureau of Census.
(3) Registration figures for Negroes represent paid poll tax counts and estimates made for Southern Regional Council. Texas has no registration as such.
(4) Registration figures for whites are from a report by Dr. Henry A. Bullock, Chairman, Graduate School Research, Texas Southern University, for the Southern Regional Council.

VIRGINIA REGISTRATION STATISTICS

County	1950 Population	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% Whites Registered 1958	Non-whites Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1958	% Non-whites Registered 1958
Accomack	33,832	15,382	4,469	29.1	6,591	493	7.5
Albemarle	26,662	13,385	4,120	30.8	2,840	645	22.7
Alleghany	23,139	12,528	2,056	16.4	1,193	158	13.2
Amelia	7,908	2,390	1,975	82.6	1,999	607	30.4
Amherst	20,332	9,009	4,586	50.9	2,854	596	20.9
Appomattox	8,764	3,993	2,390	59.9	1,107	150	13.6
Arlington	135,449	87,177	43,252	49.6	4,248	1,274	30.0
Augusta	34,154	18,925	7,271	38.4	956	175	18.3
Bath	6,296	3,283	1,704	51.9	480	72	15.0
Bedford	29,627	14,482	6,130	42.3	2,916	855	29.3
Bland	6,436	3,551	1,672	47.1	79	17	21.5
Botetourt	15,766	8,369	4,740	56.6	891	0	0
Brunswick	20,136	5,156	3,856	74.8	5,503	770	14.0
Buchanan	35,748	15,744	11,627	73.9	6	0	0
Buckingham	12,288	4,124	1,075	26.1	2,493	440	17.6
Campbell	28,877	13,307	5,358	40.3	3,357	775	23.1
Caroline	12,471	3,848	1,410	36.6	3,086	502	16.3
Carroll	26,695	14,551	6,445	44.3	200	11	5.5
Charles City	4,676	606	554	91.4	1,930	704	36.5
Charlotte	14,057	5,034	3,296	65.5	2,702	284	10.5
Chesterfield	40,400	20,025	11,325	56.6	4,489	1,270	28.3
Clarke	7,074	3,620	2,105	58.1	746	225	30.2
Craig	3,452	2,060	1,080	52.4	13	0	0
Culpeper	13,242	6,169	2,827	45.8	1,907	477	25.0
Cumberland	7,252	1,953	1,475	75.5	1,996	300	15.0
Dickenson	23,393	10,507	9,260	88.1	163	45	27.6
Dinwiddie	18,839	4,169	3,424	82.1	7,879	836	10.6
Elizabeth City	55,028	27,514	6,250*	22.7	6,973	650*	9.3
Essex	6,530	2,203	845	38.4	1,594	225	14.1
Fairfax	98,557	52,907	47,506	89.8	6,563	1,074	16.4
Fauquier	21,248	9,638	3,937	40.8	2,912	183	6.3
Floyd	11,351	6,250	4,433	70.9	236	105	44.5
Fluvanna	7,121	3,028	808	26.7	1,301	82	6.3
Franklin	24,560	11,801	3,609	30.6	1,750	386	22.1

VIRGINIA (Cont'd)

County	1950 Population	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% Whites Registered 1958	Non-whites Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1958	% Non-whites Registered 1958
Frederick	17,537	10,051	4,221	42.0	214	45	21.0
Giles	18,956	10,338	4,950	47.9	265	51	19.2
Gloucester	10,343	4,588	2,949	64.3	1,960	647	33.0
Goochland	8,934	2,968	1,950	65.7	2,515	675	26.8
Grayson	21,379	12,010	6,430	53.5	462	71	15.4
Greene	4,745	2,186	1,700	77.8	357	87	24.4
Greeneville	16,319	4,058	2,810	69.2	4,506	875	19.4
Halifax	41,442	17,952	5,570	31.0	8,675	582	6.7
Hanover	21,985	9,715	4,640	47.8	3,388	535	15.8
Henrico	57,340	33,337	29,958	89.9	3,253	855	26.3
Henry	31,219	13,383	6,270	46.9	3,474	351	10.1
Highland	4,069	2,394	1,247	52.1	103	10	9.7
Isle of Wight	14,906	4,520	3,592	79.5	3,957	931	23.5
James City	6,317	2,247	1,123	50.0	1,590	342	21.5
King George	6,710	3,042	1,200	39.4	987	325	32.9
King & Queen	6,299	1,837	565	30.8	1,795	350	19.5
King William	7,589	2,612	1,100	42.1	1,888	305	16.2
Lancaster	8,640	3,355	1,660 —	49.5	2,015	415	20.6
Lee	36,106	18,139	12,183	67.2	257	128	49.8
Loudoun	21,147	10,429	7,498	71.9	2,098	421	20.1
Louisa	12,826	4,919	2,085	42.4	2,602	379	14.6
Lunenburg	14,116	5,010	2,200	43.9	2,905	460	15.8
Madison	8,273	3,865	1,985	51.2	976	125	12.8
Mathews	7,148	3,912	1,475	37.7	1,139	200	17.6
Mecklenburg	33,497	10,479	5,250	50.1	7,655	630	8.2
Middlesex	6,715	2,675	1,003	37.5	1,568	203	12.9
Montgomery	29,780	16,609	6,100	36.7	959	430	44.8
Nansemond	25,238	5,441	2,909	53.5	8,931	1,338	15.0
Nelson	14,042	6,145	3,078	50.1	1,882	366	19.4
New Kent	3,995	1,159	808	69.7	1,150	374	32.5
Norfolk	99,937	48,670	59,422	100.0	8,898	9,888	100.0
Northampton	17,300	5,688	2,275	40.0	5,105	520	10.2
Northumberland	10,012	4,038	3,070	76.0	2,118	1,480	69.9
Nottoway	15,479	5,665	2,655	46.9	3,607	565	15.7
Orange	12,755	5,978	2,274	38.0	1,791	257	14.3

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County	1950 Population	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% Whites Registered 1958	Non-whites Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1958	% Non-whites Registered 1958
Page	15,152	8,698	5,900	67.8	313	110	35.1
Patrick	15,642	7,711	3,900	50.6	626	80	12.8
Pittsylvania	66,096	26,440	6,425	24.3	9,271	493	5.3
Powhatan	5,556	1,783	1,365	76.6	1,349	431	31.9
Prince Edward	15,398	5,238	2,750	52.5	3,468	700	20.2
Prince George	19,679	8,148	1,819	22.3	8,148	427	5.2
Princess Anne	42,277	20,306	15,158	74.6	5,724	1,415	24.7
Prince William	22,612	11,945	3,851	33.6	1,524	354	23.2
Pulaski	27,758	14,544	7,572	52.0	1,165	505	43.3
Rappahannock	6,112	2,876	2,150	74.8	617	210	34.0
Richmond	6,189	2,642	2,150	81.4	1,077	210	19.5
Roanoke	41,486	23,715	18,647	78.6	2,321	788	34.0
Rockbridge	23,359	12,349	4,837	39.2	1,211	345	28.5
Rockingham	35,079	20,265	7,855	38.8	409	78	19.1
Russell	26,818	13,384	6,963	52.0	370	89	24.1
Scott	27,640	14,861	6,320	42.5	187	40	21.4
Shenandoah	21,169	12,900	6,205	48.1	231	55	23.8
Smyth	30,187	16,710	7,931	47.5	289	91	31.5
Southampton	26,522	6,661	3,630	54.5	7,972	525	6.6
Spotsylvania	11,920	5,453	3,500	64.2	1,470	400	27.2
Stafford	11,902	6,229	2,940	47.2	800	345	43.1
Surry	6,220	1,598	1,075	67.3	1,341	265	19.7
Sussex	12,785	2,834	2,275	80.3	4,034	635	15.7
Tazewell	47,512	23,244	7,140	30.7	1,667	347	16.6
Warren	14,801	8,168	3,911	47.9	663	179	27.0
Warwick	39,875	16,646	11,116*	66.8	7,129	1,303*	18.3
Washington	37,536	19,929	7,686	38.6	741	178	24.0
Westmoreland	10,148	3,644	3,177	87.2	2,285	366	16.0
Wise	56,336	28,318	11,044	39.0	1,376	51	3.7
Wythe	23,327	12,526	12,134	96.9	633	260	41.1
York	11,750	5,309	2,715	51.1	1,699	520	30.6
CITY							
Alexandria	61,787	37,163	27,175	73.1	5,129	871	17.0
Bristol	15,954	8,843	3,000	33.9	704	230	32.7
Buena Vista	5,214	2,794	1,093	39.1	148	31	20.9

VIRGINIA (Cont'd)

City	1950 Population	Whites Over 21 1950	Whites Registered 1958	% Whites Registered 1958	Non-whites Over 21 1950	Non-whites Registered 1958	% Non-whites Registered 1956
Charlottesville	25,969	14,763	9,467	64.1	3,079	1,171	38.0
Clifton Forge	5,795	3,347	2,000	59.8	645	216	33.5
Colonial Heights	60,771	4,178	2,500	59.8	7	0	0
Covington	5,860	--	2,755	-	--	460	0
Danville	35,066	17,024	9,893	58.1	6,517	1,557	23.9
Falls Church	7,535	4,581	3,297	72.0	90	55	61.1
Fredericksburg	12,158	6,583	3,853	58.5	1,224	558	45.6
Galax	5,248	--	1,350	-	--	10	0
Hampton	5,966	2,750	14,811	100.0	1,644	2,629	100.0
Harrisonburg	10,810	6,508	3,200	49.2	433	185	42.7
Hopewell	10,219	5,547	4,000	72.1	917	310	33.8
Lynchburg	47,727	25,019	47,992	71.9	6,506	2,576	39.6
Martinsville	17,251	--	3,397	-	--	410	0
Newport News	42,358	16,324	6,626	40.6	11,754	4,743	40.4
Norfolk	213,513	99,609	6,739	6.8	42,028	1,301	3.1
Norton	--	--	1,386	-	--	73	0
Petersburg	35,054	14,073	6,029	42.8	9,399	2,207	23.5
Portsmouth	80,039	31,827	11,415	35.9	19,196	4,309	22.4
Radford	9,026	5,001	3,957	79.1	369	241	65.3
Richmond	230,310	115,245	55,666	48.3	48,257	12,346	25.6
Roanoke	91,921	53,274	33,825	63.5	9,420	2,699	28.7
South Norfolk	10,434	5,264	3,850	73.1	1,434	685	47.8
Staunton	19,927	12,615	5,337	42.3	1,397	396	28.3
Suffolk	12,339	5,497	2,988	54.4	3,004	675	22.5
Virginia Beach	--	--	3,591	-	--	123	0
Warwick	--	--	4,950	-	7,129	860	12.1
Waynesboro	12,357	7,111	4,165	58.6	564	144	25.5
Williamsburg	6,735	4,041	1,173	29.0	569	120	21.1
Winchester	13,841	8,776	3,996	45.5	722	91	12.6
STATE TOTALS	3,318,680	1,614,719	864,692	53.6	431,393	93,629	21.7

Total Non-white population for State, all ages, 1950 - 737,125 (22.1% of total).
Total Negro population for State, all ages, 1950 - 734,211

Population figures from Bureau of the Census.
Registration figures furnished by Virginia State Advisory Committee.

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* 1952 figures latest available.

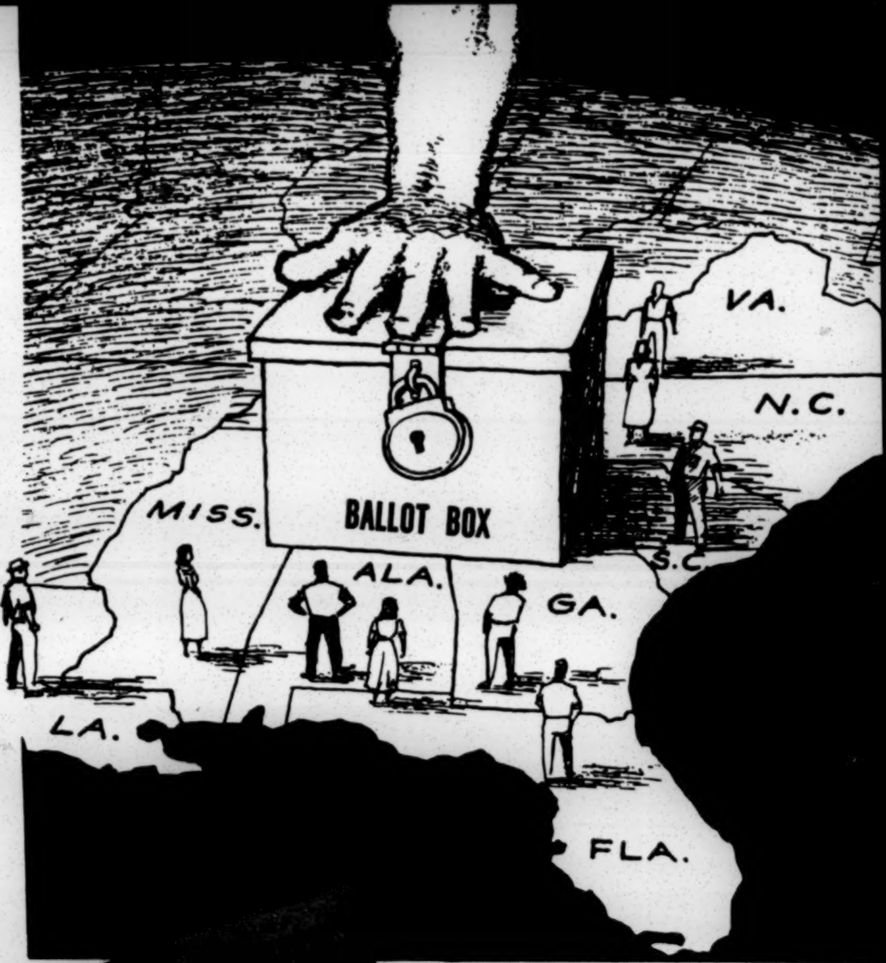
	Population 1950	Est. Population 1958	% Voting Age Whites Registered	% Voting Age Non-whites Registered	% Homes with hot running water, private toilet, bath, and not dilapidated	% Urban Population 1950	% Homes with less than 1.00 persons per room	% of Units occupied by non-white	% of Total Population Non-white 1950	Median School Years Completed by Persons 25 years old or over.	Difference by which median school years completed by whites over 25 exceeds median school years by Non-whites over 25.
Alabama	3,061,743	3,211,000	67.3	14.2	31.6	43.8	69.5	29.3	32.1	7.9	3.4
Alaska	128,643	—				26.6				11.3	8.2
Arizona	749,587	1,140,000			62.5	55.5	72.4	9.7	12.7	10.0	5.1
Arkansas	1,909,511	1,766,000	57.9	27.6	28.7	33.0	73.3	21.2	22.4	8.3	3.1
California	10,586,223	14,337,000			86.0	80.7	87.7	5.0	6.3	11.6	2.9
Colorado	1,325,089	1,711,000			61.1	62.7	82.0	1.8	2.1	10.9	1.1
Connecticut	2,007,280	2,316,000			81.8	77.6	90.3	2.2	2.7	9.8	1.4
Delaware	318,085	454,000			69.6	62.6	90.4	12.1	13.9	9.8	3.2
D. C.	802,178	825,000			87.0	100.0	85.9	27.9	35.4	12.0	3.6
Florida	2,771,305	4,442,000*	62.0	24.6	60.1	65.5	82.0	18.8	21.8	9.6	5.1
Georgia	3,444,578	3,818,000	72.7	25.8	35.8	45.3	72.8	28.0	30.9	7.8	3.9
Hawaii	499,794	---			----	69.0	----	----	----	8.7	---
Idaho	588,637	662,000			61.6	42.9	77.8	1.0	1.2	11.0	2.4
Illinois	8,712,176	9,889,000			67.0	77.6	87.4	6.6	7.6	9.3	1.0
Indiana	3,934,224	4,581,000			56.2	59.9	86.2	3.9	4.4	9.6	1.4
Iowa	2,621,073	2,822,000			51.4	47.7	89.7	0.7	0.8	9.8	1.3
Kansas	1,905,299	2,116,000			57.8	52.1	88.4	3.6	4.0	10.2	1.6
Kentucky	2,944,806	3,080,000			35.5	36.8	74.9	7.3	6.9	8.4	1.2
Louisiana	2,683,516	3,110,000	81.4	28.7	40.5	54.8	73.8	30.8	33.0	7.6	4.2
Maine	913,744	952,000			52.4	51.7	87.9	0.2	0.3	10.2	1.7
Maryland	2,343,001	2,956,000			71.3	69.0	87.7	13.6	16.6	8.9	2.6
Massachusetts	4,690,514	4,862,000			79.2	84.4	90.2	1.5	1.7	10.9	1.8
Michigan	6,371,766	7,866,000			70.4	70.7	89.1	5.4	7.1	9.9	1.5
Minnesota	2,982,483	3,375,000			52.7	54.5	87.0	0.8	1.0	9.0	0.2
Mississippi	2,178,914	2,186,000		3.9	25.2	27.9	67.9	42.3	45.4	8.1	4.8
Missouri	3,954,653	4,271,000			48.5	61.5	83.2	6.8	7.6	8.8	0.9

	Population 1950	Est. Population 1958	% Voting Age Whites Registered	% Voting Age Non-whites Registered	% Homes with hot running water, private toilet, bath, and not dilapidated	% Urban Population 1950	% Homes with less than 1.00 persons per room	% of Units occupied by non-white	% of Total Population non-white 1950	Median School Years Completed by Persons 25 years old or over.	Difference by which median school years completed by whites over 25 exceeds median school years by Non-whites over 25.
Montana	591,024	688,000			56.3	43.7	81.0	2.1	3.2	10.2	2.3
Nebraska	1,325,510	1,457,000			56.5	46.9	87.4	1.5	1.8	10.1	1.3
Nevada	160,083	267,000			73.7	57.2	83.7	5.2	6.4	11.5	4.3
New Hampshire	533,242	584,000			64.8	57.5	91.1	0.2	0.2	9.8	1.1
New Jersey	4,835,229	5,749,000			83.5	86.6	89.4	5.3	6.7	9.3	1.4
New Mexico	681,187	842,000			51.0	50.2	66.0	5.6	7.5	9.3	3.7
New York	14,830,192	16,229,000			83.5	85.5	87.6	5.4	6.5	9.6	1.1
North Carolina	4,061,929	4,549,000			34.5	33.7	74.9	22.7	26.6	7.9	2.7
North Dakota	619,636	650,000			33.6	26.6	79.5	1.2	1.8	8.7	1.8
Ohio	7,946,627	9,345,000			69.8	70.2	89.1	5.4	6.5	9.9	1.6
Oklahoma	2,233,351	2,285,000			51.7	51.0	80.0	7.8	9.0	9.1	1.6
Oregon	1,521,341	1,773,000			74.0	53.9	87.3	1.2	1.6	10.9	2.0
Pennsylvania	10,498,012	11,101,000			71.6	70.5	89.3	5.5	6.1	9.0	0.8
Rhode Island	791,896	875,000			62.2	84.3	90.3	1.6	1.9	9.3	0.9
South Carolina	2,117,027	2,404,000	63.1	14.9	34.3	36.7	71.1	34.5	38.9	7.6	4.2
South Dakota	652,740	699,000			38.0	33.2	84.6	2.5	3.7	8.9	0.8
Tennessee	3,291,718	3,469,000			36.0	44.1	74.7	15.5	16.1	8.4	2.1
Texas	77,111,940	9,377,000**	48.8	38.8	53.2	62.7	76.7	12.1	12.8	9.3	2.7
Utah	688,862	865,000			79.8	65.3	76.6	1.4	1.7	12.0	3.1
Vermont	377,747	372,000			65.3	36.4	91.0	0.1	0.1	10.0	---
Virginia	3,318,680	3,935,000	53.6	21.7	49.7	47.0	80.9	19.4	22.2	8.5	3.2
Washington	2,378,963	2,769,000			78.8	63.2	88.7	2.0	2.6	11.2	2.5
West Virginia	2,005,552	1,969,000			44.6	34.6	77.4	5.3	5.7	8.5	1.0

	Population 1950	Est. Population 1958	% Voting Age Whites Registered	% Voting Age Non-whites Registered	% Homes with hot running water, private toilet, bath, and not dilapidated.	% Urban Population 1950	% Homes with less than 1.00 persons per room.	% of Units occupied by non-white	% of Total Population non-white 1950	Median School Years Completed by Persons 25 years old or over.	Difference by which median school years completed v whites over 25 exeeds median school years by Non-whites over 25.
Wisconsin	3,434,575	3,839,000			58.5	57.9	88.8	0.9	1.2	8.9	0.5
Wyoming	290,529	320,000			60.5	49.8	77.8	1.6	2.2	11.1	2.6
TOTALS	150,697,361	173,260,000			63.1	64.0	84.3	8.8	10.5	9.3	2.8

* Significant Population change 1950 to 1958 Destroys Statistical Reliability of Percentages Based on 1950 Population Figures
Adjusted on Assumption of Constant Percentage of Non-white Voting Age Population, 1950-1958.

** Based on 95 Counties out of 254. White Registration not available in Remaining Counties. White over-age 21 in 95 Counties, 1950, 3,655,138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Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1958

PROGRAM

WELCOME

INVOCATION

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

REPORTS FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES:

HYMN:

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

BENEDICTION

Coordinator of Conference, Southern Conference Educational Fun

THE RT. REV. EDGAR A. LOVE, *Conference Chairman*

THE REV. W. RALPH STUTZMAN, *Acting Minister,*
All Souls' Unitarian Church

AUBREY WILLIAMS, Montgomery, Ala.,
President of Southern Conference Educational Fund

ALABAMA
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, *President, Tuskegee, Ala., Civic Association*

FLORIDA
THE REV. BEN F. WYLAND, *Executive Secretary,*
Florida Council for Racial Cooperation, St. Petersburg, Fla.

GEORGIA
AUSTIN T. WALDEN, *Civil Rights Attorney,* Atlanta, Ga.

LOUISIANA
KENNETH WALKER, *Publisher, Colfax Chronicle,* Colfax, La.

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING
Audience (words on back page)

MISSISSIPPI
ALBERT POWELL, *President,*
Mississippi Progressive Voters League, Jackson, Miss.
(Report prepared jointly by Albert Powell and Aaron Henry, executive secretary, Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Clarksdale, Miss.)

NORTH CAROLINA
MISS WILLSON WHITMAN, *Author and Editor,* Southern Pines, N. C.

SOUTH CAROLINA
MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS, *Civil Rights Leader,* Columbia, S. C.

VIRGINIA
W. HALE THOMPSON, *Civil Rights Attorney,* Newport News, Va.

SPECIAL REPORT ON BALTIMORE
DR. JOHN L. TILLEY,
Leader in Successful Voter Registration Drive in Baltimore

DR. JAMES A. NABRIT, *Secretary of Howard University,* Washington

THE REV. JAMES D. FOY, *Pastor, Asbury Methodist Church*

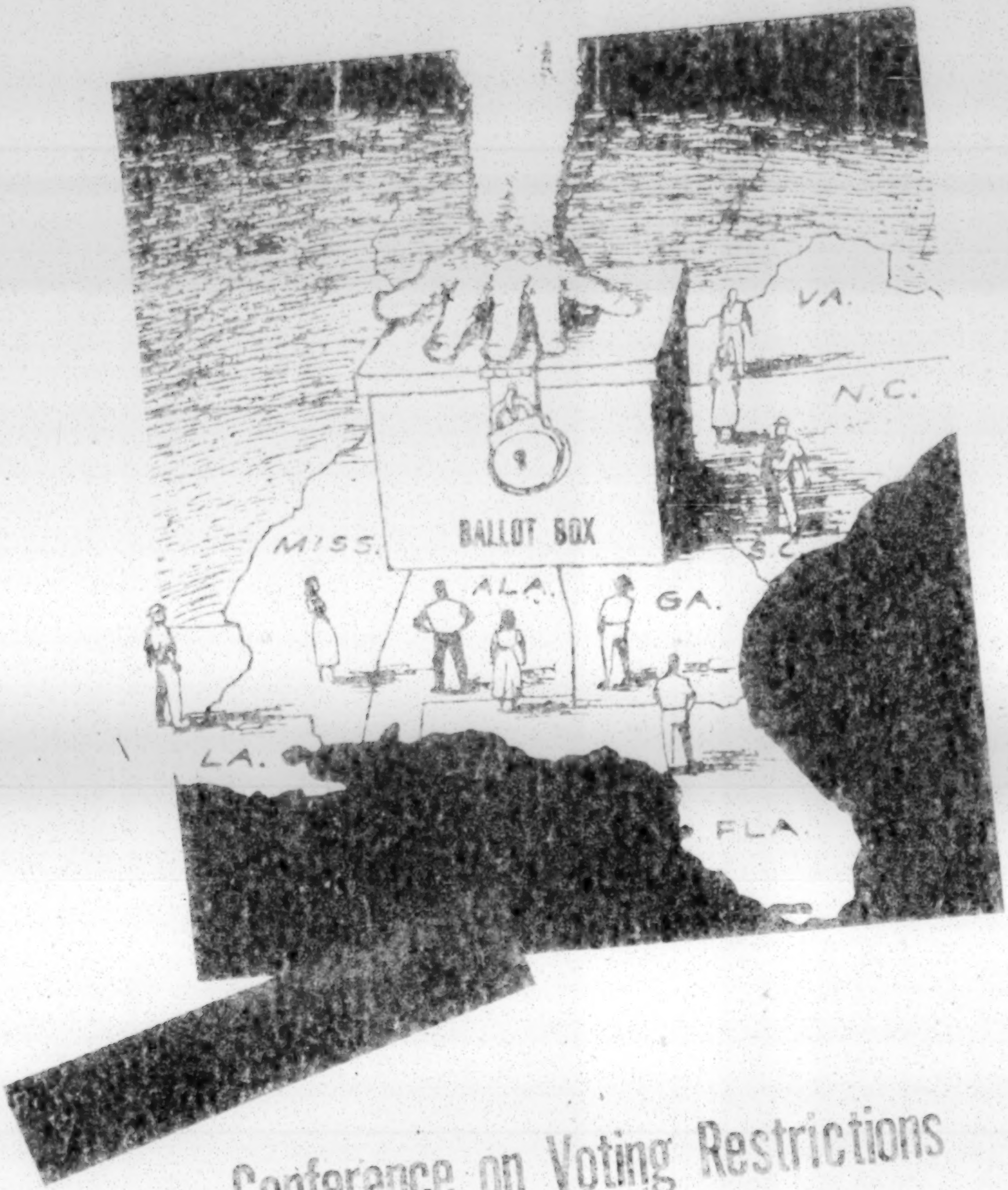
; *Conference Chairman,* BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE; *Local Chairman,* FRANCIS GREGORY

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift every voice and sing, till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise, high as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us;
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered;
We have come, treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered;
Out of the gloomy past, 'til now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we meet Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.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Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1958

For individual reports by states - see state files.

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

THE REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN IN BALTIMORE

By Dr. John L. Tilley, pastor of New Metropolitan
Baptist Church and Chairman of the Campaign

The Citizens Committee on Civil Rights Legislation is conducting a Register and Vote Campaign in Baltimore which has resulted in the addition of more than 15,000 voters to the rolls in twelve months.

This drive was set off by refusal of the Baltimore City Council and the Maryland State Legislature to pass civil rights legislation presented to them. It was spurred by statements that councilmen and legislators considered the Negro vote of no significance or consequence. (The Afro-American reported that fewer than 80,000 of the 180,000 Negro adults were registered.)

A resolution was presented to City Council to disapprove of discrimination by hotels in Baltimore and ask them to relax discriminatory practices, but the measure was beaten by a sizeable margin. Opponents of all civil rights legislation are reported to have stated with contempt that the Negro's vote was inconsequential.

Several civil rights bills drafted by the Citizens Committee on Civil Rights Legislation were presented in the Legislature but were defeated. Senator Della from the Sixth District even presented a bill to make it unlawful to present a civil rights bill to the Legislature. This despite the fact that Senator Della is from a district predominantly colored, which has one housing project with 15,000 Negroes and only a few white persons. It is reported that he told some Negroes who approached him that the Negro vote was of no significance to him.

The Citizens Committee, of which the Rev. Marcus G. Wood is chairman, decided that the only effective answer to these insults to the dignity of Negro citizens was to get all eligible Negroes to register; to educate them in the proper use of the ballot, and to urge them to vote for persons and measures which would promote full civil rights.

The committee was aware that petitions, telegrams, and letters have but little weight with members of legislative bodies if they are not from people registered to vote.

The Committee also concluded that in neither the Democartic nor the Republican Party is there hope for freedom of all people, but in a non-partisan civil rights movement made up of all liberty-loving people, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Independents, white or colored. The Committee saw an urgent need for an intensive person-to-person campaign to inform, arouse, and direct people to register and vote.

It decided that a non-partisan register and vote campaign could be carried out most successfully through the churches with the pastors providing the leadership. There are churches in practically every community; the membership meets regularly; churches cross all lines in society; they are committed to the ideal of serving and meeting the basic needs of people; churches have the resources and techniques for moving people to service.

We worked out a detailed program for carrying our campaign to the precincts and blocks. The pastors of the churches headed up certain wards and precincts. The heart of the drive is house-to-house canvassing for the purpose of urging people who had not registered to do so at once, to get the names and addresses of those not registered, and to get registered persons who had moved to report their changes of address. We have written up and mimeographed the detailed plan, and copies of it are available for the asking, so I will not go into that here in the limited time available.

We have also worked out a number of forms which proved valuable. These facilitated the collection and organization of information which will be useful in subsequent Register and Vote Programs and in pushing for civil rights legislation.

The Citizens Committee recognizes that getting people registered to vote is only one phase of a most vital program. Motivating people to use the ballot and to use it for the best interest of the local and larger community rather than for narrow, selfish interests is a matter of major importance.

By the time of the next election, The Citizens Committee on Civil Rights Legislation plans to list the legislation that we wish to have passed in the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. We will interview the candidates to determine their stand on the civil rights legislation that we will want passed. We will consider the record and commitments of each candidate for office and will determine which ones we can conscientiously endorse and those we cannot endorse. We will then communicate our findings to the people through two media:

1. We will send out letters to the citizens who are already registered and those who register during the campaign. We will have their names in our files from the block canvassers' data sheets. 2. We will inform the pastors, and leaders of other cooperating organizations, who will be asked to mobilize the block workers who canvassed the people to get them to vote; and to get them to go back to the people with written materials and inform them of the issues and the position of the candidates concerning them.

This should get some friends of true democracy elected to office and keep some enemies out. This will be an important step toward true democracy.

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For release afternoon April 27, 1958

SUMMARY OF REPORTS ON VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN SOUTHERN STATES

By

JAMES M. NABRIT, JR., ESQ.

Howard University, Washington D. C.

Prepared for delivery at

Southern Conference Educational Fund's

CONFERENCE ON VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN SOUTHERN STATES
Washington, D.C.
April 27,1958

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A summary of the reports made to this Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States supports the shocking conclusions reached by many able students of the Negro vote and voter in Southern States in previous studies. These are that (1) Negro voters must run the gauntlet of apathy, ignorange, fear, bodily harm, and racial discrimination in order to register as voters (2) Having registered, they must then face these same obstacles in order to vote and (3) If they indicate a desire to run for office or pose a threat to entrenched segregationists, they face repeated purges of the registration or voting lists or actual carving up of entire counties in order to nullify any effective participation by them in politics.

These reports indicate the need for three types of action: (1) Political action to enlist national party support of a strong and decisive report by the Civil Rights Commission, (2) A south-wide state by state campaign to get Negroes to register and (3) An educational campaign to instruct Negroes in the value of the vote, the use of the ballot, how to register, how to vote, and that voting is a federal right.

The Civil Rights Commission which is charged with the duty of investigating and recommending action with respect to these and other impediments to the free and untrammeled exercise of the right of suffrage by the Negro should have an easy job of locating and pinpointing these abuses and violations of the Fifteenth Amendment. That is, if it ever begins operation the records of the hearings on the Civil Rights Bill in 1956 and 1957 are full of testimony of threats, violence, murder, roving registration and polling places, absent registrars, trick questions asked of Negroes only, repeated purges of voting lists, and economic and political intimidation of Negroes by whites.

The Southern Regional Council in 1956 reported a total of 1,238,038 Negro voters in the South, located by states as follows: Alabama 53,366, Arkansas, 69,677, Florida 148,703, Georgia 163,389, Louisiana 161,410, Mississippi 20,000, North Carolina 135,000, South Carolina 99,890, Tennessee 90,000, Texas 214,000 and Virginia 82,603. In 1958, we have probably 200,000 more, with a likelihood of a total increase of 1,000,000 Negro votes in these states between 1956 and 1960 if purges do not offset a large part of this gain. If the Civil Rights Commission does a dynamic and effective job, this increase will certainly occur and it could in fact be doubled. If the Commission is ineffective or weak in its technique, timid in its approach, and apologetic in its report, this increase can actually be less.

Many of the more subtle devices for restricting the Negroes' right to vote are the more difficult to combat. Some of these are literacy tests, knowledge of the names of district and state office holders, use of a blank sheet of paper for registration purposes and requiring the candidate to fill it in correctly from memory, or judging correct qualification for voting by correct use of grammar and punctuation. One of the most biased tests is the oral test where the arbitrary whim of the registrar dictates the questions and answers and where obviously no record of either may be found.

Effective participation in politics requires more than registration and voting, essential as these basic requirements are. But even these first, basic steps seem difficult for large numbers of Negroes to take, although no barriers of law or threats of violence or economic reprisals impede them. As a matter of fact, however, barriers to these elementary steps do flourish to some extent and in varying degrees all over the South. Numerous obstacles to registration combine to prevent both registration and voting. One of the most effective restrictions is the purging of Negro registrant's names from the voting lists. It is true that the law permits an appeal when a registrant's name has been stricken from the rolls, but such appeals are of little avail because the election at which the registrant intended to vote will have long since passed before an appeal can be heard. Such appeals have no priority over pending cases triable at the next term of court following removal of the registrant's name. The latter fact makes it highly desirable - if not imperative - that a challenge to a citizen's right to remain on the registration rolls should be required to be made in ample time to permit final determination of the issue before the election in which the registrant intended to participate. Such a provision, which is included in one of the proposed Federal civil rights bills, would nullify one of the most nefarious devices used to deprive citizens of the rights guaranteed by the supreme law of the land. A lack of understanding of political processes and the dominant influence of factors outside the South are potent forces which also must be taken into account in any analyses of the future of the Negro voter in the South.

We know that all over America voting participation is lowest in the low income, low education groups in our population, black as well as white. Further we know that apart from restrictions on voting because of race or color we should expect a lower level of participation by Negroes in the black belt counties of the south. That is exactly what we do find. There are few sections in America where the income and education received are as low as they are for Negroes in the black belt. Here is where the Negro population is thickest, where in many counties he outnumbers the whites from 2 to 1 as high as 7 to 1. Here too, is where in county after county, there is no Negro registrant or only a handful of teachers and professional Negroes on the voting list. The number averages out at about 30 Negroes registered for 1,000 Negroes of voting age. This, one recalls, is the rural section of the south, the center of active, emotional opposition to the Negro.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that despite all of these restrictions and dangers, Negroes have continued to seek registration. But if the whites of voting age register 50% of this potential and Negroes only 24% of their voting potential or less, the power of the Negro vote will not be materially increased.

One should not overlook the fact that the potential white voter in the South, or even in the North, has a low registration record, while the registered voter has an even worse voting record. A twenty, thirty, of forty percent turnout of voters is an amazing event. Negroes do not have sole claim to apathy in this area. Under our system political parties and trade unions make registration and voting their business. The future of the Negro voter in the South is intertwined in their growth and development.

The future of the Negro voter in the South may very well be in the hands of voters completely outside that region and subject to forces and factors far removed from him. This may be the case not because of his apathy, lack of organization or leadership, nor because of the resistance to his participation in politics by white Southerners, but because his future is bound up inextricably in the future of political parties in America, in their program and policies, in the effect of Negro voters in the North and West upon political parties, and partly depends upon the pressure of outside or world problems upon American political and governmental policies and actions.

The Negro, as a member of the working class, will normally give his allegiance to institutions which have as one of their major policies the welfare of workers. As these institutions develop and change the Negro voter will tend to switch his affiliation as he identifies their economic philosophy and its relationship to him. Further, the Negro voters in the North and West wield definite influence on the plafforms and policies of both major political parties, which in turn may have some effect on the Negro voter in the South. The present Civil Rights Bill was foreshadowed in both party platforms in 1956, for instance. In addition, integration in the armed services and the efforts of the President's Committee on Government Contracts to insure equal job opportunities for Negroes, set patterns of public behavior which in turn condition the thoughts and actions of all sections ofthe country. Furthermore, as the leader of the free world, the United States wants to win the confidence and support of all of the uncommitted millions of colored people in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea. Thus, it become necessary for America to dispatch the Vice-President to these areas as a good-will ambassador; to invite their rulers here for the purposes of developing and keeping their good-will; and to demonstrate at home that racial hatred and prejudice are not a policy of the government. These high level policy considerations of the Federal government are powerful instrumentalities in the field of Negro suffrage.

To the extent that this future can be decided within the South one cannot be too optimistic as to what it portends. Persons or symbols seem essential for rallying masses of Negroes for political activity. I mean political leaders, office holders or party functionaries. Politics require organizations and money, partonage and self-interest motivation. Within the Southern framework many of these essentials seem to be missing. These observations do not ignore or discount the election of Negroes to public office in the South in recent years, nor the increased registration and voting of Negroes since the white primaries were abolished by the Supreme Court. These are encouraging signs but in my opinion are of little real significance, except for purposes of indicating possibilities or for creating a political esprit de corps.

A more pressing demand is the immediate need for the registration of an increasingly larger number of Negroes so as to furnish a reservoir out of which actual voters may come. The very existence of a vast number of registered Negroes may have an astonishing result. True, whites may become alarmed and register in larger numbers than usual, but, as is more likely the case, they may very well remain indifferent. In either event the growing Negro registration will function as a strong inducement to white politicians to seek the Negro vote. This latent threat of a heavy potential vote is the key to the national concern over the Negro vote. Politically, it is considered inherently dangerous to ignore it even at present.

The Negro must be aroused until he seeks registration by the tens of thousands. It is much easier to deny registration to 1 or 10 than it is to 100 or 1000.

In conclusion, a summary of these reports reflects numerous, subtle and ingenious restrictions which operate to curtail the effectiveness of the Negroes' right to vote. A strong campaign to increase the registration of Negroes is a paramount necessity. Let us get it going!

For release afternoon April 27, 1958

REPORT FROM THE SOUTH

Address
by Aubrey Williams
of Montgomery, Alabama

Prepared for Delivery at

Southern Conference Educational Fund's

CONFERENCE ON VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN SOUTHERN STATES
Washington, D. C.
April 27, 1958

We are here to discuss one of the basic rights of American citizens--the right to vote. In many respects it may be said that the right to vote is the most fundamental right in a society in which the government rests upon the consent of the governed, for upon it rests what we may term sovereignty.

It is the keystone of freedom. By its exercise the positive functions of citizenship are performed. Men decide the kind of government they want. They set up mandates for those elected to power. By the same token the vote is the sovereign remedy of free men against all of their civic grievances.

We are here to make a report on a region of our nation where trouble exists for many citizens in obtaining the right to vote. These citizens want to fulfill their obligations as well as enjoy their rights as citizens. They are having great difficulty in doing either. I speak of some six or seven states of the Deep South. We are not here to condemn, in a blanket fashion, this region or to indulge in odious comparisons. Sad to relate, no section of our blessed nation is perfect and possessed of all the virtues. Each has its shortcomings and could stand some additional equality, justice and fair dealing.

We are here to report what the facts are in respect to the Negro and his efforts to exercise his right to vote. We feel Congress can profit by a greater knowledge of what is going on in these states. We feel that no individual or group is wise enough to know all the answers to these problems. On the other hand, we certainly do not come here with the feeling that we have all the answers. We wish only to give the facts and to help in any way we can to work out the right answers.

It is stating the obvious to say that relations between the races in the South have changed for the worse since May, 1954, when the Supreme Court declared segregated public schools unconstitutional. This worsening has reached the stage now where there are few channels of communication open between the white- and the dark-skinned people in the six or so Deep Southern states.

There are those who find in this condition a reason for complete despair. I am not among these. I agree that it would be far more desirable to have an atmosphere devoid of antagonisms, where persons in conflict talked to each other and fought out their differences in a relaxed climate. But realism should force one to recognize that to ask such is to disclose a sad ignorance of human nature. I must confess I find something healthy about the present condition in the South. Not, I want to say, about the white man's side of it or the way he is acting, but about the Negroes' conduct during this period--yes.

I get a great deal of hope from what Negroes have done and how they have conducted themselves during the months and years since the 1954 ruling. What we have seen in the South is a generation of people who have come of age with a heritage of keeping the peace with the white man at any price. There was a harmonious relation between the races in the South--of a sort. There was a surface peace. There was the appearance, but not the reality. When white men said, "We get along with our Negroes," what they meant was, "Negroes know their place and stay in it." This was a degrading peace. White people knew what they were really saying, and Negro people knew what the white man meant. The Negro purchased peace at the price of his self-respect. The white man purchased a working relationship with the Negro community by indulging in a refusal to face the consequences of his democratic professions. It was a debauching and degrading condition for all concerned. The present condition of tensions is at least honest. The Negro has said he will no longer settle for a peace which costs him the first prerequisite of a free man--his self-respect. He now stands openly and honestly for his rights. The Negro leadership has forced the struggle out into the open.

There had been a leavening working, of course, before then. There were leaders like Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Walter White, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, A. Philip Randolph, John Wesley Dobbs, E. D. Nixon, Charles G. Gomillion, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Paul Robeson, Roscoe Dunjee, Lula White, Thurgood Marshall, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, and many others. These people were stoking the fires of manhood and womanhood among the disfranchised , denied, insulted, segregated Negroes of the country. The first fruits were the Sweatts, the Hendersons and others like them, who came forward as expendables to make legal challenges of the bonds that bound them. Then came the new crop of younger fighters, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mrs. Rosa Parks, Miss Autherine Lucy, The Rev. C. K. Steele, Mrs. Daisy Bates, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth--and then the "tender warriors," the children of Clinton, Tenn., of Clay and Sturgis, Ky., of Little Rock, Ark., and elsewhere. All of which adds up to the fact that the Negro has finally made up his mind that he is freed and that he intends to possess that freedom.

That he will have to do most of the fighting is not unusual or saddening. It is probably one of history's most consistent axioms that those who would be free must fight for their own freedom.

What is sad and altogether disillusioning to me as a citizen of this country, predicated as it is on the principles of democracy and Christianity, is the Negroes' naked aloneness as they engage the enemy. For they must take on not only the race haters of the South and the institutions of the South, its white educational institutions, a considerable portion of its churches, its elected governments, its law-enforcement agencies--but they must often find the federal government in league with the local and state governments in keeping them from the enjoyment of the rights vouchsafed under this self-same federal government. One of the discouraging incidents of the past year has been the result of the one fulfillment of the federal government's obvious responsibility for enforcing its decrees. The one simple manifest demonstration that the ruling of the Supreme Court was more than pious words has resulted in a federal apologia. I refer to Little Rock. The apparent result of this one acceptance of its responsibility is that the Attorney General has now decided that there will be no more Little Rocks. The field has been abandoned to the racists. The children at Little Rock are left to the mercies of the local institutions. Everyone seems more concerned that there be no more Little Rocks than that justice be done. The net result is to make the work of the deprived even more difficult.

It is important in this regard to call attention to the fact that what may appear as just a fight for the right of Negroes to a desegregated existence is much more than that. Our laws and constitutional safeguards are not selective. They must protect everybody or they will soon protect nobody. Once we let down the barriers to get at people we don't like or to get at ideas we don't like, the rights of all are endangered. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in a dissenting opinion in a case involving the due process rights of a rather disreputable character made the following pertinent observation:

> "It is a fair summary of history to say that most of the safeguards of our liberties were forged in controversies involving 'not so nice people.'"

The traditional technique of those who would limit or even destroy individual liberties is to involve fear of, or hostility against, "not so nice people." Nor do the "not so nice people" conveniently remain the same people. In one period they have been the Protestant followers of Roger Williams; in another period they have been the adherents of the Catholic Church; in 1932 they were the bankers of America.

It would have been possible during a certain period around 1932 to have gotten almost any sort of punitive law enacted against corporation heads or bankers. It is not at all difficult to transform nice people into "not so nice people." A pattern gets established and times change. For example, the pattern that is now fast being returned to usage in the South, of wholesale challenging of Negro voters--such a pattern gets established, then a new group comes under public disfavor and you have a new set of victims. We have seen the federal government allowing its stable of informers to be used by Senators in the United States Senate to destroy white persons in the South who stand up for the rights of individuals regardless of color or nationality. This is not only a shameless thing, but it is a dangerous thing. Unless we Americans turn our faces against liars and informers, no man's character or livelihood will be safe.

There are disturbing parallels between conditions in the South in the year of 1958 and in the year of 1858. I sincerely believe that the devastation and the horrors of the Civil War could have been avoided and we could have moved from slavery into a sounder economic order if we had been willing to deal openly with slavery and people had been allowed to express themselves and to discuss the problems of slavery openly. But we were not. There was almost a complete black-out of discussion by legislatures as well as by social and economic pressures put upon people. School teachers were silenced or sent back to New England, where many came from. Preachers were faced with the choice between Christian principles and the demands of their major contributors that they remember their obligations to the church which gave them bread and board. Books were censored and literature suggesting that things as they were were not necessarily as they should be was barred from the mails. The advocacy of abolition was made a felony in some states; punishable by death in others. Having put an end to thinking, talking, reading, and writing, there was no way left open but the way of violence.

> "Freedom to speak and write about matters of public interest is to our form of government as the heart is to the human body," wrote Justice Hugo Black. "If the heart be weakened, the whole body is debilitated; if it be stilled, the result is death."

Things in 1958 have not yet reached the state of repression that existed in 1858. There are, however, signs that such a state of affairs is what the more extreme element in the South today desires and is working to bring about.

Given a few more years of accomplishments similar to those of the past four, and it is no exaggeration to hold that the South will be in much the same condition as it was three years before the explosion of the Civil War.

It would be well for those members of Congress who aid and abet these Un-American attacks to ask themselves, "What are the possibilities of such a course of conduct?" They should ask themselves, "What are the consequences to white citizens?" "Is it possible to maintain the safety and well-being and peace of the nation?" Nothing is more dangerously explosive than pent-up pressures for change. So long as people can exchange ideas, express ideas, discuss their feelings about desired changes, there is little danger of explosions. It is when people are stopped from speaking their thoughts, when they are even warned not to have such thoughts, that danger mounts. Today a blanket of silence lies over the whole South. Men no longer discuss the race question in the white community except to view with alarm and deplore; they fear even to talk about a different point of view. And most newspapers are unhappily caught in the prevailing community hysteria and reflect the one-track line of Southern thinking. The national radio and TV programs are the only media that sometimes differ from the dominant opinion. There is one political party, with one issue, in Alabama in the present governor's race. Each candidate is trying to outdo the other thirteen in the vehemence of his opposition to integration. It is political suicide to be even mildly for segregation.

However, with our preoccupation with the treatment of the Negro close at home and its effect upon the white South, we may tend to overlook the greater significance of the struggle. The Negro's fight for political emancipation and racial democracy may very well have a far greater significance than just the securing of the right to register and vote, for behind the race crisis stands the specter of an inclusive political struggle involving the political party organization of both the South and the North. This is not just a matter of a major minority group trying to gain admittance into the political house of their fellows. What you have here may be the coming to a head of the long-delayed political realignment of the two political parties on all the great issues of the day. The issue of the political emacipation of the Negro could be the activating agent that threatens to explode the present ill-mated political setup. What we have here is a government consisting of two political parties; the Republican is made up in part of what are termed "moderates" and another part of "conservatives"; the Democratic Party is little different. They have what is known as the "liberal" wing and what few call by its rightful name but which in fact is the Southern oligarchy. The right wing of the Republican Party and the Southern oligarchy have everything in common except the names by which they are called. Both are concerned primarily with maintenance of the present power structure in control in our country. The results for the American people from this situation are that the reactionaries in the two parties always effectively get together on anything really important to their interest and the "liberals" in both parties either split over political lines or are unable to put together a sufficiently large number of votes to pass legislation in line with their respective professions and promises.

It is this always inconclusive situation that the race crisis threatens, for the interests of the Negro are looming larger and larger in Congressional districts in the North and West and in a considerable number of states. Members of Congress feel with greater urgency than ever before that their own personal interest is bound up with the fight of this particular minority group. Once enough Congressmen see how great is their personal interest in this issue and take the only course open to them, which is simply full-fledged support of the Supreme Court's position, they will seal the doom of the Southern oligarchy or drive them into the Republican Party where they really belong. By the same token, the "liberals" in the Republican Party will be forced in the interest of self-preservation to support the Court and will face the necessity of finding working relationships with the "liberals" in the Democratic Party.

It is possible, therefore, that the political emancipation of the Negro may have gotten under way a political realignment of major magnitude. Much will depend on how deep is the determination of the Negro. There is considerable evidence that this determination runs very deep in a considerable part of the Negro community, but how widespread it is is something that time alone can tell. The Montgomery bus protest had all the elements of a people who would not be denied their elemental rights. The Tuskegee resistance to having their votes taken away from them again has all the strength that characterized the ancient Anglo-Saxons as they fought similar battles for their elemental rights. However, there is disquieting evidence that Negroes do not always take advantage of the opportunities which are offered them. But the overwholming weight of evidence is that the Negro has at last made up his mind to secure his rights as a citizen. If this is true, then we may well have the stuff out of which can come a true and sincere realignment of political parties in the country.

There stands to hand, then, for all Americans, with the exception of those whose privileged positions would be undermined, the opportunity to do all within their power to see that this comes about, to lend every possible support to the Negro community in their efforts to secure the vote. We must do all within our power to see to it that the federal government gives unequivocal support to the mandates of the federal courts and unceasingly pressure the federal law-enforcement departments to do their duty. We must work to secure Southern white support and assistance. We must aim at political reform in the South and force the liberal Southerners in the Senate and the House to cease their playing footsie with the Byrds and the Talmages and the Eastlands. We must recognize the Negro's struggle for what it is--the spearhead which is challenging the hypocrisy of American political party alignment and which, if it succeeds, can clear the ground of the creeping fascism and totalitarianism which is inherent in the thinking of the power elite and their supporters, the conservatives and reactionaries of both parties. #

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May 29, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
2892 Ridgemore Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A note from my husband says you would like to have copies of the speeches and reports that were made at the Conference on Voting Restrictions in the Southern States held in Washington April 27.

A set of the speeches and reports is enclosed. If you would like extra copies, please let us know.

With all good wishes to you in your work,

Sincerely,

Anne Braden

Anne Braden

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:
Sunday, August 30, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga. -- The strained atmosphere created by resistance to school desegregation has slowed the pace of Negro voter registration in the South, the Southern Regional Council said today.

Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

However, the Council added, the long run prospect is for "a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status."

These are conclusions drawn from the Council's latest survey of Negro suffrage. A full report on the survey entitled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, will be published next week.

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations.

The report contains county-by-county registration figures for seven states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

Since the Council last surveyed Negro voting in 1956, none of the 11 Southern states has eased its registration laws. Two states -- Virginia and Georgia -- tightened voting requirements. Five states retained the poll tax.

Literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remained in effect in seven.

During this period, purges of Negroes from voting rolls have been widespread in Louisiana. In some areas of the South Negroes trying to register were confronted with threats, slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals.

"The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues has dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation," the report says.

The Council found that many Negroes already registered have seen their vote shrink in importance as racists sought to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset.

In normal times, no serious office-seeker will deliberately antagonize a sizeable segment of voters. This has applied in the South in campaigns of recent years, particularly in cities, when an appeal was made to all voters, Negro as well as white.

However, the report continues: "In many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of 'wooing the Negro vote' or 'catering to the NAACP,' they have sought -- with considerable success -- to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white voters. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued.

"This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales."

Meanwhile, Negroes of voting age in the South are being influenced by two distinct forces. On one side, said the report, are national trends. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction, setting up a Civil Rights Commission and creating a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Federal courts "have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice."

"On the other side," it continued, "stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening group of whites. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a stepping-stone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington."

Despite the barriers, the number of Negro registrants remained fairly constant in the South as a whole. In mid-1956, at the time of the earlier SRC survey, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the 11 Southern states. At the close of 1958, an estimated 1,303,827 were registered, a gain of 65,789. This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

In the eight states where SRC was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, the latest estimate for Tennessee came from a veteran capitol reporter; for Mississippi, from observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage, and for Alabama, from an estimate made by the Attorney General of the state.

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1956	1958
Alabama	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	69,677	64,023
Florida	148,703	144,810
Georgia	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	90,000	185,000
Texas	214,000	226,818
Virginia	82,603	92,172
	1,238,038	1,303,827

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South as a whole in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represented about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age.

However, the report pointed out, many areas of the South have a long way to go to achieve even a 25 per cent registration of Negroes. With some exceptions, Negroes generally continued to have the greatest difficulty in registering in the rural Black Belt counties where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest.

SRC listed 29 counties in the South where no Negroes are registered. These include one county in Virginia; one in South Carolina; two in Georgia; three in Florida; two in Alabama; one in Tennessee; an estimated 15 in Mississippi; and four in Louisiana. The majority have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

But there are other counties in the South, the report said, where Negroes could register and vote in greater numbers. These are, for the most part, in urban areas -- and there has been a continuing trend toward urbanization of the Negro population.

As for the future, the report said:

"In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South."

The report will also include case studies of three Southern counties -- one in the rural "black belt" of the

Deep South where no Negroes are registered; a northern Louisiana parish, Ouachita, which experienced a wholesale purge of Negroes from voting lists; and a South Carolina coastal county, Beaufort.

:

August 25, 1959

Spec. Suff - Gen 1958-59

Background Report on Registration Done for Ralph McGill

} Note: contains some statistical errors. Do not use without checking!

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1947	1952	1956	1958
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	73,272
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	35,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,450
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172
Totals	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,321,731

Some factors determining size of Negro vote, 1959:

1. South Carolina's decennial re-registration in 1958; both white and Negro totals dropped sharply.

2. Purge in Louisiana

3. Re-registration law in Georgia

N.B. Registration figures, even official ones, are frequently ill-kept and ill-revised; e. g., the figures for Georgia show 55 counties where the number of whites registered probably exceeds the number of whites over 18 in the 1950 census.

~~Page 6~~

VOTING REGISTRATION

State	White	Negro	Total	Negro % Total	Negro % Population
1. Alabama	828,767	73,272	902,218	8.1	31.3
2. Georgia	1,130,385	161,958	1,292,958	12.5	29.1
3. Arkansas	499,955	64,023	563,978	11.4	(see footnote 3.)
4. South Carolina	479,711	57,973	537,406	11.4	39.5
5. Florida	1,448,543	144,810	1,607,214	9.0	19.0
6. Texas	1,995,885	226,450	2,222,335	10.2	(see footnote 6.)
7. Louisiana	815,149	131,068	946,217	13.9	33.8
8. Mississippi		35,000			45.6
9. Virginia	852,483	92,172	944,627	10.8	21.5
10. Tennessee		185,000			15.5
11. North Carolina		150,000			25.5
Total		1,321,731			

Sources.

1. Registration: *Birmingham News*, Feb. 11, 1959
   Population: official estimates, 1957

2. Registration: based on report of Secretary of State, 1958
   Population: Department of Public Health

3. Registratipn: State Auditor, 1958
   Population: There are no current estimates which give a racial break-down. The State Auditor, in 1958, estimated the Negro and white population over 21. Actually, his figures differ little from 1950 Census reports. In 1950, 22.4% of the total state population was Negro.

4. Registratipn: Secretary of State, May 10, 1958
   Population: State Board of Health, Jan. 1, 1957

5. Registration: Secretary of State, 1958. N.B. There are 13,861 voters not registered as either Democrats or Republicans; no racial break-down of these is given.
   Population: State Board of Health, July 1958

~~Page 7~~

6. Registration: SRC consultant survey, 1959.

   Population: 1950 Census is latest information - at that time, 12.7% population was Negro.

7. Registration: SRC consultant survey, 1959.
   Population: State Department of Health, 1957.

8. Registration: Estimate of Kenneth Toler.
   Population: State Board of Health, 1956.

9. Registration: Secretary, State Board of Elections, Jan. 15, 1959; the total includes 72 Indians.
   Population: Bureau of Population & Economic Research, University of Virginia, May, 1957.

10. Registration: Estimate of capitol news correspondent.
    Population: official estimate, 1957.

11. Registration: Estimate of secretary of State Election Board.
    Population: Public Health Statistics Section, State Board of Health.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
May 11, 1959

A NOTE ON ALABAMA

Here too the pattern of high Negro population-low Negro registration is apparent. Alabama has 12 counties over 50% Negro. In one of these (Macon - 85.7% Negro), Negro registration is 28.2% of the total: 1,218 of 28,002 Negroes are voters; 3,102 of 4,320 whites are voters. In another (Sumter), Negro registration is 12.9% of total. For the other 10 counties, the largest Negro registration is 6.7%. In Lowndes County, 82.1% Negro, Wilcox County, 79.1% Negro, there are no Negro voters. In Alabama's urban counties, the picture is also discouraging:

County	No. of Negro Voters	Negro % Total	Negro % Population
Jefferson (Birmingham)	11,000	8.5	36.5
Mobile (Mobile)	10,400	17.9	32.8
Montgomery (Montgomery)	3,480	12.0	40.2
Tuscaloosa (Tuscaloosa)	2,680	10.0	25.3
Calhoun (Anniston)	1,943	8.3	18.3
Etowah (Gadsden)	2,100	6.5	14.4

(Note contrast between Birmingham and Mobile)

A NOTE ON SOUTH CAROLINA

There are 46 counties in the state; 21 have populations over 50% Negro. Registration in these counties is as follows:

State Legislature Representation	County	Negroes Registered	Whites Registered
1	McCormick	0	1,399
1	Edgefield	270	3,267
1	Fairfield	750	4,218

State Legislature Representation	County	Negroes Registered	Whites Registered
2	Marlboro	395	7,016
1	Lee	742	4,166
3	Sumter	2,704	7,574
1	Calhoun	74	1,699
4	Orangeburg	2,220	10,068
1	Barnwell	531	4,786
1	Allendale	140	2,419
1	Bamberg	393	3,267
2	Clarendon	324	3,458
2	Marion	972	5,280
2	Williamsburg	234	6,156
2	Berkeley	1,913	5,147
1	Dorchester	412	5,330
2	Colleton	735	5,695
1	Hampton	250	3,210
1	Jasper	489	1,975
2	Beaufort	1,286	2,855
2	Georgetown	911	4,667
		15,745 *	93,652

---

* of which over half (8,123) are in Sumter, Orangeburg, Berkeley and Beaufort Counties. Sumter and Orangeburg have the only cities of this group of counties, and they are small ones: City of Sumter, pop. 25,044; City of Orangeburg, pop. 17,220

For the whole state, 39.5% of the population is Negro. 11.4% of the reported voter registration is Negro.

The 21 counties listed above have 27% of South Carolina's population. They have almost exactly 27% of the seats in the lower House of the state legislature - 34 of 124 seats. But they have 21 of 46 seats in the Senate - the dominant organ of South

Carolina's government. In positionsof leadership, they have (based on 1957 Legislative Manual- the latest edition we have):

Edgar Brown
- President Protem of Senate
- Chairman of Senate Finance Committee (probably the most important spot in the state government)
- Democratic National Committeeman

Speaker of House of Representatives

Chairmanship of 24 of 33 Senate Standing Committees

Chairmanship of 3 of 8 House Standing Committees (these 3 being Agriculture and Conservation; Judiciary; Ways and Means)

A NOTE ON ARKANSAS

Arkansas has had a predilection for naming counties after famous men. A curious result is that some of the worst of its counties, from the standpoint of Negro registration, have such names as:

County	Negro % of Population	Negro % of Registration
Jefferson	47.3	27.0
Lafayette	40.8	28.9
Lee	59.2	32.7
Lincoln	51.5	33.6
Monroe	46.4	21.3

In Pulaski County (Little Rock), 22.6% of the population and 14.4% of the registration are Negro.

A NOTE ON VIRGINIA

For Virginia we can make some rather more detailed comparisons.

There are 16 counties with over 50% Negro population:

County	Negro % Population	Negro % Registration	% of Negroes Registered	% of Whites Registered
King & Queen	52.4	38.3	9.4	18.2

County	Negro % Population	Negro % Registration	% of Negroes Registered	% of Whites Registered
Nansemond	64.7	31.5	7.2	28.9
New Kent	54.6	31.6	16.2	42.0
Northampton	54.7	18.6	5.3	28.1
Southampton	58.7	12.6	3.3	32.5
Surry	64.1	19.8	6.2	45.0
Sussex	65.3	21.8	7.1	48.1
Amelia	50.3	23.5	14.6	47.8
Brunswick	60.6	16.6	6.2	47.6
Caroline	52.2	26.3	7.5	23.1
Charles City	82.1	53.3	15.9	63.9
Cumberland	58.8	16.9	7.3	51.4
Dinwiddie	61.8	19.6	6.6.	43.5
Goochland	51.4	25.7	14.2	43.2
Greensville	58.6	23.7	8.3	37.7
Isle of Wight	52.4	20.6	10.7	45.5

Virginia has both counties, and so-called independent cities, of which there are 32. Over half of the Negro registration in Virginia is in these cities: 51,312 as against 40,860. On the other hand, only about 3/8 of the white vote is in the cities: 324,325 as against 528,158. The Negro vote is, therefore, predominantly an urban vote, the white vote is predominantly rural.

A NOTE ON LOUISIANA

An analysis in 1956, when Negro registration was 161,410, showed that in the French-Catholic parishes of Louisiana 51% of the potential Negro voters were registered, compared with 23% in the Protestant parishes.

Some especially bad Louisiana parishes:

Parish	No. of Negroes	Negro % Population	Negroes Registered	Negro % Registration
Bienville	10796	51.6	28	.58
Claiborne	14,491	53.0	15	.26
East Carroll	11,438	61.2	0	0
Madison	13,502	67.0	0	0
Plaquemines	6,752	38.1	45	.83
Red River	6,980	51.9	15	.76
Tensas	9,799	65.3	0	0
Ouachita	29,961	34.1	776	3.4
The principal urban parishes:				
Caddo (Shreveport)	81,015	38.8	4,466	8.0
East Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge)	62,734	33.0	9,100	14.3
Orleans (New Orleans)	219,539	34.1	31,289	16.1

A NOTE ON FLORIDA

Almost 1/3 of the total Negro registration is in 2 counties: Dade and Duval; these same two counties have also approximately 1/4 of Florida's Negro population. Duval County (Jacksonville) has one of the best showings in the South: 24.1% of the population is Negro, 20% of the registration is Negro.

[redacted]

The South continues to lag generally behind the rest of the nation in the number of eligible citizens who actually vote. The one party system ~~are~~ and the thousands of Negroes who do not or cannot vote are contributing factors. In the 1956 presidential election the per the percentage of eligible adults who voted ranged from the top of 77.3 per cent in Idaho and 76.6 in Connecticut to the lowest, the eleven Southern states. They ranked 38-48 in this order:

	Per Cent voting
Florida	48.4
North Carolina	47.6
Tennessee	46.0
Arkansas	39.9
Louisiana	39.3
Texas	38.0
Virginia	34.2
Georgia	30.4
Alabama	28.4
South Carolina	24.5
Mississippi	22.1

~~Page 10.~~ An excerpt from forthcoming report

PURGES

One method was the purging of Negroes from registration rolls in Louisiana, largely as a result of the Citizens Councils. Restricting, or even wiping out, Negro registration has been an aim of the segregationist White Citizens Councils which have sprung up across the South since 1954. This group has been particularly active in purging voting rolls in Louisiana. It has been easy for them in a number of rural parishes to "find mistakes" in practically all Negro registrations. The account of the purge in Ouachita Parish, which is included in this report, offers an example of how the group worked.

Purges were conducted in at least 12 parished (counties) in Louisiana. Within a period of several months in 1956-57 alone about 10,000,-11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from voting rolls. The following percentages are an illustration of their effectiveness:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN 12 PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 to MARCH 1958

County	Negro	White
Bienville	-95	-11
Concordia	-71	-42
DeSoto	-36	- 1
Franklin	-51	-31
Grant	-39	-18
Jackson	-68	- 9
Natchitoches	-52	-36
Ouachita	-87	- 9
Red River	-99	-45
Richland	-76	-40
Union	-77	-43
Webster	-95	-36

Of these 12, all in the northern half of the state, three have populations over 50% Negro - Concordia, DeSoto and Red River - according to the 1950 Census. Three - Grant, Ouachita and Jackson, are 16-33 per cent Negro and the others from one-third to one-half Negro.

In each case, both Negro and white registration fell, although the latter less sharply. By contrast, in 10 representative non-purge parishes, Negro registration increased in three and six had only a small drop. In the same 10, white registration increased in four, showed no change in one and fell in the other five. These 10 non-purge parishes:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

County	Negro	White
Beauregard	-7	-9
Bossier	-5	+16
Caddo	-19	+5
East Baton Rouge	+4	+6
Evangeline	-6	-3
Jefferson	+11	+13
Orleans	-2	-10
St. James	+3	0
St. Martin	-3	-16
Tangipahoa	-7	-3

Not corrected

ALABAMA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population Over 21, 1950 ____
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
~~Autauga~~	4,042	73	1.8	46.0
Baldwin	4,493	625	13.9	22.5
Barbour	7,158	220	3.1	53.4
Bibb	2,801	235	8.4	32.4
Blount	429	0	--	2.8
Bullock	5,425	6	0.1	73.6
Butler	6,024	805	13.4	44.8
Calhoun	8,304	1,800	21.7	19.1
Chambers	7,175	649	9.0	36.7
Cherokee	736	250	34.0	9.4
Chilton	2,027	350	17.2	16.0
Choctaw — Choctaw	4,822	112	2.3	52.5
Clarke	6,434	700	10.9	49.7
Clay	1,010	0		15.9
Cleburne	380	60	~~16.0~~ 15.8	6.6
Coffee	3,114	600	19.2	21.1
Colbert	4,519	921	20.4	21.0
Conecuh	4,435	960	21.6	45.3
Coosa	1,828	450	24.6	33.4
Covington	3,157	175	5.5	15.1
Crenshaw	2,801	600	21.4	32.0
Cullman	249	81	32.5	1.0
Dale	2,454	380	15.5	23.3
Dallas	18,145	275	1.5	65.0
space DeKalb	443	0		1.9
Elmore	5,543	226	4.1	36.0
Escambia	5,425	1,606	29.6	33.6
Etowah	7,672	2,000	26.1	14.4
Fayette	1,497	326	21.8	14.8
Franklin	700	200	28.6	5.2
Geneva	1,686	300	17.8	13.2
Green	6,628	157	2.4	83.0
Hale	7,041	130	1.8	70.3
Henry	~~3,929~~ 4029	600	~~15.3~~ 14.9	48.7
Houston	7,211	1,700	23.6	29.4
Jackson	1,242	0		5.9
Jefferson	121,667	7,000	~~5.7~~ 5.8	37.3
Lamar	1,204	100	8.3	14.8
Lauderdale	4,022	495	12.3	13.4
Lawrence	3,010	408	~~13.5~~ 13.6	21.9
Lee	8,954	500	5.6	40.2
Limestone	4,013	800	19.9	22.8
Lowndes	6,512	80 8		82.2
~~Macon~~	14,539	1,100	~~7.5~~ 7.6	84.4
Madison	10,333	1,500	~~14.6~~ 14.5	27.2

. . . .

Alabama

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total pepulation 1950
~~Marengo~~	4,641	170	1.7	69.4
Marion	6,351	200	~~52.8~~ 52.1	2.7
Marshall	5,547	0		2.3
Mobile	6,866	6,400	14.1	33.8
Monroe	2,728	140	2.4	51.1
Montgomery	~~10,135~~	2,176	6.4	43.6
Morgan	3,356	0		15.0
~~Perry~~	2,363	300	4.7	67.5
Pickens	8,700	600	10.8	47.9
Pike	9,318	720	10.5	44.2
Randolph	5,083	1,171	~~43.0~~ 42.9	25.8
Russell	14,157	560	5.5	52.0
Shelby	3,850	375	~~11.1~~ 11.2	21.8
St. Clair	2,835	750	~~31.8~~ 31.7	18.2
Sumter	8,218	295	3.4	76.1
Talladega	63	1,134	12.2	31.5
Tallapoosa	10,226	0		28.6
Tuscaloosa	384	5,500	38.8 38.9	27.5
Walker	604	2,800	72.7	10.7
Washington	45,493	600	21.2	39.3
Wilcox	5,914	-0-	—	79.1
~~Winston~~	34,079	-0-	—	0.6

ARKANSAS

Total Population, 1950 _____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 _____
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 _____

Total Voter Registration, 1955 _____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1955 _____
Percent Potential Voters Registered _____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered _____

%

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negroes Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Arkansas	2934	995	33.9	23.3
Ashley	5062	1361	26.9	38.0
Baxter	3	0		0.1
Benton	43	5	11.6	0.2
Boone	0	0		
Bradley	2744	1210	44.1	33.7
Calhoun	1277	844	66.1	34.4
Carroll	13	2	15.4	0.2
Chicot	6924	2588	37.4	54.6
Clark	3228	1067	33.1	27.3
Clay	6	0	—	—
Cleburne	2	0		
Cleveland	1061	371	35.0	24.4
Columbia	5603	957	17.1	39.1
Conway	2196	1527	69.5	23.6
Craighead	~~6944~~ 998	292	~~4.2~~ 29.3	3.1
Crawford	414	21	5.1	2.9
Crittenden	16495	1352	8.2	66.8
Cross	4041	723	17.9	32.2
Dallas	2504	1033	41.3	39.2
Desha	6511	2518	38.7	48.0
Drew	3118	1038	33.3	33.7
Faulkner	1480	430	29.1	11.2
Franklin	91	23	25.3	1.6
Fulton	5	0		0.1
Garland	3751	2520	67.2	11.9
Grant	370	231	62.4	8.2
Greene	40	5	12.5	0.2
Hempstead	5244	1452	27.7	40.8
Hot Spring	1575	717	45.5	12.9
Howard	1406	460	32.7	20.5
Independence	407	100	24.6	2.8
Izard	62	27	[illegible] 43.5	1.0
Jackson	2067	1215	58.8	14.5
Jefferson	21174	5774	27.3	49.8
Johnson	144	18	12.5	1.5
Lafayette	3004	1033	34.4	45.2
Lawrence	164	67	40.9	1.3

Arkansas

Total Negro Registration: 67,851*

Total Nonwhite Population ~~Eligible to Vote~~ of voting age 232,191

Arkansas

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negro~~es~~ voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Lee	7572	1610	21.3	59.4
Lincoln	4808	1391	28.9	53.3
Little River	2107	782	37.1	33.7
Logan	209	183	87.6	2.5
Lonoke	3267	805	24.6	24.4
Madison	9	5	55.6	0.1
Marion	-0	-0		
Miller	5000	1840	36.8	27.0
Mississippi	11975	3915	32.7	26.9
Monroe	4930	1031	20.9	48.8
Montgomery	24	15	62.5	0.5
Nevada	2578	825	32.0	36.0
Newton	1	0		
Ouachita	7020	2500	35.6	40.9
Perry	133	65	48.9	4.1
Phillips	15226	3561	23.4	59.7
Pike	294	86	29.3	4.9
Poinsett	1754	195	11.1	8.3
Polk	9	0		0.1
Pope	426	150	35.2	3.1
Prairie	1192	900	75.5	16.4
Pulaski	28881	8364	29.0	24.0
Randolph	102	57	55.9	1.0
St. Francis	10734	2300	21.4	57.4
Saline	974	413	42.4	5.6
Scott	94	45	47.9	1.3
Searcy	3	0		
Sebastian	2678	661	24.7	6.7
Sevier	610	235	38.5	9.6
Sharp	5	3	60.0	0.1
Stone	3	0		0.1
Union	8434	2570	30.5	31.9
Van Buren	59	31	52.5	1.2
Washington	309	40	12.9	0.9
White	726	288	39.7	3.5
Woodruff	3549	954	26.9	37.6
Yell	335	55	16.4	3.9

*This is the 1955 total. An estimate from the Arkansas Consultant indicated that registration had reached 69,677 in 1956.

FLORIDA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite ~~Nonwhite~~ Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential ~~Negroes~~ Negro voter Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Alachua	9,430	3,153	33.4	29.0
Baker	~~818~~	361	44.1	24.5
Bay	4,028	2,012	50.0	16.8
Bradford	1,408	859	61.0	24.4
Brevard	3,544	2,160	60.9	25.4
Broward	12,234	6,958	56.9	25.4
Calhoun	594	231	38.9	14.1
Charlotte	469	268	57.1	15.7
Citrus	879	580	66.0	25.4
Clay	1,230	1,193	[illegible] 97.0	14.7
Collier	1,402	741	52.9	30.6
Columbia	3,357	1,645	49.0	33.6
Dade	42,682	19,048	44.6	13.2
DeSoto	1,229	807	[illegible] 65.7	21.7
Dixie	387	181	46.8	14.3
Duval	55,832	27,368	49.0	26.9
Escambia	14,521	6,733	46.4	22.3
Flagler (Flagler)	872	64	7.3	45.6
Franklin	904	521	57.6	25.7
Gadsden	10,930	5	[illegible] — (dash)	56.1
Gilchrist	203	29	14.3	9.9
Glades	584	262	44.9	40.8
Gulf	1,129	481	42.6	26.9
Hamilton	1,983	507	25.6	42.2
Hardee	404	375	92.8	7.4
Hendry	1,034	135	13.1	26.1
Hernando	869	622	71.6	23.0
Highlands	2,054	1,243	60.5	25.4
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856	35.5	15.3
Holmes	326	130	39.9	4.4
Indian River	1,764	427	24.2	24.9
Jackson	5,843	3,430	58.7	33.4
Jefferson	3,272	183	5.6	62.5
Lafayette	176	-0-		9.4
Lake	5,110	1,363	26.7	23.5
Lee	3,017	1,818	60.3	20.1
Leon	11,213	4,046	36.1	39.5
Levy	2,107	603	28.6	33.9
Liberty	333	1		18.3
Madison	3,153	1,010	32.0	45.6
Manatee	4,425	1,686	38.1	22.8
Marion	8,387	4,324	51.6	38.2

Florida

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negro~~es~~ Voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Martin	**1,374**	**706**	51.4	28.2
Monroe	**2,043**	**1,652**	80.9	10.8
Nassau	2,123	1,223	57.6	31.3
Okaloosa	1,177	606	51.5	8.0
Okeechobee	406	348	85.7	18.6
Orange	14,321	3,137	21.9	19.8
Osceola	958	358	37.4	13.1
Palm Beadh	**22,253**	**6,520**	29.3	30.3
Pasco	**1,713**	**624**	36.4	13.5
Pinellas	**12,118**	3,477	28.7	11.8
Polk	15,492	4,989	32.2	20.6
Putnam	5,199	1,770	34.0	36.5
St. Johns	5,053	2,051	40.6	33.3
St. Lucie	3,732	1,813	48.6	31.7
Santa Rosa	928	730	78.7	8.5
Sarasota	2,896	783	27.0	16.0
Seminole	6,881	2,242	32.6	44.4
Sumter	1,703	790	46.4	26.9
Swannee	2,606	565	21.7	29.3
Taylor	1,945	91	4.7	30.5
Union	2,153	6	0.2	36.3
Volusia	10,415	5,761	55.3	22.1
Wakulla	833	345	41.4	30.9
Walton	1,051	954	90.8	13.3
Washington	**1,056**	**743**	70.4	17.8

Florida

Total Negro Registration: 148,703

Total Nonwhite Population ~~Eligible to Vote~~ of voting age: 366,797

%₀ checked

KENTUCKY

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Nonwhite Population over 18, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negro~~es~~ Voter Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Adair	657	550	83.7	5.3
Allen	~~187~~	125	66.8	1.8
Anderson	313	250	79.9	5.2
Ballard	398	380	~~70.4~~ 95.5	6.2
Barren	1505	867	57.6	7.8
Bath	368	300	81.5	5.2
Bell	1173	845	72.0	3.4
Boone	135	69	51.1	1.4
Bourbon	1976	1000	50.6	15.4
Boyd	720	300	41.7	1.8
Boyle	1920	705	36.7	12.5
Bracken	98	363	370.4	1.6
Breathitt	56	13	23.2	0.4
Breakinridge	463	451	97.4	4.3
Bullitt	202	72	~~35.7~~ 35.6	2.5
Butler	111	41	36.9	1.3
Caldwell	763	250	32.8	7.7
Calloway	575	350	60.9	4.0
Campbell	1043	829	79.5	1.3
Carlisle	82	50	61.0	1.7
Carroll	187	160	85.6	3.1
Carter	29	10	34.5	0.1
Casey	42	15	35.7	0.4
Christian	7072	3759	53.2	23.4
Clark	1343	851	63.4	9.9
Clay	306	87	28.4	2.1
Clinton	40	20	50.0	0.5
Crittendon	98	81	~~71.4~~ 82.7	1.2
Cumberland	408	304	74.5	6.2
Daviess	2141	1125	52.5	5.1
Edmonson	84	45	53.6	1.4
Elliot	---	---	0	0
Estill	64	45	70.3	0.5
Fayette	12719	5622	44.2	17.3
Fleming	255	260	102.0	3.0
Floyd	427	350	82.0	1.2
Franklin	2022	851	42.1	9.5
Fulton	1578	1100	69.7	17.1
Gallatin	64	40	62.5	2.6
Garrard	759	525	69.2	9.3
Grant	64	40	62.5	0.8
Graves	1293	1006	77.8	5.6
Grayson	62	42	67.7	0.5
Green	509	275	54.0	6.6
Greenup	115	262	22.8	0.7
Hancock	114	27	.7	3.1
Hardin	~~2141~~	450	.4	5.8

Kentucky

County	Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Nercent Potential Negro~~es~~ Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Harlan	**3620**	**3500**	96.7	7.6
Harrison	**478**	**150**	31.4	4.8
Hart	993 993	500	50.4	9.5
Henderson	2562	1478	57.7	11.5
Henry	608	400	65.8	7.6
Hickman	**602**	**450**	74.8	12.1
Hopkins	**2654**	**1800**	67.8	9.5
Jackson	**2**	**--0**	0	--
Jefferson	49000	25000	51.0	12.9
Jessamine	818	450	55.0	9.4
Johnson	2	---	0	---
Kenton	3238	2100	64.9	3.8
Knott	110	225	204.5	0.8
Knox	383	200	52.2	1.7
Larue	366	400	109.3	5.5
Laurel	189	220	116.4	1.1
Lawrence	57	30	52.6	0.5
Lee	24	15	62.5	0.4
Leslie	9	5	55.6	0.1
Letcher	772	805	104.3	3.0
Lewis	25	15	60.0	0.2
Lincoln	777	515	66.3	5.6
Livingston	82	41	50.0	1.5
Logan	1769	1200	67.8	11.4
Lyon	624	150	24.0	10.7
Madison	2048	1650	80.6	12.2
Magoff → Ma Yoff	10	3	30.0	0.2
Marion	1021	700	68.6	1.0
Marshall	14	4	28.6	8.8
Martin	--0	--0	0	0.1
Mason	1350	1000	74.1	8.0
McCracken	~~4450~~ 445	2036	45.7	0.1
McCreary	24	15	62.5	- -
McLean	78	28	35.9	10.0
Meade	212	159	75.0	3.4
Menifee	12	5	41.7	0.4
Mercer	731	590	80.7	6.9
Metcalf	304	302	99.3	4.3
Monroe	271	310	114.4	2.7
Montgomery	937	540	57.6	10.1
Morgan	2	-0	0	- -
Mohlenberg	1140	900	78.9	5.0
Nelson	1095	700	63.9	8.2
Nickolas	210	168	80.0	3.9
Ohio	284	180	63.4	1.9
Oldham	967	500	51.7	11.0
Owen	284	100	35.2	4.2
Owsley	45	15	33.3	0.5
Pendelton	71	50	70.4	1.0
Perry	990	700	70.7	3.3
Pike	~~**837**~~	**500**	59.7	1.5
Powell	**93**	**140**	150.5	2.1

Kentucky

County	Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negro~~es~~ Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Pulaski	565	500	[illegible]	2.0
Robertson	24	15	[illegible]	1.1
Rockcastle	13	10	76.9	0.1
Rowan	11	4	36.4	0.1
Russell	99	40	40.4	1.1
Scott	1283	900	70.1	11.8
Shelby	1573	1000	63.6	13.0
Simpson	1042	350	33.6	12.9
Spencer	261	125	47.9	5.7
Taylor	726	550	75.8	7.4
Todd	1568	1500	95.7	17.7
Trigg	1002	800	79.8	14.9
Trimble	12	6	50.0	0.2
Union	936	700	74.8	9.3
Warren	3469	2500	72.1	10.4
Washington	826	296	35.8	10.2
Wayne	279	326	116.8	2.7
Webster	1140	400	35.1	9.8
Whitley	140	90	64.3	0.6
Wolfe	6	5	83.3	0.1
Woodford	1325	850	64.2	15.0

*Estimated number of Negroes of voting age in 1956. Minimum voting age in Kentucky is now 18.

Kentucky

Total Negro Registration: 87,073

Total Nonwhite Population ~~Eligible to Vote~~ of voting age: 150,526*

LOUISIANA

Total Negro Registration: 161,410

Total Nonwhite Population ~~[illegible]~~ of voting age: 481,284

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential ~~Negroes~~ Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Acadia	4500	3448	.6	19.1
Allen	2470	1811	73.3	24.2
Ascension	4180	1926	46.1	35.4
Assumption	~~3380~~	1992	58.9	41.8
Avoyelles	4810	1960	40.7	26.1
Beauregard	1940	1120	57.7	17.0
Bienville	3980	587	~~14.8~~ 14.7	49.2
Bossier	8020	495	6.2	34.7
Caddo	43770	5500	12.6	37.6
Calcasieu	14990	6244	41.7	23.0
Caldwell	2430	450	31.5	28.5
Cameron	250	236	94.4	9.3
Catahoula	2070	330	15.9	35.1
Claiborne	5980	17	0.3	51.7
Concordia	4560	587	12.9	59.3
De Soto	6480	762	11.8	~~59.6~~ 56.6
East Baton Rouge	40700	8629	21.2	33.1
East Carroll	5150	0	0	61.1
East Feliciana	6390	1361	21.3	58.2
Evangeline	3290	3262	99.1	23.9
Franklin	5070	650	12.8	36.7
Grant	1680	864	51.4	24.2
Iberia	7130	4225	~~59.2~~ 59.3	32.4
Iberville	7110	2411	33.9	48.9
Jackson	2240	1113	49.7	29.8
Jefferson	13690	6097	44.5	15.7
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690	58.5	21.6
Lafayette	8980	4549	50.7	27.2
Lafourche ~~La Fourche~~	2950	1572	~~53.2~~ 53.3	13.5
La Salle	860	742	86.3	11.2
Lincoln	5420	1166	21.5	40.2
Livingston	1630	1162	71.3	14.7
Madison	6100	0	0	66.2
Morehouse	8590	935	10;9	48.2
Natchitoches	8350	2954	35.4	44.9
Orleans	124600	31880	25.6	32.0
Ouachita	16400	5782	35.3	33.0
Plaquemines	2840	49	1.7	38.7
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319	23.6	53.7
Rapides	20500	3160	15.4	33.2
Red River	2600	1512	~~58.1~~ 58.2	50.0
Richland	5230	740	14.1	41.0
Sabine	2190	1385	63.2	20.6
Saint Bernard	1140	802	~~70.3~~ 70.4	14.6
Saint Charles	2350	1949	82.9	32.6
Saint Helena	2170	1694	~~77.9~~ 78.1	53.1

Louisiana

~~Total [illegible] 19~~

Parish	Negro population over 21 1956 ✓	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential ~~Negroes~~ Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950 ✓
Saint James	3740	2117	56.6	50.3
Saint John The Baptist	3730	2426	65.0	49.9
Saint Landry	16500	13050	79.1	44.6
Saint Martin	~~7880~~ 4400	~~2688~~ 2583	58.7	37.0
Saint Mary	~~4400~~ 7870	~~2583~~ 2668	34.1	38.3
Saint Tammany	4450	1997	44.9	29.4
Tangipahoa	9550	3749	~~39.2~~ 39.3	31.2
Tensas	4500	0	0	64.8
Terrebonne	5880	980	16.7	24.6
Union	3160	1600	50.6	34.6
Vermillion	2390	1916	80.2	12.7
Vernon	1470	891	60.6	11.7
Washington	6520	1806	27.7	31.5
Webster	6940	1769	25.5	36.5
West Baton Rouge	3530	1017	28.8	53.2
West Carroll	1420	292	20.6	18.1
West Feliciana	4000	0	0	71.2
Winn	2480	1430	57.7	27.4

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MISSISSIPPI

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration,
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1955 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite population, over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population, 1950
Adams	~~9338~~	641	6.9	49.9
Alcorn	2225	78	3.5	14.4
Amite	4598	3	0.1	54.2
Attala	5179	34	0.7	43.4
Benton	1749	35	2.0	43.8
Bolivar	21805	511	2.3	68.5
Calhoun	1893	6	0.3	23.3
Carroll	3958	0	0	59.0
Chickasaw	4016	0	0	44.5
Choctaw	1412	19	1.4	30.2
Claiborne	4728	11[illegible]	2.4	74.8
Clark	3649	0	0	40.7
Clay	4922	12	0.2	56.9
Coahoma	19136	1070	5.6	72.2
Copiah	7041	16	0.2	53.4
Covington	2354	419	17.8	32.5
De Soto	8013	1	0.01	67.2
Forrest	7406	16	0.2	28.8
Franklin	2294	70	3.1	39.4
George	618	0	0	12.3
Greene	758	38	5.0	18.3
Grenada	4980	39	0.8	52.2
Hancock	1131	449	39.7	17.1
Harrison	7838	1569	20.0	16.0
Hinds	35021	4089	11.7	45.0
Holmes	11468	45	0.4	73.5
Humphreys	7712	37	0.5	69.7
Issaquena	1790	0	0	67.4
Itawamba	470	42	8.9	5.4
Jackson	3752	900	24.0	21.5
Jasper	4313	9	0.2	51.4
Jefferson	4304	0	0	74.5
Jefferson Davis	3923	1038	26.5	55.5
Jones	8046	872	10.8	26.3
Kemper	4023	20	0.5	59.4
Lafayette	3844	105	2.7	38.5
Lamar	1118	0	0	15.9
Lauderdale	12965	1039	8.0	36.4
Lawrence	2229	268	12.0	37.6
Leake	3835	66	1.7	42.4
Lee	5331	97	1.8	27.9
Leflore	17893	297	1.7	68.2
Lincoln	4507	516	11.5	32.9
Lowndes	9177	117	1.3	48.6
Madison	11586	431	3.7	73.6
Marion	4103	331	8.1	35.0

Mississippi

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Marshall	8210	15	0.2	70.6
Monroe	6734	18	0.3	37.5
Montgomery	2978	0	0	43.0
Nesshoba	2964	8	0.3	25.9
Newton	3687	52	1.4	34.6
Noxubee	6764	0	0	74.4
Oktibbeha	5409	128	2.4	47.8
Panola	8628	1	0.01	55.9
Pearl River	2454	0	0	21.8
Perry	1136	58	5.1	24.3
Pike	7608	137	1.8	44.7
Pontotoc	1847	6	0.3	19.1
Prentiss	1170	18	1.5	11.8
Quitman	7844	234	3.0	60.7
Rankin	7295	33	0.5	47.3
Scott	4329	15	0.4	43.2
Sharkey	4533	1	0.02	71.3
Simpson	3352	61	1.8	33.3
Smith	1400	6	0.4	20.3
Stone	746	25	3.4	21.8
Sunflower	18949	114	0.6	68.1
Tallahatchie	9235	0	0	63.7
Tate	2989	0	0	57.6
Tippah	1603	144	8.9	19.4
Tishomingo	463	17	3.7	5.2
Tunica	9123	27	0.3	81.8
Union	1904	67	3.5	17.9
Walthall	3017	0	0	46.0
Warren	12312	1099	8.9	50.7
Washington	27823	1464	5.3	66.8
Wayne	2857	0	0	36.6
Webster	1243	3	0.2	23.2
Wilkinson	4558	40	0.9	69.1
Winston	4162	30	0.7	41.8
Yalobusha	3142	9	0.3	43.9
Yazoo	11126	31	0.7	61.8

NORTH CAROLINA

Total Negro Registration: 135,000*

Total Nonwhite Population ~~Eligible to~~ of voting age: 549,741

North Carolina

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950 ____
Total Population Over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Ne~~groes~~ Registered voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Alamance	6897	3300	47.8	18.5
Alexander	~~516~~		----	7.1
Alleghany	147		----	3.3
Anson	6143	1560	25.4	48.6
Ashe	154		----	1.3
Avery	151		----	1.5
Beaufort	7066	200	2.8	37.3
Bertie	7016	400	5.7	59.8
Bladen	5496	600	10.9	41.2
Brunswick	3322	550	16.6	36.6
Buncombe	9950	4200	42.2	12.3
Burke	1824		----	7.6
Cabarrus	5169		----	15.3
Caldwell	1574		----	6.9
Camden	991		----	38.7
Carteret	1599		----	12.6
Caswell	4383	950	21.7	47.6
Catawba	2878	1000	34.7	9.1
Chatham	3963			32.1
Cherokee	172	50	29.1	1.7
Chowan	2681		----	43.6
Clay	44		----	1.1
Cleveland	6652		----	21.9
Columbus	7897	350	4.4	33.9
Craven	8446		----	32.4
Cumberland	14275	1200	8.4	28.0
Currituck	1102		----	32.0
Dare	241		----	7.0
Davidson	3563	2000	56.1	10.3
Davie	1143	325	28.4	14.0
Duplin	7336		----	37.0
Durham	20101	9500	47.3	33.3
Edgecombe	12845	600	4.7	51.9
Forsyth	25027	13000	51.9	28.4
Franklin	6643		----	45.6
Gaston	8163		----	13.4
Gates	2344		----	52.6
Graham	113		----	3.2
Granville	7179		----	46.7
Green	3690		----	46.5
Guilford	22309	8000	35.9	19.5
Halifax	14350	950	6.6	56.6
Harnett	5924	900	15.2	26.3
Haywood	488	125	25.6	2.2
Henderson	1319		----	6.7
Hertford	~~6210~~	700	11.3	60.0
Hoke	4201	385	9.2	60.6
Hyde	1207	50	4.1	42.8

North Carolina

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered ~~Voters~~	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Iredell	5387	1100	20.4	17.8
Jackson	732		----	7.6
Johnston	6686	1200	17.9	21.7
Jones	2238	165	7.4	45.4
Lee	3214	585	18.2	26.0
Lenoir	10266	2500 [illegible]	24.4	43.1
Lincoln	1593	500	31.4	12.7
McDowell	796	400	50.3	5.6
Macon	198		----	2.2
Madison	105	50	47.6	0.9
Martin	6117	1500	24.5	50.4
Mecklenburg	29472	8750 ~~8075~~	29.7	25.4
Mitchell	35		----	0.3
Montgomery	1960	945	48.2	22.9
Moore	8900	1002	11.3	26.9
Nash	11712	2400	20.5	42.4
New Hanover	11675	5445	46.6	31.4
Northampton	8206	500	6.1	64.2
Onslow	3316	500	15.1	15.9
Orange	4385		----	25.1
Pamlico	1549	100	6.5	34.6
Pasquotank	4961		----	38.2
Pender	4180		----	48.3
Perquimans	2290		----	47.8
Person	4118	1400	34.0	36.2
Pitt	14057	500	3.6	46.3
Polk	799	400	50.0	13.0
Randolph	2273	600	26.4	8.5
Richmond	6065	1575 [illegible]	25.1	30.5
Robeson	22062	4000	18.1	57.3
Rockingham	6966	1700	24.4	20.1
Rowan	7080	2500	35.3	17.1
Rutherford	2828		----	12.3
Sampson	8660		----	36.8
Scotland	5791	488	8.4	47.8
Stanly	2329		-- -	11.4
Stokes	932		----	9.0
Surry	1372		----	5.7
Swain	706		----	15.6
Transylvania	385		----	4.9
Tyrrell	939		----	41.4
Union	4666	1095	23.5	22.6
Vance	7179	1000	[illegible] 13.9	45.5
Wake	21902	5000	22.8	29.3
Warren	6908	800	11.6	66.4
Washington	2730		----	43.6
Watauga	129		----	1.2
Wayne	15141	1500	9.9	42.2
Wilkes	1432		----	6.0
Wilson	10964	1500	13.7	40.4
Yadkin	576	200	34.7	5.0
Yancey	116	80	[illegible]	[illegible]

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* A total of the registrations listed would not include all of the Negroes registered since figures were unavailable for many counties. It is estimated that 135,000 Negroes were registered in all North Carolina counties in the summer of 1956.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Total Negro Registration: 99,890

. of voting age:

Total Nonwhite Po[illegible] 380,024

SOUTH CAROLINA

Total Population, 1950 ____
Percent Nonwhite, 1950
Total Population Over 21, 1950
Total Nonwhite Population over 21, 1950 ____

Total Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Total Negro Voter Registration, 1956 ____
Percent Potential Voters Registered ____
Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered ____

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Abbeyville	3678	15	0.4	33.5
Aiken	9896	1500	15.2	36.4
Allendale	3891	350	9.0	72.3
Anderson	9993	3000	30.0	21.3
Bamberg	4485	500	11.1	57.8
Barnwell	4776	750	15.7	61.7
Beaufort	7624	2000	26.2	57.5
Berkeley	8125	3200	39.4	63.2
Calhoun	4437	0	0	70.8
Charleston	34111	6000	17.6	41.5
Cherokee	3692	1000	27.1	22.1
Chester	6788	650	9.6	42.2
Chesterfield	6059	~~35000~~ 3500	57.8	39.0
Clarendon	9279	1200	12.9	70.9
Colleton	6768	1200	17.7	53.3
Darlington	10455	9000	86.1	46.4
Dillon	6520	4000	61.4	48.3
Dorchester	5772	800	13.9	55.2
Edgefield	4312	800	18.6	59.9
Fairfield	5931	550	9.3	59.3
Florence	16650	1600	9.6	44.9
Georgetown	7321	2100	28.7	53.1
Greenville	17150	9000	52.5	18.7
Greenwood	6782	2500	36.9	30.2
Hampton	4607	350	7.6	55.9
Horry	6969	2700	38.7	26.9
Jasper	3281	1100	33.5	65.2
Kershaw	7065	1000	14.2	48.8
Lancaster	5111	1500	29.4	28.9
Laurens	7313	700	9.6	31.1
Lee	6246	1500	24.0	66.9
Lexington	4698	150	3.2	21.4
McCormick	2625	0	0	62.6
Marion	8668	1500	17.3	56.0
Marlboro	7460	1200	16.1	52.7
Newberry	5896	775	13.1	37.2
Oconee	2457	2000	81.4	12.2
Orangeburg	19158	2200	11.5	63.2
Pickens	2364	900	38.1	11.2
Richland	28383	12500	44.0	35.4
Saluda	2971	500	16.8	42.6
Spartanburg	17546	7000	39.9	22.4
Sumter	14807	1800	12.2	57.3
Union	4879	1500	30.7	32.1
Williamsburg	12121	900	7.4	67.6
York	10904	2900		
			26.6	31.0

** NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

TEXA[illegible]

Total Negro Registration: 214,000**
of voting est.

Total [illegible] Population [illegible] 582,944

County	Nonwhite population Over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	~~Nonwhite~~ Percent Potential Negro Voters Registered	Percent [illegible] in total population 1950
Anderson	5,323	1,488	28.0	31.0
Angelina	3,554	2,336	65.7	16.5
Austin	1,642	112	6.8	20.6
Bailey	141	78	55.3	3.2
Bastrop	3.385	1,103	32.6	31.6
Bell	5,273	1,264	24.0	12.0
Bexar	22,310	15,497	69.4	6.7
Bowie	8,813	3,012	34.2	24.6
Brazoria	4,470	2,765	61.9	14.7
Brazos	5,006	2,504	50.0	24.0
Burleson	2,318	835	36.0	32.3
Caldwell	1,785	481	27.0	15.9
Camp	1,946	779	40.0	39.8
Cass	4,332	947	21.9	32.4
Chambers	876	339	38.7	19.7
Cherokee	6,447	986	15.3	27.5
Collin	2,077	350	16.9	9.2
Colorado	2,567	1,139	44.4	25.2
Dallas	54,332	15,626	28.9	13.6
Dawson	550	62	11.3	5.7
Denton	1,362	231	17.0	5.7
De Witt	1,975	349	17.7	14.0
Ector	988	260	26.3	3.8
Ellis	5,841	1,711	29.3	23.8
El Paso	3,139	1,433	45.7	2.4
Falls	4,612	1,934	41.9	32.2
Fannin	1,851	638	34.5	10.6
Fayette	2,185	1,244	56.9	16.3
Fort Bend	4,437	858	19.3	24.2
Freestone	3,197	1,495	46.8	40.3
Galveston	15,520	6,490	41.8	21.1
Gonzales	2,134	896	420	18.6
Grayson	3,892	1,117	28.7	8.8
Gregg	8,595	2,398	27.9	24.5
Grimes	3,427	767	22.4	40.4
Guadalupe	2,101	699	33.3	14.3
Hardin	1,815	827	45.6	15.8
Harris	96,679	36,654	37.9	18.7
Harrison	12,840	3,914	30.5	51.8
Hays	718	210	29.3	6.4
Henderson	2,531	1,403	55.4	20.4
Hill	2,445	738	30.2	15.0
Hopkins	1,395	374	48.3	11.2
Houston	4,631	2,023	43.7	39.1
Hunt	3,411	1,157	33.9	14.8
Jackson	993	557	56.1	13.3
Jasper	2,790	1,273	45.6	26.5
Jefferson	26,477	10,567	39.9	22.7
Johnson	1,048	370	35.3	5.6
Jones	700	144	20.6	6.0
Kaufman	4,782	1,274	26.6	28.6

TL495

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956		Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Lamar	4,617	1,721	37.3	18.6
Lavaca	1,291	674	52.2	10.3
Lee	1,399	616	44.0	26.6
Leon	2,538	1,426	56.2	39.4
Liberty	3,359	1,626	48.4	22.7
Limestone	3,959	1,894	47.8	29.8
Lubbock	4,481	2,016	45.0	7.9
McLennan	13,326	6,038	45.3	17.2
Madison	1,352	561	41.5	32.8
Marion	3,086	913	29.6	56.9
Matagorda	2,787	1,174	42.1	22.3
Midland	1,258	1,023	81.3	8.5
Milam	2,735	1,182	43.2	21.9
Montgomery	3,530	1,361	38.6	25.1
Morris	1,529	422	27.6	33.2
Nacogdoches	4,378	2,015	46.0	28.6
Navarro	5,574	1,513	27.1	24.8
Newton	1,923	1,081	56.2	35.3
Nueces	5,182	2,684	51.8	4.9
Orange	2,558	1,536	60.0	10.9
Panola	3,035	1,264	41.6	34.6
Polk	2,624	913	34.8	29.6
Potter	2,408	712	29.6	4.9
Red River	2,787	533	19.1	23.9
Robertson	4,371	1,114	25.5	41.3
Rockwall	770	283	36.8	27.5
Rusk	6,614	3,163	47.8	29.8
Sabine	1,198	361	30.1	26.1
San Augustine	1,515	601	39.7	34.7
San Jacinto	1,981	572	28.9	52.5
Shelby	2,963	615	20.8	25.5
Smith	12,599	3,713	29.5	29.9
Tarrant	26,495	8,571	33.0	11.0
Taylor	1,659	739	44.5	4.1
Travis	13,890	5,268	37.9	14.1
Trinity	1,576	1,023	64.9	26.8
Upshur	3,032	1,369	45.2	28.9
Victoria	2,051	1,898	92.5	9.9
Walker	4,322	1,406	32.5	37.2
Waller	3,150	1,063	33.7	52.9
Washington	3,957	3,750	94.8	34.1
Wharton	4,337	1,963	45.3	21.8
Wichita	3,935	1,006	25.6	6.4
Williamson	3,203	813	25.4	15.1

* This is a partial list of counties, while the totals listed on this page represent all Texas counties.

** Estimate.

VIRGINIA

Total Negro Registration: 82,603

Total Nonwhite Population ~~Eligible to Vote~~ of voting age: 422,670

[illegible]	[illegible] Population over 21 1950	[illegible] Registered 1956	[illegible] Negro ~~Voters~~ Registered	[illegible] in total population 1950
Accomac	6,591	220	3.3	34.2
Albemarle	2,840	350	12.3	18.6
Alleghany	1,193	168	14.1	8.3
Amelia	1,999	555	27.8	49.9
Amherst	2,854	546	19.1	27.9
Appomattox	1,107	202	18.2	24.7
Arlington	4,248	1,185	27.9	4.9
Augusta	956	179	18.7	5.1
Bath	480	21	4.4	10.5
Bedford	2,916	1,066	36.6	19.0
Bland	79	12	15.2	2.0
Botetourt	891	~~--~~ 0	0	10.1
Brunswick	5,503	705	12.8	57.8
Buchanan	6	-0-	0	----
Buckingham	2,493	290	11.6	42.8
Campbell	3,357	955	28.4	23.7
Caroline	3,086	406	13.2	51.4
Carroll	200	11	5.5	1.5
Charles City	1,930	704	36.5	81.0
Charlotte	2,702	284	10.5	40.9
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150	25.6	20.9
Clarke	746	255	34.2	17.2
Craig	13	~~--~~ 0	0	0.5
Culpeper	1,907	452	23.7	27.9
Cumberland	1,996	340	17.0	55.7
Dickenson	163	57	35.0	1.4
Dinwiddie	7,879	395	5.0	64.6
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton		
Essex	1,594	126	7.9	46.1
Fairfax	6,563	1,115	17.0	10.0
Fauquier	2,913	106	3.6	26.3
Floyd	236	104	44.1	4.3
Fluvanna	1,301	82	6.3	35.1
Franklin	1,750	307	17.5	14.6
Frederick	214	48	22.4	2.2
Giles	265	140	52.8	2.5
Gloucester	1,960	513	26.2	31.3
Goochland	2,515	657	26.1	50.0
Grayson	462	53	11.5	4.4
Greene	357	87	24.4	13.5
Greensville	4,506	790	17.5	59.3
Halifax	8,675	521	6.0	44.0
Hanover	3,388	764	22.6	30.8
Henrico	3,253	814	25.0	9.9
Henry	3,474	400	11.5	24.2
Highland	103	11	10.7	2.9
Isle of Wight	3,957	735	18.6	51.9
James City	~~1,590~~	330	20.8	46.5
King & Queen	1,795	205	11.4	53.8

Virginia

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negro~~es~~ Registered Voters	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
King George	987	325		
King William	1,888	~~1,146~~ 260	32.9	27.4
Lancaster	2,015	415	13.8	46.1
Lee	257	97	20.6	41.2
Loudoun	2,098	531	37.7	1.1
Louisa	2,602	361	25.3	18.8
Lunenburg	2,905	500	13.9	39.8
Madison	976	79	17.2	43.9
Mathews	1,139	150	8.1	23.1
Mecklenburg	7,655	335	13.2	24.9
Middlesex	1,568	212	4.4	49.5
Montgomery	959	465	13.5	41.9
Nansemond	8,931	1,148	48.5	5.3
Nelson	1,882	352	12.9	65.3
New Kent	1,150	240	18.7	27.0
Norfolk	8,898	1,426	20.9	54.0
Northampton	5,105	529	16.0	16.3
Northumberland	2,118	716	10.4	53.5
Nottoway	3,607	655	33.8	40.8
Orange	1,791	247	18.2	43.9
Page	313	110	13.8	26.7
Patrick	626	80	35.1	3.7
Pittsylvania	9,271	502	12.8	8.4
Powhatan	1,349	329	5.4	30;9
Prince Edward	3,468	725	24.4	43.6
Prince George	3,129	175	20.9	44.6
Prince William	~~5,724~~ 1524		5.6	30.3
Princess Anne	~~1,524~~ 5724	~~1,800~~ 1414		11.9
Pulaski	1,165	695	24.7	23.5
Rappahannock	617	330	59.7	7.5
Richmond	1,077	235	53.5	17.7
Roanoke	2,321	539	21.8	34.4
Rockbridge	1,211	345	23.2	8.5
Rockingham	409	78	28.5	8.6
Russell	370	75	19.1	1.9
Scott	187	36	20.3	2.5
Shenandoah	231	75	19.3	1.0
Smyth	289	82	32.5	1.8
Southampton	7,972	575	28;4	1.6
Spotsylvania	1,470	335	7.2	60.9
Stafford	800	350	22.8	23.9
Surry	1,941	310	43.8	12.9
Sussex	4,034	540	16.0	63.8
Tazewell	1,667	267	13.4	65.6
Warren	663	137	16.0	6.1
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~		20.7	8.0
Washington	741	148		
Westmoreland	2,285	331	20.0	3.2
Wise	1,376	207	14.5 *25.5	45.5
Wythe	663	169	15.0 ** 35.7	4.2
York	1,699	607	36.7	4.7
			[illegible]	26.3

Virginia

Independent City ✓	Nonwhite population over 21 1950 ✓	Negroes Registered 1956 ✓	Percent Potential Negroes Registered ✓	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950 ✓
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640	32.0 ✓	12.4
Bristol City	704	110	15.6 ✓	7.1
Buena Vista	148	29	19.6 ✓	4.2
Charlottesville	3,079	1,054	34.2 ✓	18.2
Clifton Forge	645	171	26.5 ✓	18.1
Colonial Heights	7	0	- -	0.2
Covington		310	—	
Danville	6,517	1,448	22.2 ✓	30.2
Falls Church	90	42	46.7 ✓	1.8
Fredricksburg	1,224	357	29.2 ✓	16.1
2 Galax		15	—	
Hampton	8,617	2,087	24.2 ✓	
Harrisonburg	433	185	42.7 ✓	6.3
Hopewell	917	350	38.2 ✓	14.8
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506	38.5 ✓	22.0
Martinsville	2,825	352	12.5 ✓	29.3
Newport News	11,754	3,341	28.4 ✓	43.2
Norfolk	42,028	9,328	22.2 ✓	29.7
Norton		135	—	
Petersburg	9,399	1,407	15.0 ✓	42.2
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444	17.9 ✓	38.4
Radford	369	144	39.0 ✓	7.0
Richmond	48,257	11,569	24.0 ✓	31.7
Roanoke	9,420	2,408	25.6 ✓	15.9
South Norfolk	1,434	868	60.5 ✓	23.0
Staunton	1,397	285	20.4 ✓	10.9
Suffolk	3,004	476	15.8 ✓	36.7
Va. Beach City		100	—	
Warrick City	7,129	868	12.2 ✓	
Waynesboro	564	130	23.0 ✓	8.2
Williamsburg	569	93	16.3 ✓	13.0
Winchester	722	91	12.6 ✓	8.3

TABLE 1

NEGRO REGISTRATION

STATE	1947	1952	1956
ALABAMA	6,000	25,224	53,366
ARKANSAS	47,000	61,413	69,677
FLORIDA	49,000	120,900	148,703
GEORGIA	125,000	144,835	163,389
LOUISIANA	10,000	120,000	161,410
*MISSISSIPPI	5,000	20,000	20,000*
NORTH CAROLINA	75,000	100,000	135,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	50,000	80,000	99,890
TENNESSEE	80,000	85,000	90,000
TEXAS	100,000	181,916	214,000
VIRGINIA	48,000	69,326	82,603
TOTALS	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038

*Mississippi totals are for 1955.

STATE 1947 1952 1956

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

February 26, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am returning to you the copy of the draft on Negro registration.

Mr. Lubell left yesterday for Washington and the Howard Lectures and asked me to thank you for making the draft available to him. It was quite helpful in his preparations for the lectures.

Sincerely,

Corinne Silverman

Corinne Silverman,
Assistant

120,198 Listed To Vote May 8

With registration now closed, 120,198 Atlantians are qualified to vote in the May 8 city primary election.

Figures released Thursday by the city executive committee show that this is an increase of approximately 26,000 over the last city government election in 1953.

Of Atlanta's registered voters, 93,687 are white and 26,511 are Negro. This compared to 78,600 white voters and 17,300 Negro voters registered in the 1953 election.

Atlanta Journal
4/12/57

Suffrage

II

NEGRO REGISTRATION--PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE

During the past decade, Negro registration has climbed steadily, if gradually. Today, there are at least ~~1,239,500~~ 1,238,500 Negroes on voting rolls in the 11 Southern states.

This figure, based on the estimated number of registrants at the time of the 1956 general election, represents a gain of ~~210,000~~ 229,400 over the ~~1,029,000~~ 1,008,614 registered in 1952, which in turn was a ~~434,000~~ 413,600 increase over the 595,000 registered in 1947.

Despite this ~~impressive~~ growth, the current figure represents only about 25 per cent of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the region, as compared to a 60 per cent registration among eligible white Southerners.[1]

It should be observed at the outset that accurate registration figures are difficult to obtain. Voting lists often are out of date, bearing names of dead and non-resident citizens and race frequently is recorded in a haphazard fashion. The figures used in this survey are based on information from voting officials, registration records, county-by-county reports, and interviews with informed observers.

The Negro registration figures used probably are more accurate than the white. Officials tend to keep a closer check on Negro registrants and they are more subject to periodic purges. Moreover, names of white registrants may have been on the books 50 years, whereas Negroes have ~~only~~ been enfranchised only for 10 or 12; thus, it is far more likely that the white rolls are inflated and contain the names of those moved or deceased.

In Georgia, for example, 63 of the state's 159 counties reported to the Secretary of State in 1956 white registration totals which exceed the white population of voting age.[2] Calhoun County represented the extreme, reporting 187 per cent of its eligible white population on the voting rolls.

Based then on the best estimates available, Texas leads the region in the number of Negroes registered--214,000--followed by Georgia with 163,~~385~~389 and Louisiana with 161,410.

(1) Population figures ~~throughout this report~~ are based on the 1950 Census

(2) In addition, 33 Georgia counties reported white registration representing 90 to 99 per cent of white population of voting age and 27 counties a white registration of from 80 to 89 per cent of the eligible. Only three counties reported Negro registration in excess of 100 per cent of the Negro eligibles, two from 90 to 99 per cent, and five 80 to 89 per cent.)

The latter shows the greatest gain--41,410--since 1952; also, Negroes make up 18 per cent of the total registration in Louisiana, the highest among Southern states.

Only in Mississippi did Negro registration level off, or perhaps decline, in the past four years. The latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 195~~4~~5; 20,000 is the figure generally agreed upon for that year, about the same as two years earlier. Governor ~~Governor~~ J. P. Coleman, however, estimated Negro registration in 1954 at 22,000. Some observers feel that the number has remained static ~~not increased~~ at best, and others believe there has been a sharp drop. ~~perhaps to as few as 8,000.~~

On the other hand, the State Times of Jackson, Miss[redacted], surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 and concluded, "Throughout the state, Negro registrations were expected to be up over 1952, even though total Negro population is down." That the increase is negligible is demonstrated by the following figures released in the State Times survey:

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1952
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Marion	4,103	500	100
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Smith	1,400	13	1
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Tunica	9,123	38	3
*Wilkinson	4,558	55	50
Benton	1,749	35	35
*Issaquena	1,790	0	0
*Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Choctaw	~~1,412~~ 1,482	13	18
Covington	2,354	440	311
Itawamba	470	36	12

(*Counties with over 50 per cent Negro population)

What are the prospects for Negro voting in the South generally? Survey consultants feel there will be a continuation of the steady progress of the past few years, particularly as economic and educational opportunities increase.

Of course, as the number of Negro registrants has been increasing numerically, so has the white. Unless the pace is accelerated, it still will be many years before the registration record of Negroes approaches that of the white South.

Many factors will determine the speed with which Negroes progress toward their goal of political equality. Not the last of these is the attitude of the white community, which is subject to increasing scrutiny. In this regard, John Herbers of the United Press wrote (Jackson, Miss,[redacted], October 20, 1956):

"Bars against Negro voting, against his right to participate in the functions of government is the point outsiders always find the most shocking about the Southern way of life despite its sanction by white officials all the way to the top.

"Mississippi has been successful in selling racial segregation to some outsiders. A great many Northerners can understand why Southern whites fear things like intermarriage and social mixing. But they look at voting in a different light."

Because of the spotlight of public opinion--both at home and abroad--on the South, and in the wake of federal court decisions on segregation, attitudes of white citizens in the region are changing. Many are hardening their lines of resistance and the resulting tension~~s~~, conflict~~s~~, and violence make daily headlines. But there is another South which is changing gradually and quietly. In the Spring of 1956, the Southern Regional Council, with the financial aid of the Fund for the Republic, surveyed progress toward integration in all fields during the two-year period following the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954. It found nearly 1,100 instances of desegregation almost equally divided between five border states and 12 Southern states.

It is this "other South" which holds much promise for the political future of Negro citizens. It can create a favorable climate of opinion which will encourage more Negroes [redacted] to exercise their basic right to vote. It can allow white candidates to seek Negro votes openly, which in turn will encourage others to qualify.

Leadership also will play an important role in the future of Negro voting. Its continued improvement promises a growing awareness of the value of the ballot. More and more Negroes are spreading the word THAT "A voteless people is a voiceless people." As Negro spokesmen in one Georgia county said in substance:

"If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites--or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and ~~we~~ be respected when we go downtown."

Finally, the influence of the Federal Government on the future of Negro voting cannot be ignored. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made "routine" checks of some election procedures in parts of the South, presumably with an eye to possible civil rights violations. Prior to the 1956 presidential election, the U.S. Attorney General ~~Herbert Brownell~~ ordered the criminal division of the Justice Department and the FBI to maintain a watch at the polls on election day to deal with violations of federal laws. It can be assumed that SUCH announcements make an impression on both white and Negro citizens.

The prospect~~s~~ FOR Negro voting in several of the states as summed up by the field consultants follow:

NORTH CAROLINA: "Increasing registration by Negroes but not in tremendous numbers~~,~~...The counties that now restrict Negro registration increasingly will use more legal and sophisticated tactics to neutralize the political effectiveness of the Negro... Regardless of what methods may be used, the Negro is becoming more important politically as direct restrictions on his franchise decline. Many of the registrars who emphasize these restrictive tactics are old and are dying out."

LOUISIANA: "Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgative efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape...In the parishes (counties) where subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppression, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage... In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future... The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can be registered with a minimum of difficulty."

SOUTH CAROLINA: "Notwithstanding the obstacles that are standing in the way of the Negro's complete political freedom, there is evidence that he is on the move politically ~~in South Carolina~~. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negroes today."

ALABAMA: While the State Consultant feels that "the future of Negro voting looks brighter," there still are forces at work in Alabama which make a major increase, particularly in the black belt, seem unlikely in the immediate future.

TEXAS: "The Negro is on the way toward becoming a ~~[illegible]~~ MAJOR political force ~~[illegible]~~... The school integration question, although not actually a political issue, is looming large in Texas politics. This gives Negroes a greater sense of political responsibility and the change is beginning to show its effects."

VIRGINIA: "The greatest threat to the increase of the suffrage at present time is the current attack on the NAACP by the state and local governments...On the other hand, there are prospects of increasing Negro participation in politics as revealed by the following facts:....A number of counties have centralized registration in the past three or four years. Where these registrars ARE FUNCTIONING, THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF DISCRIMINATORY COMPLAINTS.. ~~...are dying out or being replaced~~ OLDER, OFTEN BIASED REGISTRARS... ARE DYING OUT OR BEING REPLACED by younger persons, better educated and less biased....Political consciousness is growing among Negroes."

GEORGIA: "The statistical and field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage...Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Futhermore, agriculture as a source of income continues to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus, the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants and voters."

FLORIDA: "Negro leaders are quite capable of increasing the Negro voting potential. They have been devoting much time and energy to the struggle against Jim-Crowism, especially as it relates to the public schools and public transportation and have not had much time or energy left to devote to political education and encouragement....They are now launching a determined drive to educate the Negro to his suffrage responsibilities."

III

~~Not proofread~~

LEGAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

~~OTHER FACTORS~~

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary--long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five states retain the poll tax--Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern states based on literacy or constitutional interpretion interpretation tests include:

ALABAMA: In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of 1951 provides: "The following persons....shall be qualified to register....those who can read and write any Article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that...each applicant shall be furnished...a written questionnaire.... Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance..."

GEORGIA: A registrant must be able to read correctly in English "any paragraph" of the state or U. S. Constitution and "correctly write the same" when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of "physical inability" may qualify if they can "understand" and give a "reasonable" interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the state on which an elector resides or property in the state assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

MISSISSIPPI: In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the state's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

VIRGINIA: Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the one year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the state, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the ~~registrar~~ registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

SOUTH CAROLINA: A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the state constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the state assessed at $300 or more.

ARKANSAS: Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, non-cumulative poll tax is the only requirement for the voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the state.

LOUISIANA: A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the state or U. S. Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and ~~republican~~ reputation, attached to the "principles" of the Louisiana and U. S. Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

NORTH CAROLINA: Prospective voters must be able to "read and write" any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or may dictate any section he ~~selects.~~ chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a state with a "literacy" law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice--or prejudice.

[redacted] Socio-economic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any Southern community exerts a powerful influence on Negro registration.

~~Relx~~ Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition [redacted] help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide. ~~so variable that counties are divided into "high" and "low" categories.~~

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the state average, 69 per cent show Negro registration above the state median; 68 per cent of the counties above the state average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro--80 ~~per cent of per cent of these~~ per cent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In ~~count~~ counties where Negroes rank above the state median in the number of school years completed, 89 per cent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 per cent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the ~~significancex~~ significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the state figure of $1,130, 61 per cent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only ~~2xxx~~ 35 per cent are high in the ~~nx~~ number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro ~~regix~~ registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds ~~manufx~~ manufacturing income, 37 per cent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 per cent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

~~Among~~ The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the state average in the number ~~fx~~ of farms operated by tenants, only 34 per cent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the state average in tenacy, 63 per cent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

IV

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Section with errors

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the Citizens Council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro Southerner changed in recent years. 7

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night--these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence~~,~~ is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept ALIVE in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

The Alabama Consultant directed a Field Survey in each of the counties in his state. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Alabama, where the Board of Registrars ~~have~~ WAS received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass--with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 5,425 Negroes of voting age, only six were registered in the Summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried and of these, 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the Board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encountered greater difficulty. This is the "black belt" section of the state, so called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are

18,145

Registered.(1) In 1956, alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires three or four times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seem~~ed~~s to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,226 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local Citizens Council, ~~was~~ is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala~~bama~~, where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the Board of Registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or ~~had been~~ told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,041 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past two years for "failure to fill out forms correctly." One Negro ~~woman~~ teacher in Alabama, said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama Boards require~~d~~ two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one County where about two per cent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black belt county which is somewhat less than 50 per cent Negro, Registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened ~~with~~ anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about

(1) (Registration figures used are those of 1956).

200 of over 5,000 NEGROES ~~have~~ registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa ~~, Ala~~ COUNTY, ALSO said he ~~also~~ was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters drive in Choctaw County. In the latter, 112 of ~~4,189~~ 4,819 4,822 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially ~~re~~refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present~~s~~ one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only ~~7,200~~ ABOUT 7,000 of ~~121,510~~ 121,667 Negroes over 21 ARE registered~~ in 1956~~; at least that many more ~~were~~ HAVE BEEN turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state~~,~~: added questions about government. They might ask on what date the tenth amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. (~~Table 3~~ SEE page ____ for one sample questionnaire handed applicants in 1955). While Negroes have been the Board's main target, white ~~labor~~ union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

omit sentence in parenthesis

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case~~,~~: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala~~bama~~, home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained

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[2] "Registration of Voters in Alabama," Donald S. Strong, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.

Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about five to one; of the 14,539 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have registered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported, in April, 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the Board of Registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for two of the three members resigned and it takes at least two to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened. ck

In North Carolina, as in other states with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State Board of Elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic ~~test~~ rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May, 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the state constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not "satisfy the registrar."

But there are counties throughout the state, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practi~~v~~ce of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he may still qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the STATE constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to "prove" his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens Council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, La., reported (Oct. 12, 1956) that members of the Citizens Council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Sen William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimous unaniously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, Council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 per cent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out "colored" on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C", the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further futher check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a Citizens Council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged two weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose palce of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of Route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a Southerner born and raised right here in Central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any Southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls... I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On Feb 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Asst. Assi t Att y. Gen Warren Olney III said the

FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Att~~orne~~y. Gen~~eral~~ Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a begin number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights proposals.(31)

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana Parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October, "There were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

(31) Associated Press, Washington, D. C., Feb~~ruary~~. 27, 1957.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman Celler that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October, 1956, by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana and other Southern states to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058, and Union, 600.

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in ~~Tensas Parish~~ one parish, which is over 50 per cent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: When he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his "happiness" and "allowed" that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There ~~also~~ are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana parishes, all counties with populations over 50 per cent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana Consultant said, "Subterfuge~~s~~ is unnecessary to ~~discontinue~~ discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November, 1956, Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a federal court action."

In South Carolina, the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some couties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the state constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened ~~for~~ with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered, they would be fired.

4437 Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites--10,449 to 4,304--has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said. ~~Negroes there are even afraid to discuss voting.~~

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers, reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

5 — 3,678

In another South Carolina County, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered, (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites) an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at ght for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have "lost " them.

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the state usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes--to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that state, nevertheless, it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia "capitation tax" they have paid their poll tax. Some tax collectors (REPORTED) HAVE discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes HAVE reported they did not receive poll tax bills along with their property tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the LEGAL REQUIREMENTS ~~rights under the law~~ and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other states turn up here and there in the state, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are "busy" or "ill" or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only four and 10 years later only two. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties, Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

COUNTY	NEGRO POPULATION OVER 21	NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13 -64
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3 -5
~~Levy~~	~~2,107~~	~~33.9~~	~~51 -603~~
Liberty	333	18.1 -18.3	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77 -91

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the state, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation--cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterwards."

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various sub-regional areas of the state. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the "hard core" of the state in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and ~~Decautr~~ DECATUR, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 per cent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 per cent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of RACIAL violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early county, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the Court House to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the Board of Registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the Court House for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the Court House square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton

County, Georgia, many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of four Negroes--two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose bu~~y~~T what it is, I don't know."

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the state dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rel~~ied~~y on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the white Citizens Council, apparently, use~~d~~s them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country ~~and~~ WAS the lowest percentage registered. Only four per cent were on the list of qualified voters in 195~~4~~5, although Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections o~~f~~N which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that ~~many~~ others went unreported. In 1955~~,~~ alon~~g~~e, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the state.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., wa=s told to move from his home and withdraw his names as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused and in November, 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's ~~the~~ a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been
And HAD ON HANDCUFFS. I'M 65 YEARS OLD AND I'VE NEVER
a trouble maker and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts' shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the state after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shootings. Elsewhere, the

#9

V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Indent 16 pts

The racial, economic, and social pattern of any Southern community exerts a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Armed with statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition, it is possible to guess with a fair degree of accuracy whether the percentage of eligible Negroes registered will be above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and ~~with~~ have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course. Louisiana and Arkansas provide outstanding examples of the variations.

Georgia presents a fairly typical picture. In the state's 15~~7~~9 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25.[1] However, the range of the registration figures is so variable that counties are divided into "high" and "low" categories.

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8 pt

[1] The 1950 census reported no Negroes of voting age in two Georgia counties: Dawson and Union.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

It is apparent in Georgia that the more Negroes there are in relation to the white citizens, the lower the percentage of Negro registrants. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the state average, 69 per cent ~~record~~ show Negro registration ~~is below~~ ABOVE the state median; 68 per cent of the counties above the state average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro -- 80 per cent of these fall below the median in ~~non-white~~ Negro registration.

A further association between registration and population: only 36 percent of the counties in Georgia losing population list Negro registration above the median but 65 per cent of the counties growing in population are above. A loss of population generally indicates a county is not keeping pace with the state's growing industrialization. It offers fewer job opportunities; educational facilities are below par. Negroes in such counties are particularly hard pressed and the younger ones, who would be most likely to assert their right to vote, move to the nearest city or head North.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the state median in the number of school years completed ~~88~~ 89 per cent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 per cent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the state figure of $1,1~~1~~30, 61 per cent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 per cent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

~~Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarly agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 per cent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 per cent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.~~

~~And, the agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the state average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 per cent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the state average in tenancy, 63 per cent rank high in Negro registration.~~

~~Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.~~

~~Louisiana, however, is an exception due to religious-cultural factors.~~

Negro registration in Louisiana is concentrated in the southern and central portions of the state and is lowest in the northwestern and northeastern parishes. ([redacted]) The following figures show the percentage of Negro registration is higher in the parishes (counties) predominantly Catholic:[2]

	Number of Negroes Registered	Potential Negro Voters	Per Cent Registered
French-Catholic Parishes[3] [redacted]	70,488	138,000	51
Non-French Parishes (Predominantly Protestant)	90,922	390,000	23

8 ital c&lc

8 pt

Both Negro and white persons interviewed agreed that the attitude toward the Negro in French-Catholic Louisiana is different than that generally found in the northern Protestant parishes. To point up the difference, for example, they said that crowds at political meetings in southern Louisiana often are integrated, but segregated in the northern part of the state; that Citizens Councils have strong backing in northern parishes but less support in southern Louisiana, and that in some industries and businesses in southern Louisiana, Negroes work at skilled jobs beside white employees and use the same facilities.

There are several explanations for this variant attitude of the French Catholic people toward the Negro. For one thing, according to the Louisiana consultant for this survey:

"The Catholic church is virtually the only major bi-racial institution in Louisiana which is actively working toward integration. For example, in a parish in the Mississippi Delta where

[2] (LOUISIANA POPULATION FIGURES ARE BASED ON 1956 ESTIMATES)

8 pt

[3] (Taken from T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, "The People of Louisiana," Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1952, p. 143. French Parishes: Acadia, Ascension, Assumption, Avoyelles, Calcasieu, Cameron, Evangeline, Iberia, Iberville, Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Lafourche, Plaquemines, Pointe Coupee, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermillion, West Baton Rouge.)

NEGROES COMPRISE OVER 50 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION AND not a single Negro is registered to vote, the Catholic priest stands alone among whites in his fight for racial equality. In this protestant, Anglo-Saxon, delta parish, this priest has initiated integrated Sunday School and communion classes.

"It should be said on behalf of the protestant ministers in parishes such as this that the Catholic ~~pastor~~ CLERGYMAN is in a much better position than they to take an advanned position on the Negro question. If a protestant minister should attempt to emulate the priest's example, he would lose his post, whereas the members of a Catholic church have no such control over the selection of their priest."

It should be noted, too, that the Catholic path is not always smooth, as shown by the vigorous opposition of many white Catholic laymen to the pronouncements on integration of Archbishop Rummell of New Orleans. However, whatever the reasons, the fact remains that the Catholic church is an important variable with respect to Negro registration in Louisiana.

In non-Catholic parishes of Louisiana there is a distinct correlation between the tenancy rate and the per cent of the potential Negro vote registered as shown by the following:

Per Cent Tenancy	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent Negro Registration
50% and up	11	12
40-49%	4	19
30-39%	6	25
20-29%	6	36
10-19%	9	53
0-9%	3	59

6- SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

No measurable relationship exists between tenancy and Negro registration in the French-Catholic parishes, as is seen in the following break-down:

8 ital

Per Cent Tenancy	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent Negro Registration
50% and up	6	65
40-49%	0	--
30-39%	7	48
20-29%	5	67
10-19%	7	43
0-9%	0	--

8 pt

A high tenancy rate in a parish indicates the existence of a plantation economy. In the plantation parishes a few individuals own the vast majority of the land and the Negroes are in a subservient position.

"In a number of Mississippi Delta parishes," the Louisiana consultant reported, "The plantation owners take pride in the resemblance which exists between the 1856 and 1956 plantations, and if the 'master' is opposed to Negro registration, few Negroes would think of attempting it."

There also is no discernible relation between urbanization and Negro registration in Louisiana, as can be seen by the following figures:

8 ital

Per Cent Urban	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent of Negroes Registered
70% and up	5	29
50-69%	4	45
40-49%	8	27
30-39%	10	46
20-29%	14	49
10-19%	6	28
0-9%	17	43

8 pt

This exception to the tendency toward a concentration of Negro registration in urban areas is caused in large part, the Louisiana consultant feels, by a lack of leadership and the fact that city Negroes in the state often do not feel a part of their community.

In rural areas, on the other hand, the~~re is a feeling of communality~~ COMMUNITY TIES ARE CLOSER and often Negroes respond in wholesale fashion to appeals of their leaders to register.

In Arkansas, the registration record of Negroes in the state as a whole is decidedly less impressive than that of white citizens. Economic dependency and the lower income and educational status of Negroes are contributing factors. But the Arkansas consultant for this survey feels that an even greater cause of non-voting by Negroes is their exclusion from the entire business of politics, patronage, office holding, and policy making.

Arkansas provides an interesting variation from the usual voting pattern of counties in the South with a high percentage of Negroes. Surprisingly, in this state there is a tendency in such counties for the level of white registration to be lower ~~than~~ and that of Negro registration to be higher than in the counties with few or no Negroes.

The Negro population in Arkansas is concentrated in non-metropolitan areas, mostly in the eastern and southern counties bordering the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Traditionally, these are the areas of the plantation system, tenancy, one-crop agriculture (cotton), and restrictive race relations. In the past 20 years there have been marked changes, with many Negroes moving to cities for a number of reasons, including the mechanization of farms and the promise of better jobs elsewhere. With the exception of the larger urban areas, Negro population dropped strikingly in most Arkansas counties between 1940-50, particularly in those with a large proportion of Negroes.

Still, the old order prevails to a large extent in these plantation counties. Negroes lag behind the white citizens in income and the number of school years completed and both races are below state and national averages.

"Logically, any deterrence to Negro registration and voting would have been found in those areas," the Arkansas consultant commented. He thought the higher Negro registration may be due to "Negro political leadership developed to counteract widespread restrictive racial practices, which in turn tends partially to neutralize the limiting effects of low economic status on suffrage."

In Texas, also, economic status has a definite bearing on Negro voting and as everywhere in the South the self-employed are far more likely to be politically active. The Negro's living still comes primarily from the land in Texas, where THERE are many independent Negro farmers. They raise cotton and timber in east Texas and rice in the south. ~~Some of~~ the rice farmers SOMETIMES control extremely large holdings. Some of those around the Jefferson County (Beaumont and Port Arthur) area at times gross over $100,000 a year. Many, however, are small farmers compelled to supplement their annual income by part-time employment in the small towns and cities nearby. This in itself is an emancipating force, for it often marks the first step toward permanent urban habitation and, in some instances, unionization. The independent Negro farmers, with doctors, businessmen, other self-employed Negroes, and some teachers, form a corps of political leadership for their people.

In North Carolina, economic dependency of the Negro on the white population has its most telling effect on registration in rural areas and small towns, particularly in the eastern part of the state. Most vulnerable to pressure are tenant farmers, teachers, and domestic servants.

The difficulties potential Negro voters encounter in Virginia tend to mount as the per cent of Negroes in the population increases. In line with the rest of the South, the counties of high Negro population usually are high also in illiteracy and low in economic status, which leads to dependency and susceptibility to pressure from the employing class.

Virginia counties with a relatively high percentage of Negroes are in the Eastern Shore, Coastal Plain, Tidewater, Southside, and Piedmont sections.

Agriculturally, these areas are "largely semi-feudal and paternalistic with the white large land owners operating as quasi-feudal lords," the Virginia consultant wrote.

"For their farms, sawmills, small businesses, and homes they want an ample supply of cheap, tractable, and exploitable labor. Over the years they have worked out a system of economic, educational, social, and political organization which will provide this labor pattern. Being in economic and political control, they have established policies to keep the vote small so as to insure CONTINUED political control....

"In many of the localities a few dominant families, their relatives, and friends form something like an interlocking directorate and control the key positions in the economic, social, and political system. The result is that the mere awareness of its presence has the effect of cowing both whites and blacks and especially those who depend on them for land rental contracts, jobs, wages, loans and credit, sponsorship, protection, and representation....

"The educational level of the Negroes, the lack or paucity of leaders among them, their physical and cultural isolation... their economic poverty which keeps their minds and energies concentrated upon satisfying their basic physical needs, ~~and the~~ AND THE IMAGININGS AND FEARS THAT ACCOMPANY A DEPENDENT AND NIGH helpless people all militate against political activity.

"In the northern part of the state, where the Negro population is so much smaller percentage-wise, many of the Negroes work in agriculture and in domestic and personal service occupations. Their small numbers isolate them... and bring them psychologically as well as economically under the dominant influence of their employers."

The connection between Negro population and registration also appears in South Carolina, where the median proportion of Negroes is 47.4 and the Negro registration **median** is 17.4. Seventy per cent of the counties **having** fewer Negroes than the state median are above the median in Negro registration; by contrast, only 35 per cent of the counties of high Negro population rank above the registration median.

South Carolina also offers an example of the correlation between a county's population loss or gain and Negro registration. Two-thirds of the counties in the state gained in population between 1940 and 1950 and 61 per cent of these are above the median in Negro registration. In 80 per cent of the counties losing population, Negro registration is below the median. The tendency for higher income and education levels to coincide with greater Negro registration also is evident in South Carolina.

For Alabama counties, the median percentage of Negro eligibles registered is 10.9 per cent. Among the Southern states, only Mississippi has a lower median. Ten of Alabama's 67 counties have no Negroes registered, and only two, Marion and Walker, have more than 50 per cent of their eligibles on the books. However, non-whites comprise only 2.7 per cent of the population in Marion and 10 per cent in Walker. The familiar pattern--low Negro registration going hand-in-hand with below average income and education and a high degree of farm tenancy--is apparent in Alabama.

In Mississippi, Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age but represent a minute part of the registered electorate. The median registration figure for eligible Negroes is less than one per cent. There were 14 counties in which no Negroes were registered in 195~~4~~5 (the last year for which figures were available) and 28 in which less than one per cent had registered. As mentioned previously, many observers believe that there are even fewer Negroes registered in Mississippi today than in 195~~4~~5. Urbanization, industrialization, and Negro farm tenancy have a bearing on Negro registration, as in other Southern states. An increase in the median school years completed by all groups in Mississippi seems to have more effect on Negro registration than the school years completed by Negroes only. This leads to the conjecture that intolerance among better educated whites is somewhat modified, paving the way for increased Negro registration. The same effect appears where the overall income level is above the median.

(4)

The county medians of Negro registration found in the survey:

8 pt (13)

2 col makeup

Alabama . . .	10.9	PER CENT	~~1956~~ [illegible]
Arkansas	30.1		~~1955~~
Florida	44.1		~~1956~~
Georgia	25.0		~~1956~~
Louisiana	40.1		~~1956~~
Mississippi	.83		~~1954~~
North Carolina	21.4		~~1956~~
South Carolina	17.4		~~1956~~
~~Tenn.~~			
Texas	26.7		~~1956~~
Virginia	20.0		~~1956~~

(4)

(Tennessee County by county figures unavailable). All other medians are based on 1956 except Arkansas and Mississippi, where figures are for 1955.

#5

VI

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Indent 20 pts

Negro leaders in many Southern counties feel that persons of their race have only themselves to blame for not voting.

There are registration boards which treat Negroes fairly and some even ~~have given~~ (GIVE HELP) beyond what the law allows. There are communities where white persons encourage Negroes to register, or at least do not try to deter them, and where candidates seek the Negro vote. Still, in many of these places the number of Negroes registered remain appallingly low.

On the surface, only apathy seems to limit voting of thousands of Southern Negroes. Such disinterest is found everywhere, of course, among both white and Negro citizens. In the nation as a whole, an average of only about 60 per cent of the eligible voters turn out on election day. And undoubtedly, if all racial distinctions were abolished many negroes simply wouldn't bother to vote, even as their fellow white citizens.

But as matters stand, a lack of political consciousness is a particularly acute problem among Negroes in the South. Many factors peculiar to the region contribute to its existence.

No one can know, for example, to what extent the system of segregation has deadened initiative and civic interest. After being deprived of first class citizenship and the ballot for so many years, ignored by the white community except in a menial capacity, and cut off from policy-making bodies, Negroes as a group could not be expected to develop a strong sense of civic and political responsibility overnight.

In counties and precincts where registration is easy for Negroes, it has become so only recently. After decades of discrimination, there remains a natural reluctance to test the new policy, an uneasiness about becoming a "guinea pig." Most people, whatever their color, can experience only so many rebuffs before withdrawing into a protective state of inaction.

Often, too, it is difficult to arouse a motivation to vote when there is little concrete evidence of benefits to compensate for the trouble of qualifying. Negro representation on official bodies is still rare and the Negro candidate finds the road to political office exceedingly rough. Many can not see how political participation ties in with personal welfare and cite the lack of rewards like jobs, ~~and~~ personal favors, the preferment of friends or relatives, which many white persons and Negroes elsewhere can expect.

In addition to being so long cut off from the political mainstream, social and economic influences contribute to the seeming indifference.

More often than not, Negroes remain economically dependent on the white community and are afraid to do anything to endanger their jobs. One Negro in central Alabama, asked about the small number of Negroes registered in his county, answered, "Bread before ballots."

Tied in closely with the economic factor is education. Negroes stand low on the scale in the average number of school years completed. It is only in the past few years that high schools have been available to them in some sections; the one-room school, operating on a split-semester to allow time out for cotton picking, is not yet wholly a thing of the past. The illiteracy rate remains higher than for the population as a whole. Among Negroes with little formal education, particularly if they live in rural areas and small towns, isolated from daily newspapers and the world of ideas, it is not surprising to find little interest in voting.

Consider a field hand with little or no education, earning barely enough to provide himself and family with a substandard diet, living in an unpainted shack, exhausted by long hours of hard labor and completely dependent on a white employer opposed to any change. With only a monthly church service conducted by a visiting minister for recreation and an infrequent trip into town.

for provisions, with the knowledge that violence to "keep him in line" could come any dark night, it can scarcely be expected that he would be interested in an abstraction like voting.

It is impossible to know to what extent generally fear contributes to "apathy" -- fear of violence, insults, reprisals. Though it might seem easy to register and vote at present, many Negroes interviewed did not trust the new order yet. Some foresaw the danger of the clock being turned back if Negroes registered in sufficient numbers to challenge white power at the polls.

But, whatever the contributing factors, consultants throughout the region found indifference one of the strongest barriers to increased Negro voting.

In Tennessee, for example, where Negroes comprise approximately 20 per cent of the total population, it has been farily simple for all citizens to register since the 1940's; the abolition of the poll tax in 1953 made it even easier. Only in three counties in west Tennessee-- Haywood, Hardaman and Fayette -- does intimidation pose a major threat. Still, only about 28 per cent of the Negroes of voting age have registered and, of course, even fewer vote. Why?

One Negro active in politics said the answer is, in large part, "lethargy." Another said of the majority of his people, "They're not interested; there's a complacency." A Negro civic worker commented, "If they were prohibited, maybe it would be different."

Negro leaders said it is particularly difficult to stir interest in state elections in Tennessee. One asserted, "The rank and file don't see the importance of voting for state offices... The vast majority are not conscious that the state government is as important as local and national government; THAT LAWS CAN BE MADE LOCALLY IN THE STATE decision ON ISSUES AND THAT NO CITY they don't realize ~~the importance of voting to prevent the bad issues."~~ in Tennessee enjoys home rule. They don't realize the importance of voting to prevent the bad issues."

These viewpoints were echoed by a white political leader in Nashville, who spoke of both races: "Only a miserable percentage of those qualified will actually vote. There is a complacency in everybody."

start

In sections of west Tennessee, Negro leaders have to fight a widespread inclination to leave politics entirely in the hands of the white community.

Evidence of apathy appeared in interviews over most of the South.

In Alabama's black belt, most Dallas County Negroes found in barber shops and pool rooms would not even talk about voting. Among the comments of those who would: "I don't want nothing to do with it;" "If they don't want me to vote, I don't want to," and "Leave them white folks alone." Only 275 of the 18,145 eligible Negroes registered in the county.(1)

Cotton pickers in Escambia County, south of the black belt, joked at the idea of voting and most said, "That's white folks business."

The same answer came from a spokesman for 20 cotton pickers in a field in another Alabama black belt county. During this conversation, the white land owner came over to ask, "Is he (the interviewer) trying to start trouble?" There were widespread reports in the county that plantation owners generally see that their Negroes don't vote and another that the former practice of white persons taking Negroes to register and then controlling their vote has ~~septted.~~ stopped. Voicing a view heard often in the county, one Negro said, "We have never had any trouble, but was always told how to vote. Now we are left alone."

In Barbour County, Ala., 24 Negroes selected at random all saw no reason for voting. Only 220 of 7,158 eligible Negroes have registered. The same disinterest was reported among Negroes in Chilton and Walker counties; in the latter, it was difficult even to persuade veterans to register.

8pt

(1) Registration figures referred to throughout this chapter are for 1956.

In Peach County, Ga., where Negroes outnumber whites by a ratio of six to four, many said also that their votes don't count. They have to enter the rear of the City Hall to deposit their ballots in a black box; white voters use the front door and place their ballots in an unpainted box.

In those South Carolina counties where more than 1,000 Negroes have registered, the field consultant said hundreds of others could qualify. Many have not learned the advantages of the ballot and are novices in politics. They have been told over and over in one way or another that voting is none of their business and this long period of indoctrination is still having its effect.

Education and economics play a part, too. In Horry County, S.C., where 2,700 of the 6,969 Negroes of voting age are on the registration list, many who might qualify will not try. However, approximately 70 per cent depend on the white community for their living. In Florence County, where only 1,600 of the 16,650 Negroes over 21 are registered, it seems that what appears to be apathy is in fact pressure. One of the small towns in the county, Lake City, is a center of White Citizens Council activity.

In Lee County, S.C., 1,500 of the 6,246 non-whites have registered; some of those who have not are uninterested in voting and the literacy level of Negroes in the county is so low that others could not pass the reading test necessary to qualify.

The view that politics should be left entirely in the hands of white men and women was heard frequently among Negroes in several South Carolina counties, including Lancaster, Marlboro, Barnwell, and Dillon. In at least two other counties, the white community has encouraged Negroes to vote, but some of the older Negroes, particularly, are apathetic. This lack of interest is considered a major reason more Negroes are not registered in perhaps as many as 13 counties in South Carolina.

PAGE(S) MISSING

The survey consultant in Florida believes that one of the big obstacles in arousing Negroes to vote is the psychological difficulty of convincing them they need not be afraid. He feels they would experience little more than TOKEN resistance in 63 of the 67 counties in the state. This was illustrated in 1954 in a county where Negroes never had registered before, individual applicants having been discouraged or frightened away. A group of about 100 Negroes went to the courthouse in a body and found they had no trouble in registering. In 1956 over 900 Negroes enrolled.

In THE Mississippi Delta sections of Louisiana where no Negroes are registered, the majority appear almost totally uninterested in voting. However, they are not far removed from slavery in terms of economics and education; in the main, they follow the dictates of the plantation owners. The immediate hope for an increased Negro electorate in Louisiana lies elsewhere, particularly in the cities. Much remains to be done in Louisiana to overcome the urban Negroes' political indifference, which a field consultant blamed largely on three factors.

1. Often, they are new to the city, without roots in the community; for many this is only a step toward Los Angeles or Chicago.

2. Urban Negro leaders often fail to coordinate their efforts and by confining their attention to their particular organizations fail to mobilize the resources of the entire Negro community.

3. Urban Negro leadership often is rather poor in quality or so closely identified with the white community it loses the confidence of other Negroes.

In the eastern part of North Carolina, a Negro commented, "The hardest trouble now is to get people to register; they have been rejected so often that they are hesitant about trying again and again." Some migrants into the state come from rural areas in Georgia and South Carolina; trained to avoid anything concerned with politics, they have refused to register.

A Negro minister in a piedmont county of North Carolina contended, "The

[redacted]

Negro has no problem in registering in this county. Even illiterates can get on the books. Perhaps the

Negro has it too easy in this respect; if it were harder to register perhaps more would be interested in exercising their franchise."

The Arkansas field consultant suggested that wider opportunities for Negro participation in the political process over and above registration and voting could do much to overdome apathy. For example, Negroes have practically no voice in the political patronage system. When they run for local elective office, they are not an integral part of the machinery regulating party selection and support of candidates. In the past two years several Negroes have been appointed by the governor to the state Democratic Committee but many believe their participation was meant to be of a token nature. Only Garland and Miller have Negroes participating in the county party organization. In only one or two areas of the state are Negroes utilized in the actual machinery of balloting, as poll watchers, judges, and counters.

In Virginia, the consultant gave a lack of understanding of the significance of political action or a feeling of the uselessness of such activity as reasons a large number of Negroes seem uninterested in voting. Often, also, there is a vague fear of being unable to register successfully. In the southwest section of the state, where a two-party system generates vigorous political contests, there is a tendency for Negroes to be more active politically.

Because of the fear caused by intimidation in Mississippi, pressures exerted against an already depressed economic group, the low level of education, stringent registration requirements and the general attitude of white citizens, it is not difficult to understand the failure of most Negroes to seek to register and vote. Until the opportunity to vote is improved, the extent of disinterest cannot be measured.

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VII

ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

PRO AND CON

Indent 15 pts

Leadership often is the factor determining whether or not Negroes vote in the South. Alternately, it is the great hope and the great need of thousands.

In recent years one of the most spectacular developments in the field of Negro voting has been the tug-of-war between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and such pro-segregation groups as the White Citizens Councils.

Area-wide, these two powerful organizations work at cross purposes, the NAACP to increase Negro voting, the WCC to limit or end it altogether.

While their struggles often held the limelight, there are many organizations throughout the South working quietly to enfranchise Negroes. Some are statewide, more are local. Often, where there is no formal organization, individual leadership comes from teachers, ministers, business and professional men and women.

However, there still are a great many counties where Negroes have no political leadership. Teachers in such spots often face the loss of their jobs if they urge their people to vote. In some counties there are no Negro doctors, dentists, lawyers, or white collar workers, nor even a resident Negro minister to offer leadership.

Scores of Negroes living in areas where the white populace is hostile showed great courage. Often, they know their jobs, credit, and perhaps even their lives are at stake. Still, they forge ahead.

When Negroes in Laurens County, Ga., were register~~ed~~ING in lafge numbers and white men talked about trouble between the races, one Negro leader said, "I have already outlived my time on earth and will meet whatever they bring." ~~Another remarked, "If they assassinate me, it would set off one of the finest race riots imaginable."~~ ~~Both~~ He remembered how Isaiah Nixon, Negro, was killed in nearby Montgomery County in 1948 after he dared to vote. Fortunately, that incident has not been repeated in Georgia.

Atlanta offers one of the most dramatic examples of what coordinated, forceful leadership can accomplish.[1] From 1908 until 1943 Negro voting there was confined to general and special elections. However, as early as 1932 citizenship schools were started in Atlanta by leading Negro citizens to encourage voting by Negroes in ~~Atlanta~~ elections then open to them and to prepare them for the day when the courts would outlaw the white primary. The first spurt in Negro registration in Atlanta came after the Georgia legislature repealed the poll tax in 1945 and lowered the voting age to 18. Following this legislation, Negro registration reached a total of 3,000, largely through the efforts of the Atlanta Civic and Political League, the Atlanta Daily World (Negro newspaper) and the NAACP. Another drive to swell registration for a special congressional election in February, 1946, increased the total to 6,876.

Then, the United States Supreme Court on April 1, 1946, invalidated the white primary. Forseeing this possibility, the Atlanta Urban League and other groups already had spurred the formation of

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[1] Material on Atlanta voting: C.A. Bacote, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," Phylon, The Atlanta University Review, fourth quarter, 1955.

the All-Citizens Registration Committee. In all, 870 Negro men and women volunteered to serve as block workers and an intensive drive to enroll Negro voters began. Placards and 50,000 handbills were distributed, mass meetings arranged, door-to-door contacts made, speakers provided for church and social affairs. Car pools WERE SET UP to take workers to registration offices, where volunteers were stationed to assist those who wanted help. The effectiveness of this activity was soon apparent. For example, 678 Negroes were registered at one spot in a three-hour period; the next day, 750 in the same length of time at another registration desk. At the end of the drive, nearly 18,000 Negroes had been registered in a period of 51 days. This represented the peak of Negro registration in Atlanta, a total of 24,137. In ~~the past 10~~ succeeding years this ~~has~~ figure dropped to 19,000, despite a sizeable increase in Negro population.[2] Some Negro observers blamed this in part on the failure of the Negro community to develop a permanent registration organization which would do more than make a spasmodic push at election time. Today, however, Negro registration has climbed to about 27,000.

In most Southern states, some type of Negro voters league exists.

Alabama has a State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting; there is an organization in each Congressional district of the state and in some counties to stimulate interest in Negro voting and provide a yardstick for measuring

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[2] (Georgia Department of Public Health estimates that the Negro population in Atlanta -- the city limits of Atlanta were extended 82 square miles in 1952 -- has increased from 121,416 in 1950 to 153,100 in 1956.)

candidates. Some groups hold political rallies, provide cars to take voters to the polls on election day, conduct classes to explain the process of registration. At rallies of the Walker County Voters League, white candidates even have paid $5 to the League treasury for the privilege of speaking.

North Carolina has no completely organized statewide group to encourage Negro voting but there are many Citizens Leagues, Civic Improvement Assoications, and Civic Forums which work on the local level.

Louisiana Negroes also depend on local groups. In New Orleans alone there are several, including the Peoples Defense League, the Progressive Voters League, and the Crescent City Voters League. Many other Negro clubs and associations in New Orleans also seek to extend the franchise -- so many, in fact, that some Negroes contend the work overlaps and that there is a great need for coordination.

South Carolina has not only the Palmetto Voters Association, which is highly effective in many counties, but its own Progressive Democratic Club. Negro women's clubs, civic groups, and some churches also contribute to the unusually high standard of leadership in the state.

The Virginia Voters League for Negroes has chapters in 28 cities and counties.

In Arkansas, the State Negro Democratic Association is one of the chief instruments for increasing Negro political activity. In some Arkansas cities, Negro business and professional people have organized Civic Improvement Associations with political participation one of the chief aims.

5- ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERSHIP -- PRO AND CON

In fact, throughout the South there are Scores of Negro civic, fraternal, farm, social and business associations which promote registration, augmenting the work of organizations formed solely to encourage Negro voting. Negroes in several states work separately, but within the framework, of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Leadership for the various groups comes most often from those who are not economically dependent on the white community.

As for the role of educators, the late Luther P. Jackson, professor of history at Virginia State College wrote in 1948 ("Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940" -- New South, June- July, 1948):

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"The Negro community contains in its schools, and partICULARLY in its colleges in the South, a basic institution for the increase of civic education. It will be generally agreed that aloofness and timidity with respect to civic participation have all too frequently characterized the Negro educational forces of the South. This is evident from the poor voting record of Negro teachers themselves."

This situation remains unchanged in some schools but elsewhere there is a growing spirit of civic consciousness among Negro educators. Unfortunately, Teachers often are subject to great pressure and too many are in a situation similar to that at Fort Valley State College in Georgia. This Negro institution is state-supported and instructors feel they will lose their jobs if they attempt to provide leadership.

Jackson also wrote,"Another institution of a democratic society upon which falls some of the responsibility for stimulating a voting interest is the church, through its ministers. Unfortunately, the record of the churches as a whole is no better than that of the colleges or the public schools, because the vast majority still adhere to the old belief that the affairs of the church and those of the civil state should never mix."

But there are signs that the old order is crumbling, with many educated young Negro ministers becoming increasingly active in encouraging their people to vote.

The role of Negro newspaper editors should not be overlooked, for no single group has taken a more militant stand for equal political rights. They conduct unrelenting campaigns to awaken Negroes to the value of the franchise.

Periodic appeals of local white newspapers in Arkansas for all citizens to pay their poll taxes and vote have had a considerable influence on Negro registration. Generally, however, the white newspaper in the South which encourages Negro suffrage is the exception; most either oppose it or ignore the subject.

Labor unions, for the most part, have not played a major role in promoting Negro voting in the South. Perhaps they are too engrossed in fighting opposition to unionization, still prevalent in the South, to scatter their strength. As a Georgia consultant put it, "Aside from shedding some of their prejudices, labor union members do not want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance, with ~~Negro voters.~~ THE SECOND DEVELOPING BECAUSE OF AN ALLIANCE WITH NEGRO VOTERS."

In addition, unions are in a newly embattled state as a result of formation of White Citizens Councils. The racially prejudiced and the insecure who fear job competition were ripe for the WCC movement. ~~Hundreds of~~ many union members have joined and some locals have threatened to pull out of parent organizations, though these threats have usually turned out to ~~which have national programs of non-discrimination, to form new~~ have no real determination behind them. ~~"all Southern" unions.~~

The Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council reported at its annual meeting in Miami in February, 1956, that "there is a close link between these organizations (WCC) and the drive to weaken and destroy trade unions."

~~Nevertheless,~~ There are unions in the South which have encouraged Negro registration. Locals in some Southern cities have conducted classes and other programs to promote voting by BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO workers. Also, some labor unions have given financial aid and provided personnel in the organization of campaigns to increase Negro voting. Many locals which are predominantly Negro have conducted a continuing drive to increase voter participation, not only by their own members but by others in the community.

In Durham, N.C., Negroes have held the balance of political power; this is related to the fact that they have worked closely with organized labor. However, while professional union men have held to the alliance, it has been somewhat weakened because of racial tensions.

Since 1948, organized labor in Arkansas has encouraged all workers to pay poll taxes, with the result of an increased registration of both white and Negro union members.

The NAACP functions effectively as a gadfly to force precinct and county officials to follow the letter of the law on registration and voting. While the organization centers its efforts on fighting cases of disfranchisement where illegal tactics are used, NAACP leaders act on their own in their communities to encourage registration. Also, the NAACP serves as a training school or motivating force for many men and women active in groups formed to encourage Negro voting.

In some communities, the NAACP is the only organized group to offer leadership for Negroes. Elsewhere, it does not function locally, although local Negroes contribute. A few chapters became inactive when Negroes thought it expedient to press their claims by other means, in view of the rising tide of sentiment against the NAACP in the South.

As the NAACP has chalked up success after success in the courts, the animosity of the conservative white South has found expression in a campaign of harrassment and a series of official maneuvers. In Louisiana, the NAACP was banned, under an old anti-Ku Klux law which forbade meetings unless membership lists were filed.

The Alabama Supreme Court refused to review an injunction and a $100,000 fine against the NAACP. When the organization was outlawed in Alabama, regional officers were moved to Atlanta during 1956.

The GEORGIA NAACP is involved in litigation over its tax exempt status and has surrendered financial records to the State Revenue Commissioner on order of Superior Court.

The Virginia General Assembly has passed a series of six bills aimed at curbing NAACP activities. *The Washington Post and Times Herald* in an editorial (dec. 2, 1956), accused the Assembly of engaging in "an orgy of recrimination" against the NAACP and said, "The result was a series of laws that constitute a modern version of the Alien and Sedition Acts."

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NAACP members in South Carolina have been barred by the state legislature from employment by school districts and by state, county and municipal governments. During the same session in 1956, the legislature called for an investigation of NAACP activities at South Carolina State College for Negroes at Orangeburg.

An injunction has been issued against the continued operation of the NAACP in Texas.

Most of these actions took place in 1956.

Opposed in every way to the NAACP are the White Citizens Councils and similar organizations, such as the Society for the Preservation of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in Virginia, Southern Gentlemen in Louisiana, the Patriots of North Carolina, and a number of others.

The White Citizens Council movement was born in Sunflower County, Mississippi, in 1954, when ~~fourteen~~ 14 influential men met to devise ways to preserve the "Southern Way of life." It grew quickly until in 1956 there were more than 300,00 members in the various resistance groups in ~~the~~ 11 Southern states.

The plan for the Citizens Councils reportedly was drawn from the book *Black Monday* by Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Miss., in which the theory of economic pressure was advanced as a means of coping with Negro demands for equal rights. ("Black Monday" was used to designate May 17, 1954, the day of the U.S. Supreme Court's school integration decision.)

It is difficult to assess the effect of the Citizens Councils on Negro voting. The majority of the most active ones operate in areas where Negro registration already ~~is~~ WAS low. While there are many reports that the pro-segregation councils have had little effect in a given county, no one can know to what extent their very existence intimidates many Negroes.

Medgar E. Evers, state secretary of the NAACP in Jackson, Miss., said in 1955 (AP, Jackson, Aug. 20, 1955) that one of the Citizens Councils' primary aims is to eliminate Negro voting. Asked what steps had been taken up to that time to purge Negroes from voter registration lists in Mississippi, he answered:

"The place most people know about is Humphries county. There were a number of Negro voters there .... the employer would have a (voters) list and if he found this person's name.... he'd say, 'we can't employ you until you get your name off this list.'

"By this method they knocked down registration to about 90 names and they started getting down to the hard core and other types of pressure were used. They'd come and tell them, 'You've lived in this community for a long time and if you want to stay here in peace, you'd better get your name off this list.' After they started making personal visits, the Negroes gave in to the extent that there are now only about 35 left."

Prior to the organization of the Citizens Councils, HUMPHRIES ~~Murphies~~ County had 126 Negroes registered. A random check by the AP of three neighboring Delta counties in 1955 showed that SUNFLOWER COUNTY HAD DROPPED FROM 114 TO 0, IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY Negro registration in from 26 to 0 and in Yazoo County from 125 to 90.

One of the characteristics of the WCC is secretiveness. The various pro-segregation groups met in Jackson, Miss., in the spring of 1956 behind closed doors manned by a husky guard. Newsmen were barred and members refused to discuss the meeting

~~with them later. A few spokesmen from TIME TO TIME issue statements for the general public and some meetings have been open but the councils have not risked the light of publicity on their strategy conferences.~~

The ~~Councils~~ CITIZEN COUNCILS, which often enjoy offical sanction, have emphasized that they will oppose integration in lawful ways. The Jackson Clarion Ledger (Jackson, Miss., Aug. 2, 1955) said the parent Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi was organized to keep segregation in all walks of life and centered its campaign against Negro voting.

Economic sanctions have been used in Mississippi so that Negroes often have to choose between their jobs and voting. In Louisiana, WCC members have played the key roll in a move to purge hundreds of Negroes from voting lists by means of the legal "challenge."

As for opposition, the Louisville Courier-Journal observed in an editorial (Nov. 29, 1955), "The flower of Southern chivalry either has mobilized itself in the councils or remains silent about their deeds." It noted that the comparatively few "indignant and courageous voices" among white men and women were not considered "true" Southerners by their fellows and added:

"But Southerners had better thank God for such non-conformists as these, ~~sles~~ else the night of the spirit that has descended wherever the Citizens Councils have taken over law and order might well plunge the South into a depth from which it could never emerge."

Substantial attempts are being made to revive the Ku Klux Klan, at least a cousin, however embarrassing, at the family table, of the Citizens Councils. Increasingly, the hooded order, which is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, is burning its crosses and staging its sheeted parades. It remains to be seen whether the Klan or the Citizens Council will emerge as the dominant champion of segregation.

X

KENTUCKY -- PATTERN FOR THE FUTURE?

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Indent 20 pts

Kentucky is a mixture of North and South in its racial attitudes, but in protecting the voting rights of all citizens, it stands firmly with states above the Mason-Dixon line.

"Neither the state's constitution, nor statutory requirements, nor administrative procedures impose any barrier against Negro participation in Kentucky political life," the state consultant for this survey reported.

"Even in the counties where slavery once flourished and in the counties which are lagging in school desegregation, Negro voting is not controversial.

"Paul Lewinson in his study of Negro suffrage published in 1932 found no evidence of disfranchisement in Kentucky in this century.[1] The last publicized litigation over suffrage arose out of the 1898 election...."

Because Kentucky is closely identified with the South in many ways, it offers a clue to the possible political role of Negroes in the region during the years ahead, once voting restrictions are lifted.

In this state, where voting is easy, it is impossible to obtain an accurate count of the number registered. Voting lists range from the highly reliable ones of Jefferson (Louisville) and a few other counties to those which are absurdly inflated. In 1952, for example, 54 of the 120 counties had more voters listed than there were residents of voting age.

The consultant suggested it "would be safe to assume that official registration figures overstate legal registration

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[1] Race, Class & Party, Oxford University Press, New York, 1932, p 120.

by 20 per cent or more in the state as a whole."

But, after checking county clerks and local party leaders, he estimated Kentucky had 150,526 Negroes of voting age in 1956, of whom 86,973, or 57.8 per cent, were registered. White registration was 1,447,427.[2]

Despite the lack of political discrimination, Negro registration lags behind white registration in Kentucky, in large part because of social and economic factors. Negroes rank below the white population in average income and education and often are isolated from forces which tend to encourage voting--urbanization, civic and political organizations, trade unionism and industrialization.

A statewide picture of the actual voting performance of Negroes, who are widely scattered in Kentucky, was not attempted. Instead, the consultant concentrated on Louisville, where reliable registration and voting figures are available.

Historically, the pattern of race relations in Louisville had been southern. Until the 1950's, segregation was the rule in most education and recreation facilities and still is a factor in employment, housing, health facilities and service in privately-owned places which cater to the public.

However, Negroes have been free to vote and participate in party politics in Louisville since 1870.

The border character of the city has been demonostrated also by its success in desegregating public and parochial schools, its

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[2] Kentucky had a white population over 21 of 1,612,267 in 1950. However, in 1955, the state's voting age was lowered to 18; because age distribution estimates for this group are unreliable and because they felt the migration factor is greater for the white group, consultants thought it unfeasible to estimate the white population over 18 in 1956.

university, library and recreational facilities in the past few years. The transition has been aided by civic leaders of both races and the city's two daily newspapers, The Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times.

Louisville has increased its percentage of Kentucky's Negro population from 13.7 in 1900 to 28.6 in 1950. While the Negro group increased numerically, its percentage of the total city population declined from 19.1 per cent in 1900 to an estimated 15.1 in 1955. (In the state as a whole, the white population has been exceeding the Negro in growth since 1900. At that time, Kentucky had 268,071 Negroes and in 1950, 201,921.)

The survey consultant said, however, that "the political significance of the Negro population is potentially greater than its proportion of Louisville's total population," due to three factors:

1. The concentration of Negroes in a limited geographical area.
2. The system of nominating and electing officials.
3. The mobility of the Negro voter in his party affiliations.

Although they reside in each of the city's 12 wards, housing segregation has resulted in a heavy concentration of Negroes in certain precincts of six wards.

This concentration is politically significant since aldermen are nominated on a ward basis in Louisville, although they are elected by the city at large. Negroes have been nominated as aldermen from wards with large Negro populations regularly since 1945 and three have been elected, one Republican and two Democrats.

Elections, as well as nominations for the Kentucky General Assembly, are on a legislative district basis. The 58th legislative district was estimated in the 1930's to be 90 per cent Negro.

Several other legislative districts also have large Negro populations, which has encouraged nomination of Negroes for state offices. In 1935 both parties nominated Negroes from the 58th District. The Republican won and served six consecutive terms in the legislature. More recently, two other Negro Republicans have been elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from this general area.

However, only "since the Republican monopoly was broken have Negroes begun to receive consistant recognition as candidates ....by both parties," the consultant said. "Down until the 1930's the potential of Negro political power was not even partially realized because the Negro vote was completely controlled by the Republican party."

From the beginning of Negro suffrage in Louisville in 1870 until the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the overwhelming majority of Negro voters followed the standard of the Republican party. As late as 1931 only 129 out of a total of 26,434 Negro registrants were listed as Democrats. In Louisville as a whole, the Democratic party has been ahead consistently in registrations.

It was not until economic benefits of the New Deal trickled down that Negroes began joining the Democratic ranks in sizeable numbers. In 1932, for example, in three wards which were approximately one-third Negro, President Hoover received about 60 per cent of the vote, as contrasted to his total city vote of 48.7.

The Democrats made considerable progress in 1936 in the above three wards when President Roosevelt won nearly 55 per cent of the vote. However, the Democratic majority still was less than in the city at large. The picture was similar in 1940.

In the 1944 presidential election, Democrats made their first strong bid in Louisville for Negro support. In advertisements in the *Louisville Defender*, Negro newspaper, and in other ways, they emphasized the economic programs of the Roosevelt administration. In this election, the Louisville Negro vote was almost evenly divided between Roosevelt and Dewey. Of 5,526 votes cast in 23 precincts which were 85 per cent Negro, Dewey received 50.1 per cent and Roosevelt 49.9. In the city at large, Dewey's vote was 42.1 and Roosevelt 57.9.

In 1948, Negro support for the Democratic candidate declined. In 23 precincts which were 88.4 per cent Negro, Governor Dewey received 83.1 per cent of the vote and President Truman only 35.7, although the latter carried the city with 52.3 per cent of the total. This drop in Democratic strength among Negroes came with the passing of the magic of the Roosevelt personality and the failure of the local Democratic party to appoint Negroes to important posts in city government.

However, in 1952 the Democrats regained lost ground and Adlai Stevenson's percentage of the presidential vote in the same 23 Negro precincts was 48.3 per cent. In the city as a whole, Stevenson won only 47.1 per cent of the vote so that for the first time Negro support of the Democratic party outstripped that of the entire community.

In 1956, many Louisville Negroes switched back to the Republican column; some observers estimated that 58 per cent voted for President Eisenhower. This was despite the fact that changes in party registration among Negroes in Louisville between 1952-56 showed a continued movement to the Democratic party.

While many Negroes feel this party flexibility has resulted in greater attention from both parties, some suggest that the local Republican party no longer is trying quite so strenuously to get out the Negro vote because of the increasing uncertainty as to which party will benefit.

Negro support of the Democratic party in Louisville since 1943 has been greater for national candidates than for state and local Democratic nominees by a margin of 6.6 per cent.

The Negro voting performance in elections in which special issues were at stake has been remarkably consistent. On each of 18 municipal, school, and constitutional amendment issues, the 23 predominantly Negro precincts voted "yes" in larger proportions than the rest of Louisville. The municipal elections were on bond issues for such purposes as a police building, university and hospital improvements and construction of a sewage disposal plant. All the issues passed but the average vote for them was 88.4 per cent in the predominantly Negro precincts and 74.7 per cent in the city as a whole. The same Negro precincts have been considerably more friendly toward local school levies than has the general Louisville public. The average vote has been 82.8 per cent favorable in the Negro precincts and 57.7 in the city at large.

The consultant suggested that further study is needed to determine the reasons for the strongly favorable attitude of the Negro voters toward issues in the special elections, whether white precincts with comparable social and economic backgrounds behave similarly and if Negro voting in other cities varies.

For, he added, this would shed some light on the historical controversy over liberalization of the suffrage. Some conservatives argue that the poorer ~~classes~~ GROUPS, when given the vote, will vote for change for the sake of change or for higher taxes because they have no stake in the status quo or property rights. Some would contend this is borne out by the Negro vote on the special issues in Louisville; others could argue that the issues voted upon were in the interest of the general public and that the Negro precincts showed better judgement than the population as a whole.

It can be seen that Louisville Negroes have not voted as a bloc in recent national elections of record; in fact, they have shown increasing division on party issues and candidates. The pattern is mixed when there is a Negro candidate in the race. In four Louisville school board elections since 1946, Negro candidates have run far ahead of the white candidates in the precincts with heavy Negro populations.

But, the situation is different in the election of aldermen. Candidates are nominated from wards but elected at large. Party considerations, not race, seem all-important. For example, in 1953, Republican aldermanic candidates ran ahead of Democratic nominees whether they were Negro or white, in the 23 predominantly Negro precincts and all the Democrats were elected in the city whether they were Negro or white. In 1955, a Negro Democrat ran behind his white Republican opponent in the Negro precincts; despite this, he was swept into office along with the white Democrats in the city.

The consultant pointed out that the difference between the school board and the aldermanic elections is that the former involves a non-partisan election in which the candidate himself is the focus of attention, while the latter involves a party slate, with all the pressures for straight ticket voting the parties can muster.

As in the rest of Kentucky, Negro participation in Louisville elections lagged behind the city-wide participation by from five to eight per cent in three elections studied.

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Religion

West Virginia — State Baptist

Youth Convention 's three day meeting was attended by both whites and negroes for the first time, April 1956

So. Sch. News
May 1956

ALABAMA

Spring Hill

Mrs. Fannie E. Motley, wife of a Negro minister, became the first of her race to graduate from Spring Hill college - June, 1956. (graduated with cum laude honors-majored in history)

(La. Weekly 6/2/56)

First Negro Graduates From Springhill Col.

6-2-56 La. Weekly

Mobile (Special)—Mrs. Fannie E. Motley, wife of a Negro minister, became the first of her race to graduate from Spring Hill college during commencement exercises here Tuesday at the famed educational institution.

Mrs. Motley, who majored in history, graduated with cum laude honors. She is the wife of the Rev. D. L. Motley, pastor of a Baptist church at nearby Plateau.

The commencement address was delivered by US Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama. The Most Rev. Thomas J. Toolen, archbishop of the Mobile-Birmingham diocese, presided at the ceremonies.

Accommodations

Tulsa, Oklahoma - In letter of June 12, 1956, Marion Taylor, Executive Secretary of the Tulsa Urban League says the Union Bus Depot cafeteria is not integrated. A note in the same letter from Mr. Byerly quotes the terminal manager as saying the cafeteria is open without discrimination.

Texas - Ed

Amarillo. - 5 Negroes entered formerly white public schools at opening of summer classes.

✓ Two Negro women accepted for residence at Terrill Hall, North Texas State College - Summer 1956.

Texas Observer 6/13/56

Education

Ponca City, Oklahoma - Ponca City High School graduates its first Negro student in spring of 1956.

Daily Oklahoman
6/15/56.

Education: N.C

Raleigh. - Two Negro youths are first undergraduates to enter North Carolina State College. Summer 1956. Another has been accepted for Fall 1956

✓ Chat. Times - June 14, 1956

Graduates entered State College around 1953. (FBD)

[illegible]

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FLORIDA

Gainesville

Election of two Negroes to Gainesville, Florida school Board after Supreme Court's decision.

(John Constable)

[illegible]

Representation

1956

William W. Beckett is an alderman in Louisville, Ky. Have no information on date of election or if other Negroes have served on Board of Aldermen.

[illegible]

A. Negro Registration	B. 1/2 Registered	C. % [illegible] Negro Reg.	D. % potential [illegible]	E. [illegible] Reg.	F. [illegible]
G. % Pop. change County	H. % Population change Non-white	I. [illegible]	J. Industrialization	K. [illegible]	L. [illegible] County
M. [illegible] School year completed Non-white	N. [illegible]	O. Median Family Income Non-white	P. [illegible]		

Let's go over S.C. correlations + see how they came out. We may also need to vary approach in different states.

November 21, 1956

To: HCF

From;FBI

We've talked about this several times and worked it out for South Carolina. However, I'm listing the factors to be correlated so that we may be certain it's the procedure to follow for the other states. We are to correlate the Negro registrants with each of the following:

Percent of population that is non-white (Median?)
Where we have —White registrants "
Population change- entire county (Losing-gaining?)
Population change - non-white in county "
Urbanization (50%)
Industrialization "
Negro Farm Tenancy "
Median School Years Completed - entire county
Median school years completed - non-white
Median family income - entire county
Median family income - non-white

Some of the reports lack certain statistics and all we did previously for Hammer was the percentage of eligible Negroes who are registered. We now need to compute the percentage of eligible whites registered for Arkansas, Kentucky, South Carolina and adjust North Carolina's. We must make all of the percentage computations for Florida since they sent us absolute registration figures only. We have not received white registration figures for Alabama and Louisiana; also I have no Mississippi and Tennessee data to work with.

No [If there is any need for us to know the percentage the eligible Negroes are of the total eligible and the percentage registered Negroes are of total registrants, it must be computed for all the counties. You compared these on a state wide basis in the news release and it may be that this state wide comparison is adequate.

The worksheet information for the remaining states must be transferred to the index cards and the tallying for each factor completed before we correlate. I hope that Paul can work with me on this the first of the week. I think it would be wise, however, if my first job next week is the computation of the percentages we lack, and I need a machine for that. I checked with the calculating salesmen again and the minimum rental fee is $25 which covers a month's use. We certainly don't need a machine for that period, so I wonder if we could arrange with Morehouse or Phil Hammer to use one of theirs. Rent it

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

Median
2d Factor

Med.
Prime Factor

u b c d U	a b c d V
e f g h W	e f g h X

$$\frac{WV - UX}{WV + UX} = Q$$

+ - .40 indicates significance

Ala

Non-white pop - $\dfrac{10\times10 - 24\times23}{10\times10 + 24\times23} = \dfrac{100-552}{100+552} = \dfrac{-442}{652} = -.68$

County Pop Change - $\dfrac{23\times14 - 20\times10}{23\times14 + 20\times10} \quad \dfrac{322-200}{322+200} = \dfrac{122}{522} = .23$

Non-white pop Change - $\dfrac{29\times8 - 26\times4}{29\times8 + 26\times4} = \dfrac{232-104}{232+104} = \dfrac{128}{336} = .38$

Urbanization - $\dfrac{29\times4 - 30\times4}{29\times4 + 30\times4} \quad \dfrac{116-120}{116+120} \quad \dfrac{-4}{236} = -.02$

Industrialization - $\dfrac{26\times10 - 24\times7}{26\times10 - 24\times7} \quad \dfrac{260-168}{260+168} \quad \dfrac{92}{428} = .21$

Tenancy - $\dfrac{4\times20 - 14\times29}{4\times20 + 14\times29} = \dfrac{80-406}{80+406} \quad \dfrac{-326}{486} = -.67$

Median School Yrs County - $\dfrac{20\times21 - 13\times13}{20\times21 + 13\times13} \quad \dfrac{420-169}{420+169} = \dfrac{251}{589} = .43$

Median School Yrs Non-white - $\dfrac{22\times23 - 8\times8}{22\times23 + 8\times8} = \dfrac{506-64}{506+64} \quad \dfrac{442}{570} = .77$

Median Family Income County - $\dfrac{21\times22 - 12\times12}{21\times22 + 12\times12} = \dfrac{462-144}{462+144} = \dfrac{318}{606} = .52$

Median Family Income Non-white - $\dfrac{19\times19 - 10\times10}{19\times19 + 10\times10} \quad \dfrac{361-100}{361+100} = \dfrac{261}{461} = .57$

① % Pop Non-white (7) Alabama ②

Median – 29.4

Negro Median 10.9

24	10
10–	23

③ ④

24
10
10
23
67 – Total

① Population Change (county) - (4-) ②

ALA.

	Losing	Gaining
	$\boxed{20}$	$\boxed{14}$
~~Negro Median - 10.9~~	$\boxed{23}$	$\boxed{10}$

$$\begin{array}{r} 20 \\ 14 \\ 23 \\ 10 \\ \hline 67 \end{array}$$ - TOTAL

③ ④

Population Change - Non-white (H.) ALA.

	Losing	Gaining
	26	8
Negro Median 10.9		
	29	4

A/A

Urbanization - (I)

Below 50%	Above 50%
30	4
29	4

Negro Median - 10.9

A/A

Industrialization (J)

	Below 25%	Above 25%
	24	10
Negro Median - 10-9		
	26	7

24
10
26
7

67

A/A

% TENANCY FOR NEGRO FARM OPERATORS (K)

	Under 50%	Over 50%
	14	20
Negro Median - 10.9		
	4	29

14
20*
4
29*

67 - TOTAL

* Check - my total is 48
above 50%

Median School years Completed - County - (L) Ala

7.3

13

21

Negro Median - 10.9

20

13

13
21
20
13

67-total

Median School-years Completed - Non-white (M) A1A

4.8

Negro Median 10.9

8	23
22	8

8
23
22
8
61
Unknown - 6
T - 67

Median Family Income – County (N) A/A

1112 – ($1112)

12	22
21	12

Negro Median
10.9

A/A

Median Family Income (Non-White) (0)

$689.

10

19

Negro Median 10.9

19

10

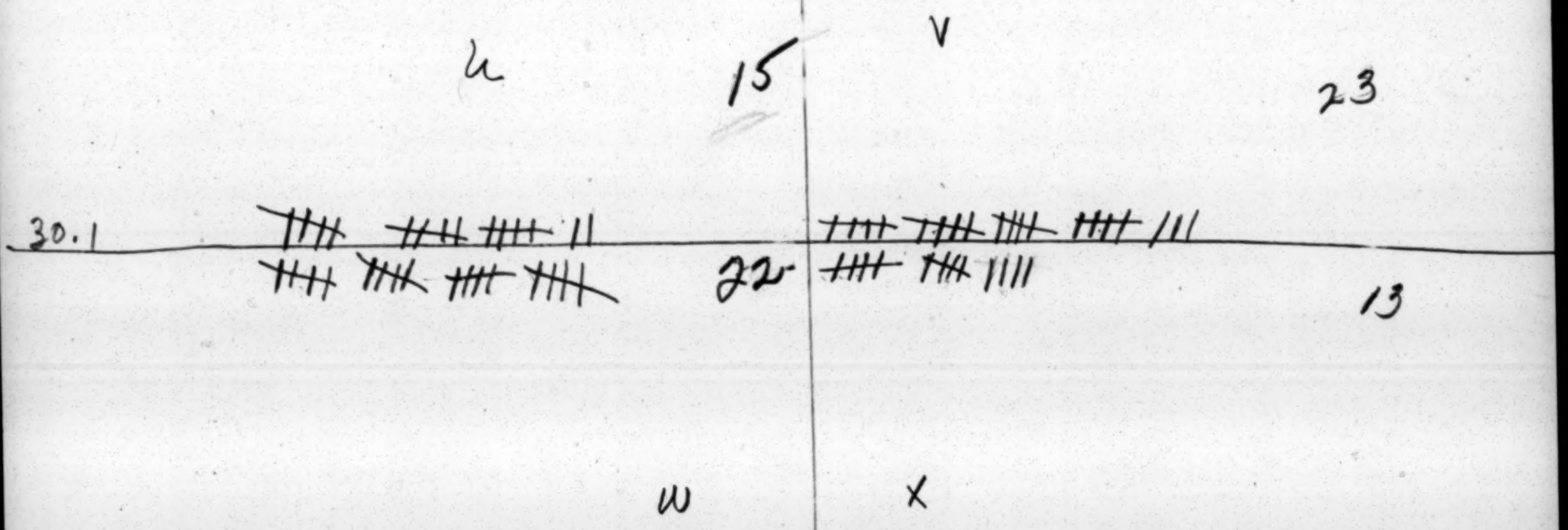
10
19
10
19
58

Unknown 9
T- 67

AVR

11,2

% Pop - Non-white



A.R.

White Reg - $\frac{24\times25-12\times12}{24\times25+12\times12} = \frac{600-144}{600+144} = \frac{456}{744} = .61$

Non-white Pop - $\frac{22\times23-15\times13}{22\times23+15\times13}$ $\frac{506-195}{506+195} = \frac{311}{701} = .44$

County Pop Change - $\frac{25\times10-28\times10}{25\times10+28\times10}$ $\frac{250-280}{250+280} = \frac{-30}{530} = -.06$

Non-white Pop. Change - $\frac{20\times9-28\times16}{20\times9+28\times16} = \frac{180-448}{180+448} = \frac{-268}{628} = -.43$

Urbanization - $\frac{34\times1-36\times2}{34\times1+36\times2}$ $\frac{34-72}{34+72} = \frac{-38}{106} = -.36$

Industrialization - $\frac{34\times8-29\times2}{34\times8+29\times2}$ $\frac{272-58}{272+58} = \frac{214}{330} = .65$

Negro Farm Tenancy - $\frac{20\times11-26\times16}{20\times11+26\times16}$ $\frac{220-416}{220+416} = \frac{-196}{636} = -.31$

County Median Income - $\frac{18\times18-19\times20}{18\times18+19\times20} = \frac{324-380}{324+380}$ $\frac{-56}{704} = -.08$

Non-white median Income $\frac{11\times13-9\times7}{11\times13+9\times7}$ $\frac{143-63}{143+63} = \frac{80}{206} = .39$

Median school yrs.-co ____________

Median school yrs non-white $\frac{10\times16-9\times8}{10\times16+9\times8}$ $\frac{160-72}{160+72}$ $\frac{88}{232} = .38$

75

73

37

Ark

White Registration

56.8

U

V

12

25

30.1 ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ||

~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ||||

24

~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~

|||| ~~||||~~ |||

12

1

W

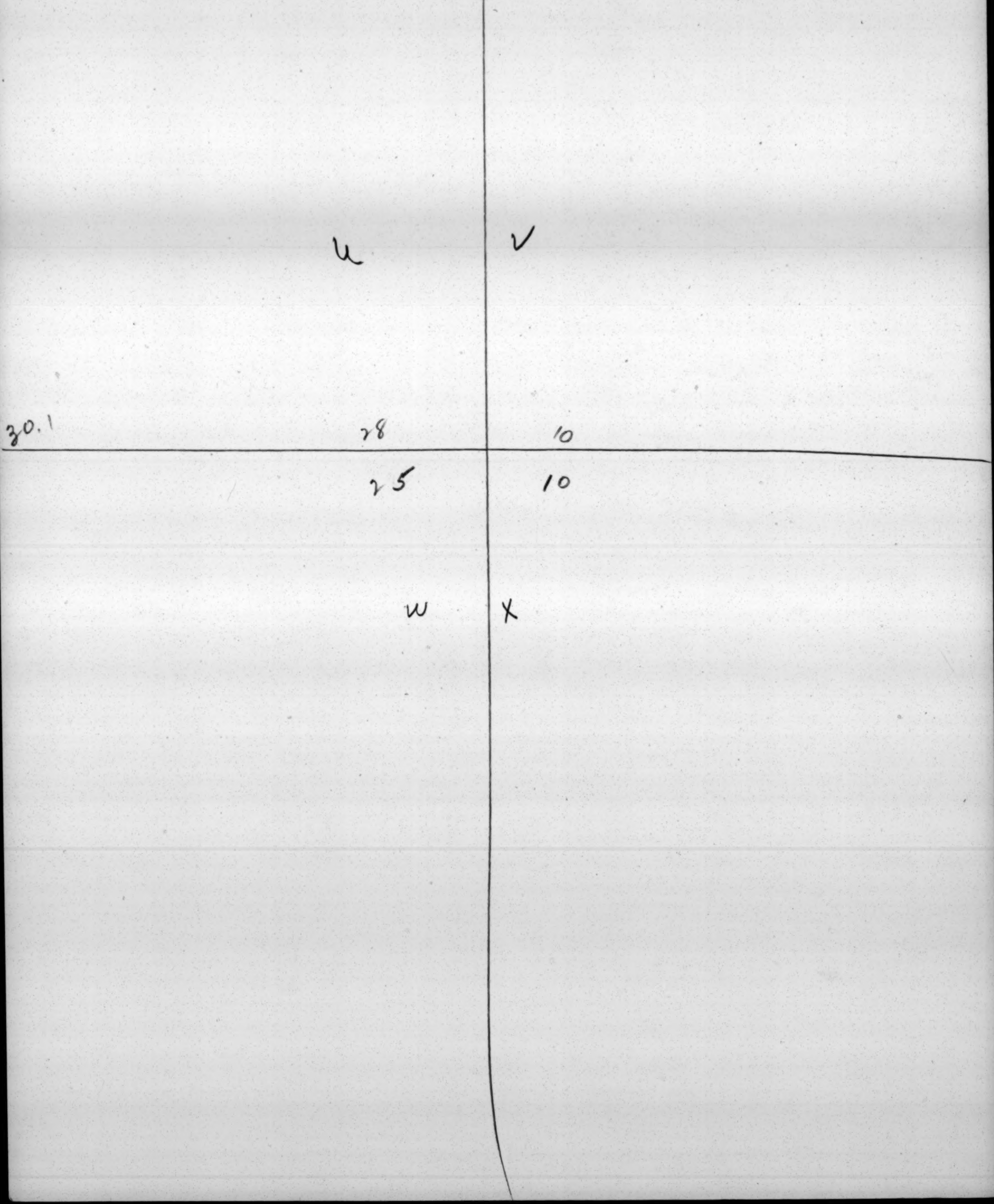
Y

12
12
24
25

73

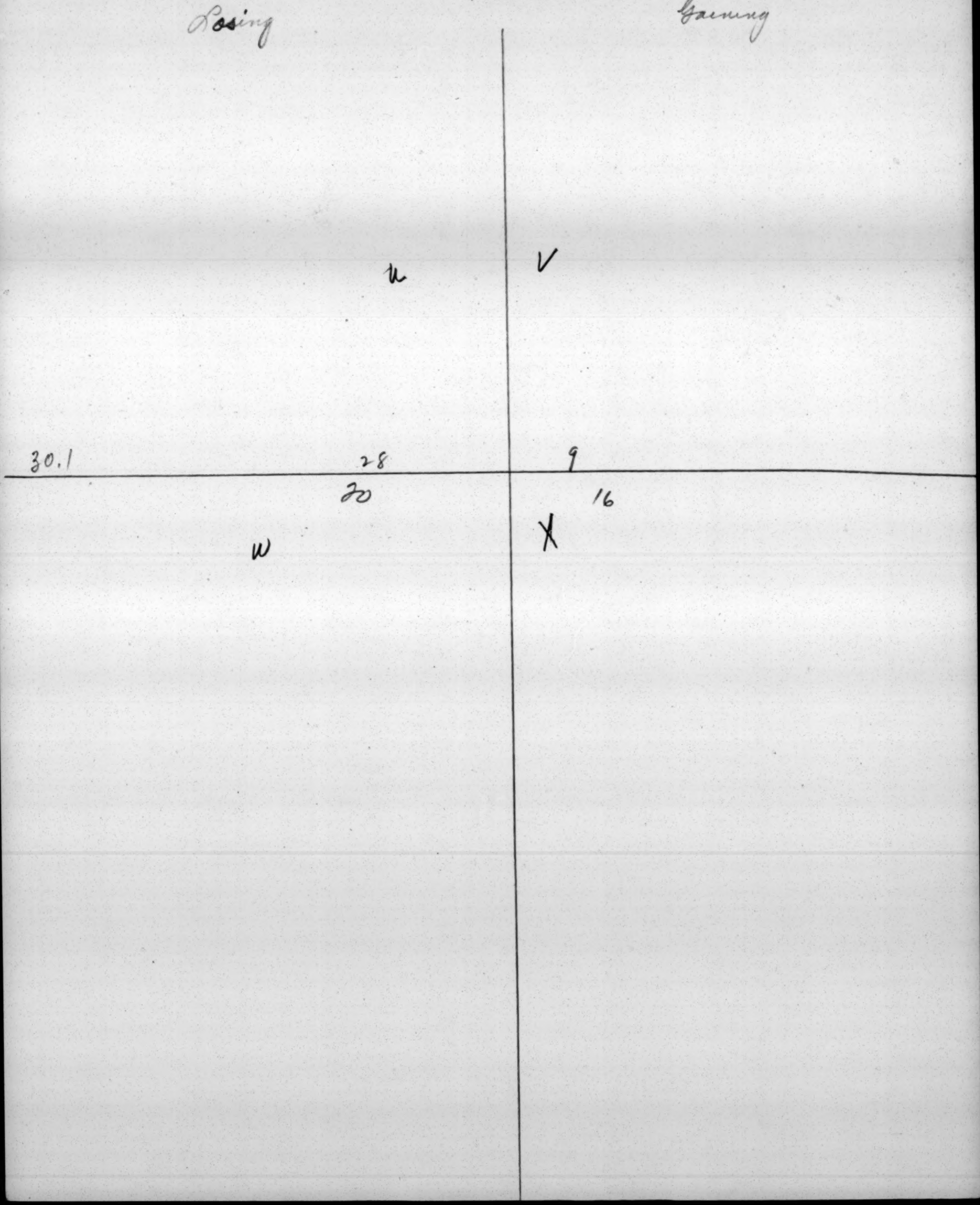
Ark

Losing % Pop Change - County Gaining


u
v
30.1
28
10
25
10
w
x

Ark

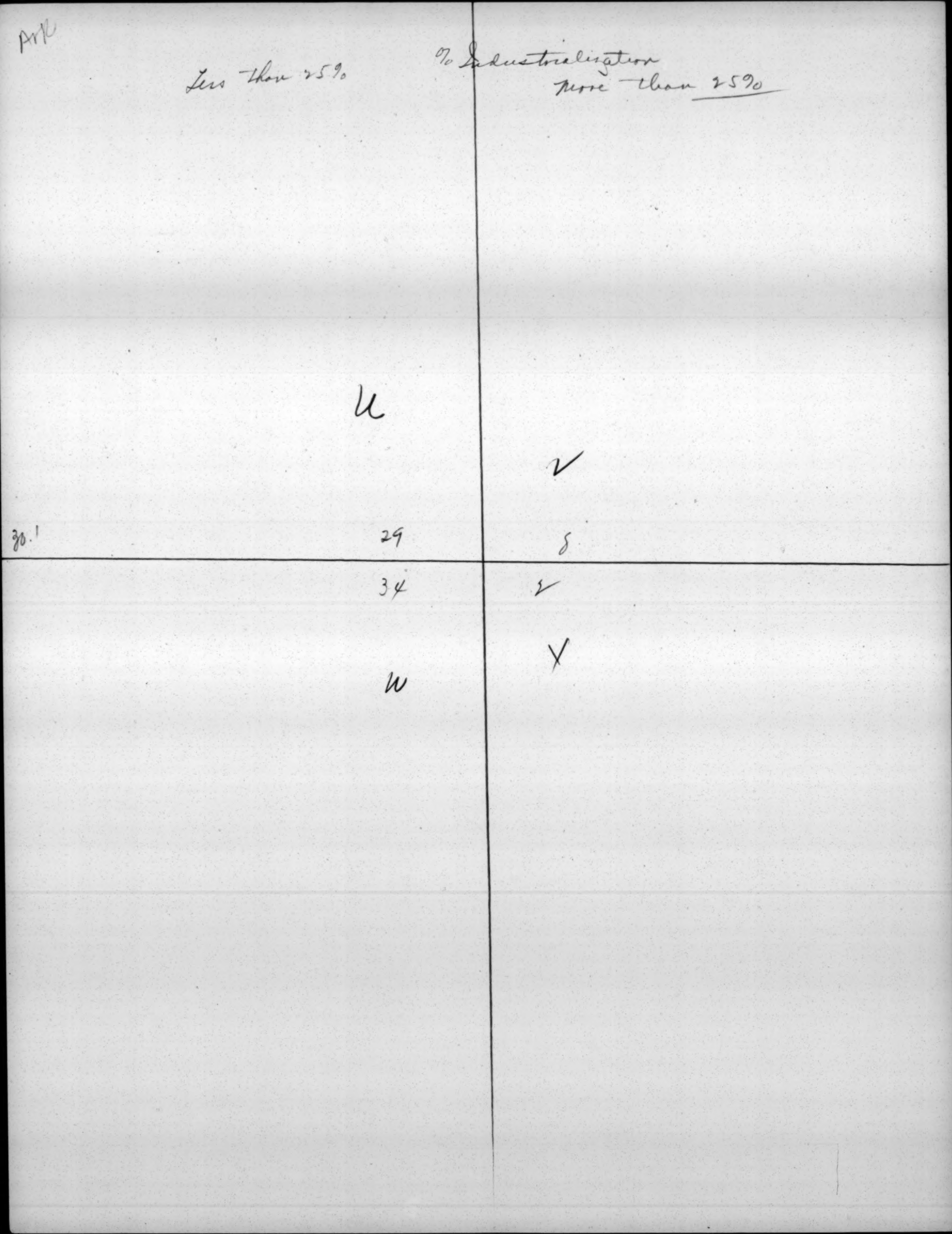
% Pop Change
Non-white



Ark

	% Urbanization	
	Less than 50%	over 50%
	U	V
30.1	36	1
	34	2
	W	X

Ark


Less than 25%
% Industrialization
more than 25%
u
v
30.1
29
8
34
2
y
w

AR

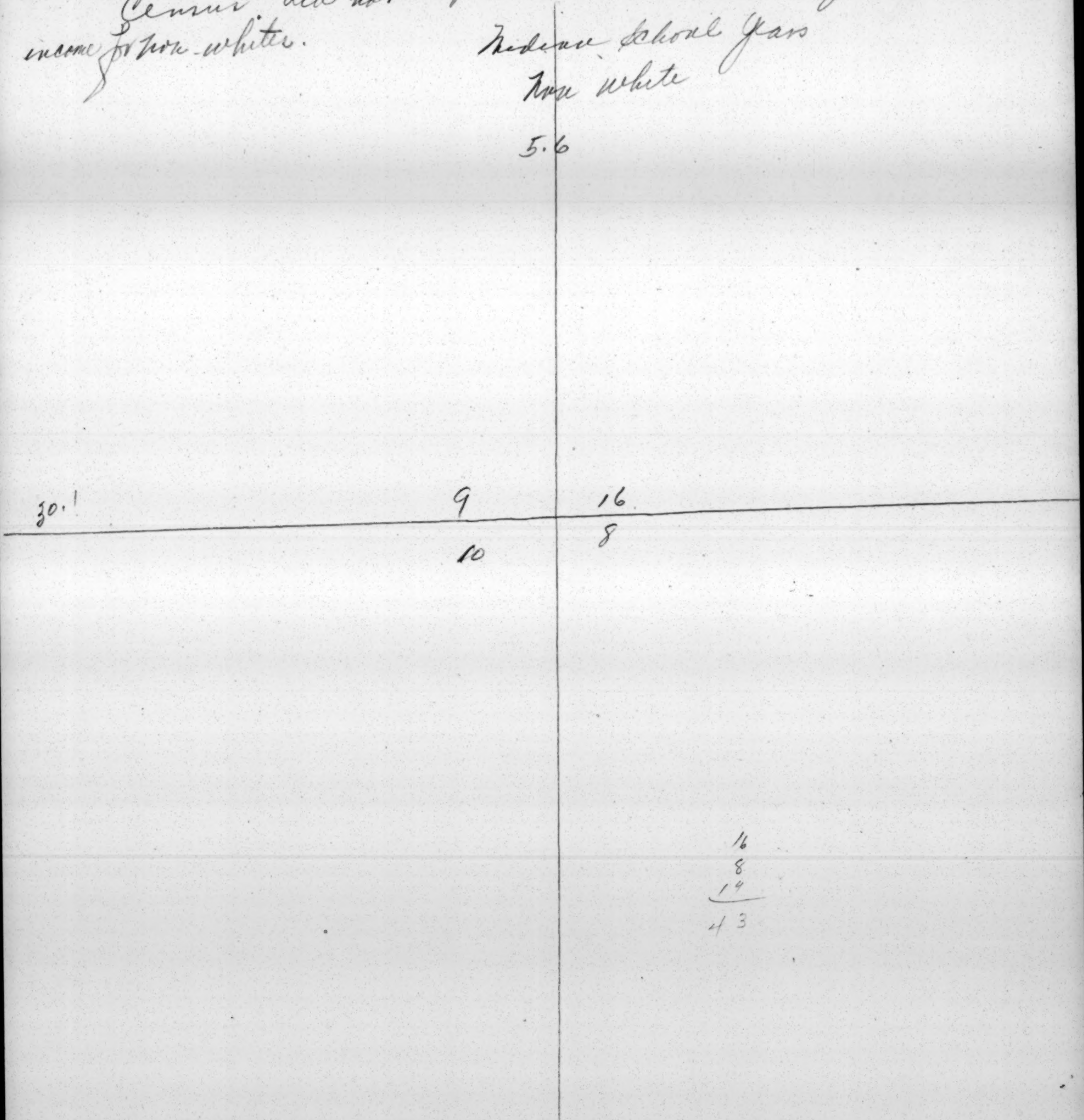
Negro
Farm Tenancy

Below 50%	Above 50%
26	11
20	16

11
16
27
46
73

Ark

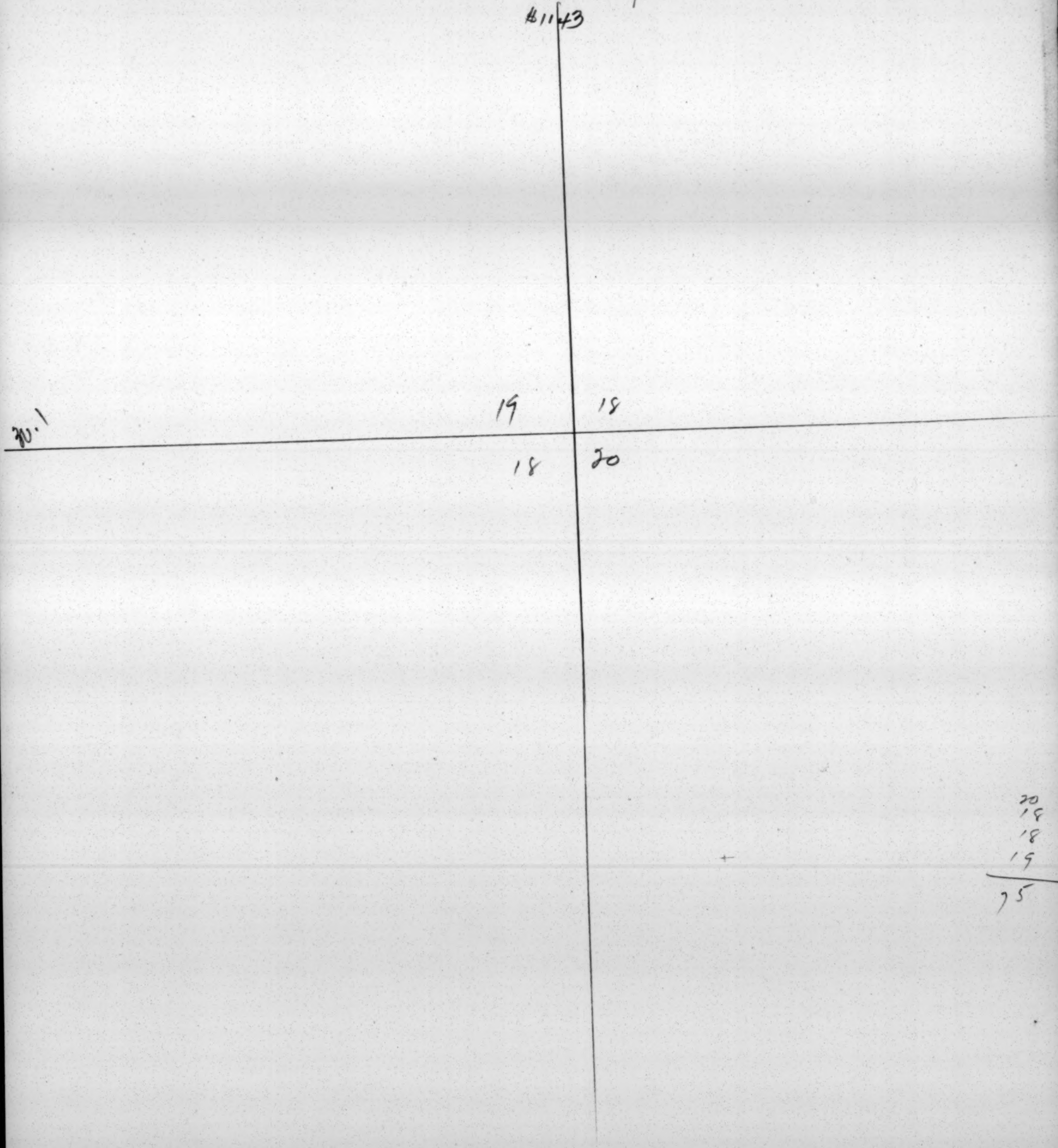
Two Arkansas counties had no Negroes over 21. Thirty Arkansas counties had less than 500 Neg~~[illegible]~~ and the Census did not compute median school years or median income for non-whites.



16
8
14
43

A-R

Median Income
County


$1143
20.1
19
18
18
20

20
18
18
19

75

AOP

Median Income
Non white

Only 40 counties are included since the Census did not compute median income where the base was less than 500.

719

30.1	9	13
	11	7

Fla try Geographical division of Fla.

Non-white pop. - $$\frac{14\times15-19\times19}{14\times15+19\times19}=\frac{210-361}{210+361}=\frac{-151}{571}=-.26$$

County Pop Change - $$\frac{12\times28-6\times21}{12\times28+6\times21}=\frac{336-126}{336+126}=\frac{210}{462}=.45$$

Non-white pop change - $$\frac{14\times22-12\times19}{14\times22+12\times19}=\frac{308-228}{308+228}=\frac{80}{536}=.15$$

Urbanization - $$\frac{23\times12-22\times10}{23\times12+22\times10}=\frac{276-220}{276+220}=\frac{56}{496}=.11$$

Check

Industrialization - $$\frac{1\times29-4\times33}{1\times29+4\times33}=\frac{29-132}{29+132}=\frac{-103}{161}=.64$$

Tenancy - $$\frac{1\times31-2\times33}{1\times31+2\times33}=\frac{31-66}{31+66}=\frac{-35}{97}=-.36$$

County - Median Schooling $$\frac{18\times20-14\times15}{18\times20+14\times15}=\frac{360-210}{360+210}=\frac{150}{570}=.26$$

Non-white - median schooling. $$\frac{14\times20-10\times15}{14\times20+10\times15}=\frac{280-150}{280+150}=\frac{130}{430}=.30$$

County - median family income - $$\frac{19\times20-14\times14}{19\times20+14\times14}=\frac{380-196}{380+196}=\frac{184}{576}=.32$$

Non-white median income - $$\frac{11\times12-15\times15}{11\times12+15\times15}=\frac{132-225}{132+225}=\frac{-93}{359}=-.26$$

Fla

Non-white pop

24.9

u v

19 15

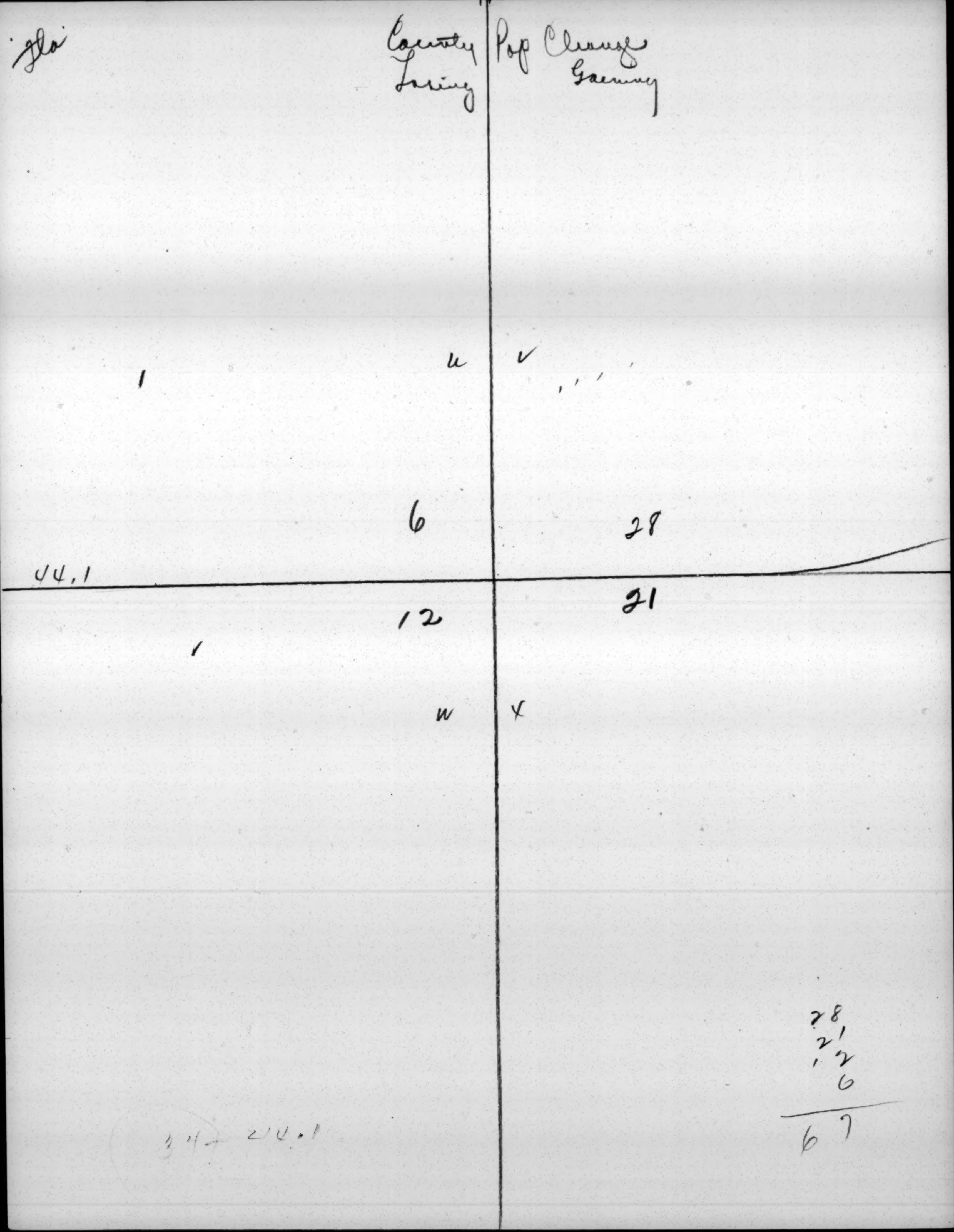
44.1

14 19

33 w 34

x

Fla


County Losing
Pop Change Gaining
u
v
1
6
28
44.1
21
12
1
w
x
34 + 24.1

28
21
12
6

67

Fla

Pop. Chang - Non-white

	Losing	Gaining
	u	v
	12	22
4V.1		
	14	19
	w	x

22
19
14
12
67

Fla

Urbanization

44.1	Below 50%	Above 50%
	u 22	v 12
	23 w	10 x

12
10
22
23
67

Ila

Industrialization

	Below 25%	Above 25%
	u	v
44.1	33	1
	29	4
	w	x

33
29
1
4

67

Fla.

Truancy

	Below 50%	Above 50%
	u	v
44.1	33	1
	31	2
	w	x

33
31
3
67

Ia.

Median School Yrs Completed - County

8.6

h v

44.1

14	20
18	15
36	35

n x

14
18
20
15

67

Fla.
59 counties used

Median School Years - Non-White

5.2

u v

44.1

10	20
14	15
24	35

w x

Median for 8 not computed

15
20
10
14
59
8 not computed
67

Median Family Income - County
$1446

u v

44.1

14 20

19 14

w x

14
19
20
14

67

Fla
58

Median Income - Non white

1000

	U	V
44.1	15	12
	11	15
	W	X

14-20 Median computed
by Census.

15
11
12
15
53
14
67

Georgia

Non-white Pop – $\frac{24\times25-55\times55}{24\times25+55\times55} = \frac{600-3025}{600+3025} - \frac{2425}{3625} = -.67$

Pop change-county – $\frac{60\times43-37\times19}{60\times43+37\times19} \quad \frac{2580-703}{2580+703} = \frac{1877}{3283} = .57$

Pop change-non-white – $\frac{59\times26-54\times20}{59\times26+54\times20} \quad \frac{1534-1080}{1534+1080} \quad \frac{454}{2614} = .17$

Urbanization – $\frac{70\times9-71\times9}{70\times9+71\times9} \quad \frac{630-639}{630+639} \quad \frac{-9}{1269} = -.01$

Industrialization $\frac{66\times35-45\times13}{66\times35+45\times13} = \frac{2310-585}{2310+585} = \frac{1725}{2895} = .60$

Tenancy $-\frac{10\times58-22\times67}{10\times58+22\times67} = \frac{580-1474}{580+1474} = \frac{-894}{2054} = -.44$

Median School Yrs County – $\frac{51\times54-26\times27}{51\times54+26\times27} = \frac{2754-702}{2754+702} = \frac{2052}{3456} = .59$

Non white median school yrs comp. – $\frac{43\times47-18\times29}{43\times47+18\times29} = \frac{2021-552}{2021+552} \frac{1469}{2573} = .57$

Median Family Income-county – $\frac{51\times52-28\times28}{51\times52+28\times28} = \frac{2652-784}{2652+784} = \frac{1868}{3436} = .54$

Median family Income – Non White – $\frac{29\times27-17\times20}{29\times27+17\times20} \quad \frac{783-340}{783+340} = \frac{443}{1123} = 39$

% Population - Non-white (7) Ga.

33.8

55

High reg
Low pop.

25

High reg
" pop

Negro Median 24.

24

Low reg.
Low pop.

55

Low reg.
High pop.

55
25
24
55

T - 159

Population Change - County (Y.) Ma.

	Losing	Gaining
	37	43
Negro Median 24.		
	60	19

1

37
43
60
19

T - 159

Ga.

Population Change - Nonwhite (H)

	Losing	Gaining
	54	26
Negro Median S.Y.	59	20

54
26
20
59

+ – 159

Industrialization (CJ) Ga.

	Below 25%	Above 25%
	45	35
Negro Median 24.		
	66	13

66
45
35
13
T - 159

% Tenancy for Negro Farm Operators (K) Ga.

Under 50%	Over 50%
22	58

Negro Median 24.

10	69

22
58
10
69

T—159

Median School yrs. Cpl. County (L) Ga.

7.1

Negro Median 24.

26	54
51	27

1
26
54
51
27

T - 158

Median Schl. yrs. cpl. Nn-white-(M)

Ga.

4.3

18

47

Negro Median 24.

43

29

18
47
29
43

137

Unknown 22

T - 159

Median Family Income - County (N) Ga.

1106

52

28

Negro Median 24.

28

51

28
52
28
51

T - 159

Median Family Income - Non-white (0) Ga.

$724

17	27
29	20

Negro Median 24.

17
27
29
20

Surveyed - 93
Vietnam 66

T - 159

Urbanization (I)

Ga.

	Below 50%	Above 50%
	71 above neg	9 High neg.
Negro Median 24.		
	70	9

La

Non white Pop – $\frac{9\times 9 - 23\times 23}{9\times 9 + 23\times 23} = \frac{81 - 529}{81 + 529} \frac{-448}{610} = -.73$

County Pop Change – $\frac{17\times 19 - 13\times 15}{17\times 19 + 13\times 15} = \frac{323 - 195}{323 + 195} \frac{128}{518} = .25$

Non-white Pop Change – $\frac{22\times 15 - 17\times 10}{22\times 15 + 17\times 10} = \frac{330 - 170}{330 + 170} = \frac{160}{500} = .32$

Urbanization – $\frac{28\times 5 - 27\times 4}{28\times 5 + 27\times 4} = \frac{140 - 108}{140 + 108} = \frac{32}{248} = .13$

Industrialization – $\frac{27\times 3 - 29\times 5}{27\times 3 + 29\times 5} = \frac{81 - 145}{81 + 145} = \frac{-64}{226} -.28$

Negro Farm Tenancy – $\frac{20\times 22 - 10\times 12}{20\times 22 + 10\times 12} = \frac{440 - 120}{440 + 120} = \frac{320}{560} .57$

Median School Yrs Comp. – $\frac{15\times 16 - 15\times 18}{15\times 16 + 15\times 18} = \frac{240 - 270}{240 + 270} \frac{-30}{510} -.06$

Non-white Median School Yrs – $\frac{12\times 13 - 18\times 20}{12\times 13 + 18\times 20} = \frac{156 - 360}{156 + 360} = \frac{-204}{516} = -.40$

County Median Income – $\frac{19\times 19 - 13\times 13}{19\times 19 + 13\times 13} = \frac{361 - 169}{361 + 169} \frac{192}{530} .36$

Non-white Median Income – $\frac{18\times 17 - 12\times 14}{18\times 17 + 12\times 14} = \frac{306 - 168}{306 + 168} = \frac{138}{474} = .29$

La 64 counties

% Pop Non-White

33.9

40.0

23	9
9	23

Fr

64 counties

% Pop. Change - County

	Farming	Grazing
40.0	13	19
	17	15

Ga

Pop. Change - Non-white

	Losing	Gaining
40.0	17	15
	22	10

17
22
15
10

64

fn/64

	% Urbanization	
	Less than 50%	Above 50%
40.0	27	5
	28	4

27
28
4

64

fa
64

Industrialization

Below 25%	Above 25%
27	5
29	3

27
8
29
64

for
64

% Tenancy for Negro Farm Operators

	Less than 50.0%	Above 50.0%
40.0	20	12
	10	22

30
34
64

fw/64

Median School Yrs Completed
County

6.5

40.0

15	16
15	18

16
18
30

64

La
63

Cameron eliminated because Census didn't compute the median

%

median School Yrs - Non-white

3.9

40.1

18	13
12	20

18
13
12
20

63

In/64

Median Income - County

$1424

40.0	13	19
	19	13

13
19

61

Not computed for 3 counties - base less than 500

Median Family Income - Non-white

4915

40.0

12	17
18	14

14
17
18
12
61

Miss

Non-white Pop – $\frac{16 \times 16 - 25 \times 25}{16 \times 16 + 25 \times 25} = \frac{256 - 625}{256 + 625} = \frac{-369}{881} = -.42$

County Pop change – $\frac{35 \times 17 - 24 \times 6}{35 \times 17 + 24 \times 6} = \frac{595 - 144}{595 + 144} = \frac{451}{739} = .61$

Non-white Pop change – $\frac{35 \times 7 - 34 \times 6}{35 \times 7 + 34 \times 6} = \frac{245 - 204}{245 + 204} = \frac{41}{449} = .09$

Urbanization – $\frac{40 \times 7 - 34 \times 1}{40 \times 7 + 34 \times 1}$ $\frac{280 - 34}{280 + 34} = \frac{246}{314} = .73$

Industrialization – $\frac{39 \times 5 - 36 \times 2}{39 \times 5 + 36 \times 2}$ $\frac{195 - 72}{195 + 72} = \frac{123}{267} = .46$

Tenancy – $\frac{9 \times 23 - 18 \times 32}{9 \times 23 + 18 \times 32} = \frac{207 - 576}{207 + 576} = \frac{-369}{783} = -.47$

Median School Yrs Completed – Co – $\frac{24 \times 27 - 14 \times 17}{24 \times 27 + 14 \times 17}$ $\frac{648 - 238}{648 + 238} = \frac{410}{886} = .46$

Median School Yrs Completed Non-white – $\frac{22 \times 25 - 14 \times 18}{22 \times 25 + 14 \times 18} = \frac{550 - 252}{550 + 252} = \frac{298}{802} = .37$

Median Family Income – $\frac{27 \times 27 - 14 \times 14}{27 \times 27 + 14 \times 14} = \frac{729 - 196}{729 + 196} = \frac{533}{925} = .58$

Median Family Income Non-white – $\frac{28 \times 12 - 10 \times 27}{28 \times 12 + 10 \times 27} = \frac{336 - 270}{336 + 270}$ $\frac{66}{606} = .10$

% Pop. Non-white (7) Miss.

Median 43.6

25

16

Negro Median .83

16

25

25
16
16
25
T – 82

Population Change - County - (G-) Miss

Losing	Gaining
24	17

Negro medians .83

35	6

24
17
35
6
T - 82

Population Change - Non-White (+) Miss.

Losing	Gaining
34	7
35	6

Negro Median

083

34
7
35
6
T- 82

Urbanization (I) - Miss

Below 50%	Above 50%
34	7
40	1

Negro Median

[illegible]083

34
7
40
1

T - 82

Industrialization (J) miss.

Below 25%	Above 25%
36	5
39	2

Negro median .83

36
5
39
2
T – 82

% Tenancy for Negro Farm Operations (K) Miss.

	Under 50%	Above 50%
	18 17	23 24
Negro median 083		
	9	32

18
23
9
32

T - 82

Median School years Completed - County (L)

8.2

Miss.

14

27

Negro median

083

24

17

14
27
24
17

T · 82

Median School years Completed - Non White - (M)

5.3

Miss.

14

25

Negro Median

083

22

18

14
25
22
18
Unknown - 3

T - 82

Median Family Income - County (N)

$923. Miss.

14

27

Negro Median .83

27

14

14
27
27
14

T - 82

Median Family Income - Non white (0)

Miss.

$565.

10

12

Negro Median
683

28

27

2
10
12
28
27
Volumes 5
7 - 82

North Caralina

$$\frac{WV - UX}{WV + UX} = Q$$

Non-white Pop - $\frac{7\times8 - 22\times21}{7\times8 + 22\times21} = \frac{56 - 462}{56 + 462} = \frac{-406}{518} = -.78$

County Pop Change - $\frac{1\times24 - 6\times27}{1\times24 + 6\times27} = \frac{24 - 162}{24 + 162} = \frac{-138}{186} = -.74$

Non-white Pop Change - $\frac{25\times3 - 12\times18}{25\times3 + 12\times18} = \frac{75 - 216}{75 + 216} = \frac{-141}{291} = -.49$

Urbanization - $\frac{28\times6 - 24\times0}{28\times6 + 24\times0} = \frac{168}{168}$ or $\frac{168 - 24}{168 + 24} =$

Industrialization - $\frac{23\times16 - 5\times14}{23\times16 + 5\times14} = \frac{368 - 70}{368 + 70} = \frac{298}{438} = .67$

Tenancy - $\frac{9\times16 - 14\times19}{9\times16 + 14\times19} = \frac{144 - 266}{144 + 266} = \frac{-122}{410} -.30$

Co-Median School Yrs - $\frac{17\times24 - 6\times11}{17\times24 + 6\times11} = \frac{408 - 66}{408 + 66} = \frac{342}{474} = 72$

Non-white-Median School Yrs - $\frac{18\times19 - 7\times10}{18\times19 + 7\times10} = \frac{342 - 70}{342 - 70} = \frac{272}{412} = .66$

County
Median Family Income $\frac{19\times20 - 10\times9}{19\times20 + 10\times9} = \frac{380 - 90}{380 + 90} = \frac{290}{470} = .61$

Non-white-Median Family Income - $\frac{20\times17 - 5\times8}{20\times17 + 5\times8} = \frac{340 - 40}{340 + 40} = \frac{300}{380} = .79$

North Carolina

58 counties used. Reg. figures not available for other counties.

(North Carolina)

Non-white pop
30.0

	u	v
	22	8
21.4		
	7	21
	w	x

22
8
7
21
58

North Car.
58

③ County Population Change

	Losing	Gaining
	u	v
	6	24
21.4		
	1	27
	w	x

24
27
7
58

North Carolina.

(H) Pop Change - Non-white

u v

21.4	12	3
	25	18

√ X

12
25
3
18

58

Tetch Cor.
58

2. Urbanization

	Less than 50%	More than 50%
	u	v
31.4	24	6
	28	0
	w	x

Is 0 or – to be used in multiplication?

24
28
6

58

North Car
58

②

Industrialization

	Less than 25%	More than 25%
	u	v
21.4	14	16
	23	5
	w	x

16
14
23
5
58

North Car
58

A. Tenancy

	Under 50%	Over 50%
	u	v
	14	16
21.4		
	9	19
	w	x

16
14
19
9
58

North Car

5

(L.) County - Median School yrs Completed

7.4

21.4

U	V
6	24
17	11
W	X

17
6
24
11
58

North Car

58
- 4
54

median school yrs not computed.

(m) Median School Yrs - Non-white

5.9

U V

21.4

7 19

18 10

W X

19
10
7
18
54

North Car / 58

(2) Median Family Income – County

$1701

	u	v
21.4	10	20
	19	9
	w	x

20
19
10
9
58

North Car

58
8 not com
50

Median Family Income - Non-white
977

U	V
5	17
20	8
W	X

17
8
5
20
50

Ky

Non-white pop - $\frac{30\times34 - 29\times25}{30\times34 + 29\times25}$ $\frac{1020 - 725}{1020 + 725} = \frac{295}{1745} = .17$

County Pop. Change - $\frac{32\times21 - 42\times23}{32\times21 + 42\times23} = \frac{672 - 966}{672 + 966} = -\frac{294}{1638} = -.18$

Non-white Pop Change - $\frac{31\times14 - 49\times24}{31\times14 + 49\times24}$ $\frac{434 - 1176}{434 + 1176}$ $\frac{-742}{1610}$ $-.46$

Industrialization - $\frac{52\times3 - 60\times3}{52\times3 + 60\times3} = \frac{156 - 180}{156 + 180}$ $\frac{-24}{336} = -.07$

Urbanization - $\frac{49\times2 - 61\times6}{49\times2 + 61\times6}$ $\frac{98 - 366}{98 + 366}$ $\frac{-268}{464}$ $-.58$

Median School Yrs.-Co. - $\frac{27\times31 - 31\times29}{27\times31 + 31\times29}$ $\frac{837 - 899}{837 + 899}$ $\frac{-62}{1736}$ $-.03$

Median School Yrs Non-white - $\frac{10\times12 - 14\times12}{10\times12 + 14\times12}$ $\frac{120 - 168}{120 + 168}$ $\frac{-48}{288} = -.17$

Median Income county - $\frac{29\times33 - 30\times26}{29\times33 + 30\times26} = \frac{957 - 780}{957 + 780} = \frac{177}{1737} = .10$

Median Income - Non-white - $\frac{7\times8 - 7\times6}{7\times8 + 7\times6} = \frac{56 \cdot 42}{56 + 42} = \frac{14}{98} = .14$

Tenancy - $\frac{46\times15 - 48\times9}{46\times15 + 48\times9} = \frac{690 - 432}{690 + 432} = \frac{258}{1122} = .23$

Ky

118 counties used - Two have no Negroes over 18

% Pop Non-white

3.6

62.5	29	34
	30	25

30
33
26
29
118

Ky
118 counties

Pop Change County

	Losing	Gaining
	42	21
62.5		
	32	23

42
32
21
23
118

Ky

Losing

Pop Change
More white

Gaining

49	14
31	24

49
31
14
24
118

Ky
118

% Industrialization

Less than 25%	More than 25%
60	3
52	3

60
52
112
6
118

Ky

Urbanization

	Less than 50%	Over 50%
62.5	61	2
	49	6

110
8
118

~~Ky~~

Median School Yr. County

8.3

62.5

31	31
27	29

31
31
27
29

118

Ky.

70 unknowns

Base was less than 500 + median was not computed!

48 values

Median School Years

Non-white

6.8

675		
	14	12
	10	12

24
24
48

Kf
118

Median Income - County

4/12 97

62.5

30	33
29	26

Ky
28
For 90. counties median income was not computed

Median Income
non-white
$947.50

62.5

7 8

7 6

Ky
118

tenancy

Less than 50%	Above 50%
48	15
46	9

48
46
15
9
118

South Carolina

South Carolina has a sizeable Negro population, the median proportion of Negroes in the population being 47.4%. This apparently had a close relationship to the volume of Negro registration; the correlation ratio was -.62. Thus a heavy Negro population tends to retard registration and vice versa. Seventy percent of the counties falling below the Negro population median of 47.4% were above the 17.4 Negro registration median while only 35 % of those in which the Negro population was above the median had more than 17.4% of the Negro eligibles registered.

Two-thirds of South Carolina's counties gained in population between 1940 and 1950 and 61% of these had Negro registration exceeding the median of 17.4%. In 80% of the counties losing population, the registration of Negroes fell below the median. If only the counties in which the Negro population changed were considered there is no significant effect on registration. Thus it is likely that other characteristics in the counties experiencing ### over-all population gains also contributed to the effect on registration. Possibly a county with large population gains has urban and industrial traits which make its white population less resistant to Negro voting.

Characteristics of urban counties evidently promote registration. Counties were divided into those in which less than 50% of the people ################## and more than 50% of the people resided in urban areas. Only three South Carolina counties fell in the latter category.. These were Charleston, Greenville, and Richland and all three exceeded the states' registration median. There was substantial registration of eligible Negroes in Greenville (52.5) and Richland (44%) while the median was barely exceeded in Charleston County(17.6).

Since agriculture continued to be a major activitiy in the South there are relatively few counties with more than 50% of the population residing in urban communities. However, a number of counties contain urban areas. Seven of these had urban places of 10,000 or more and in the majority more than 25% of the eligible Negroes were registered. The highest registration of Negroes was found in four counties which were only moderately urbanized and which were not located on the coast where registration of Negroes always exceeded the state median. With one exception, Oconee(12% Negro), all had high proportions of Negroes in the population#. This varied from 39% to 48%. The percentage of eligible Negroes registered was as follows in the four counties referred to: Darlington, 86%; Oconee, 81%; Dillon, 61%; and Chesterfield 57.8%. The relatively high registration of eligible Negroes should be noted in another county because it has characteristics of the counties in which registration is frequently low. Berkeley has 39% of the eligible Negroes registered though Negroes form 63% of the population and none of the population resides in urban communities. Berkeley falls below the medians in income and school years completed for whites and non-whites. While industrial employment is lower than our 25% dividing line, a fairly substantial % of the population is# employed in manufacturing (22.2%). The major influence on registration ascertainable from the statistical data is the fact that Negro farm ownership is extremely high. 86% of the Negro farm operators own their farms. Only two other counties (Charleston and Beaufort), both of whom have fewer Negro farmers, have greater percentages of Negro farm ownership than Berkeley. Their costal location and relatively high rank in several other factors probably contribute to less farm tenancy. However, in Berkeley the higher registration and low rate of Negro farm tenancy must be explained by factors other than those considered above.

The median for school years completed by non-whites was 4.7 years. Fourteen of the twenty-three counties above this median were also above the registration median, thus indicating that registration was higher where the Negro citizens had greater education. If Negroes received an income higher than the median this was a significant factor influencing registration. Median income for non-whites was $7.50. In sisteen of the twenty-three counties whose median incomes exceeded $750, the registration of Negroes was above the registration median. Though not so significant as with income of non-whites, #### a higher level of income for all coincided with a higher registration of Negroes. Fourteen of the twenty-three counties above the median income fighre were above the Negro registration median.

8C

South Carolina

$$\frac{wv - ux}{wv + ux} = Q$$

Population — $\frac{7\times8 - 16\times15}{7\times8 + 16\times15} = \frac{56 - 240}{56 + 240}$ $\frac{-184}{296} = -.621$

Losing-G-
County -

$$\frac{12\times19 - 3\times12}{12\times19 + 3\times12} = \frac{228 - 36}{228 + 36} = \frac{192}{264} = .719$$

Losing-Gaining —
Non-white

$$\frac{12\times15 - 8\times11}{12\times15 + 8\times11} = \frac{180 - 88}{180 + 88} = \frac{92}{268} = .343$$

Urbanization

$$\frac{23\times3 - 20}{23\times3 + 20} \quad \frac{69 - 20}{69 + 20} = .55$$

Industrialization

$$\frac{14\times12 - 12\times8}{14\times12 + 12\times8} = \frac{168 - 96}{168 + 96} = \frac{62}{264} = .23$$

Negro Farm Tenancy

$$\frac{1\times18 - 7\times19}{1\times18 + 7\times19} = \frac{-115}{151} = -.76$$

SC

S.C.

Median School Yrs.- County

$$\frac{8\times15-8\times15}{8\times15+8\times15}=$$

Median School Yrs.- Nonwhite

$$\frac{14\times14-9\times9}{14\times14+9\times9}=\frac{115}{277}=.42$$

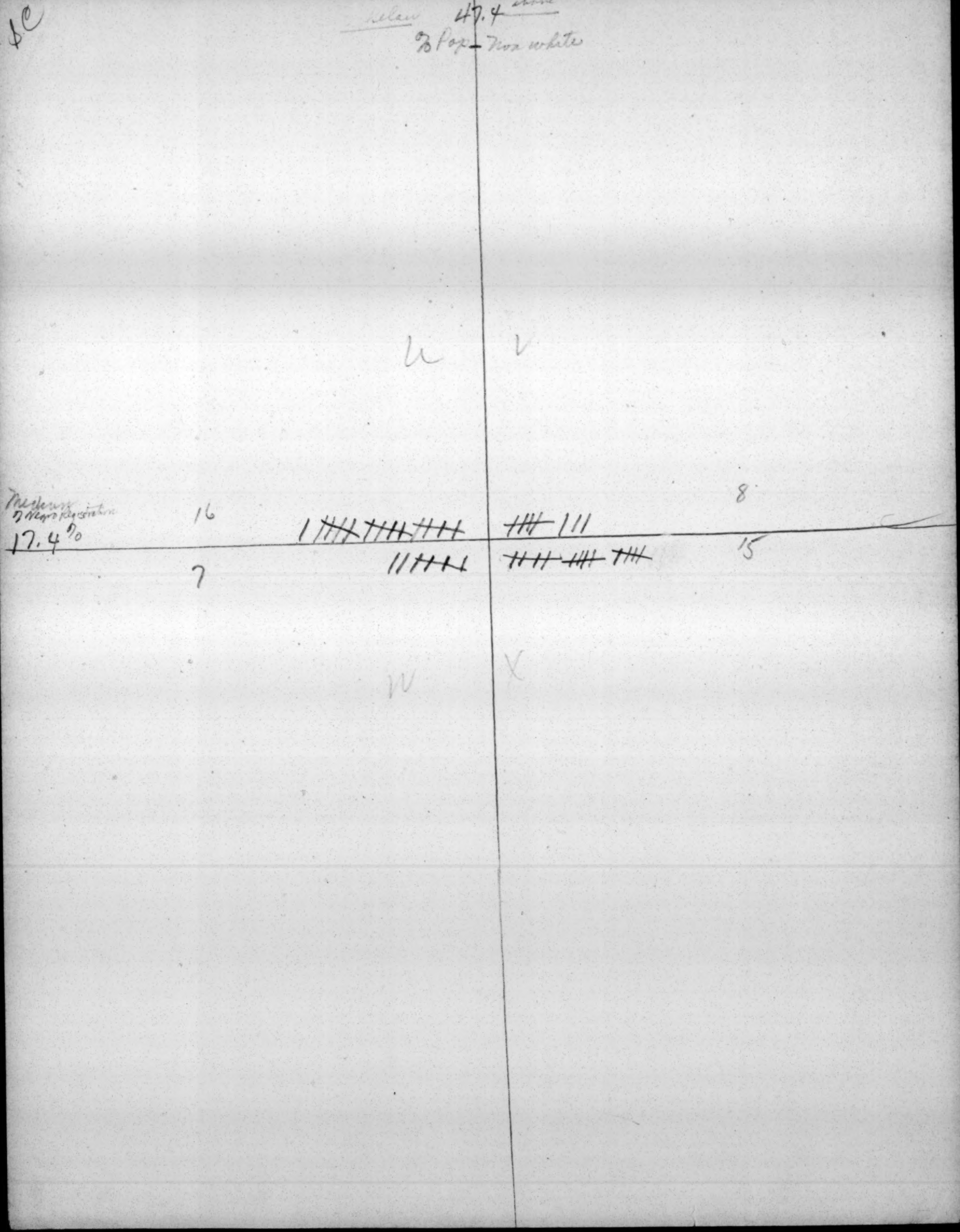
Median Income - County

$$\frac{14\times14-9\times9}{14\times14+9\times9}=\frac{115}{277}=.42$$

Median Income - Non-white

$$\frac{16\times16-7\times7}{16\times16+7\times7}=\frac{207}{305}=.65$$

$C


below
47.4
above
% Pop - Non white
u
v
Median
% Negro Registration
17.4%
16
7
8
15
w
x

pC

Losing County Gaining

U V

12.4 /// 3 ~~////~~ ~~////~~ ~~////~~ //// 19

~~////~~ ~~////~~ // 12 ~~////~~ ~~////~~ // 12

W. Y

pC

Losing | Gaining

Non white

u | v

8 | 15

17.4 — 𝍸 III | 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸

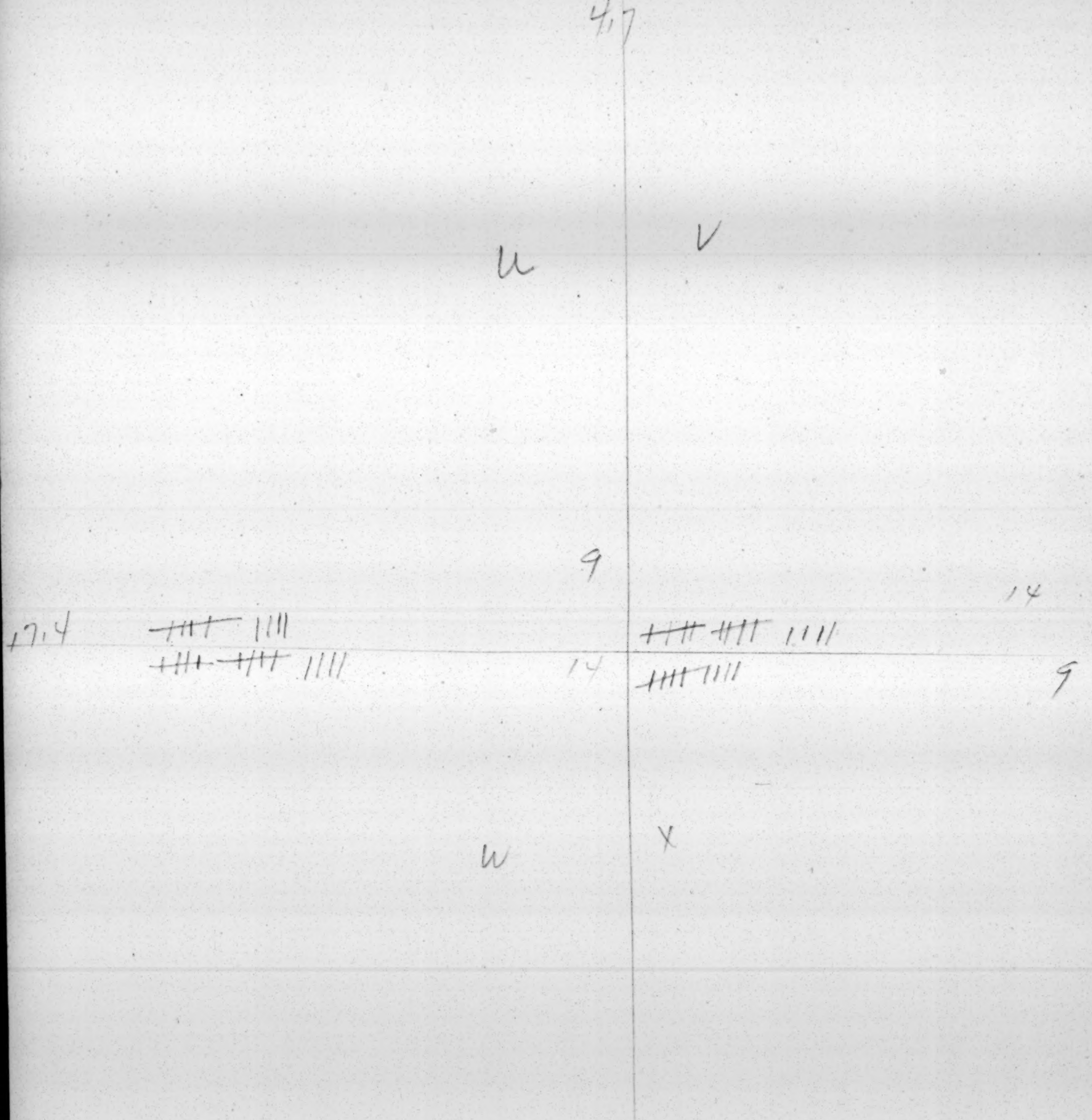
𝍸 𝍸 II | 𝍸 𝍸 I

12 | 11

w | x

5P

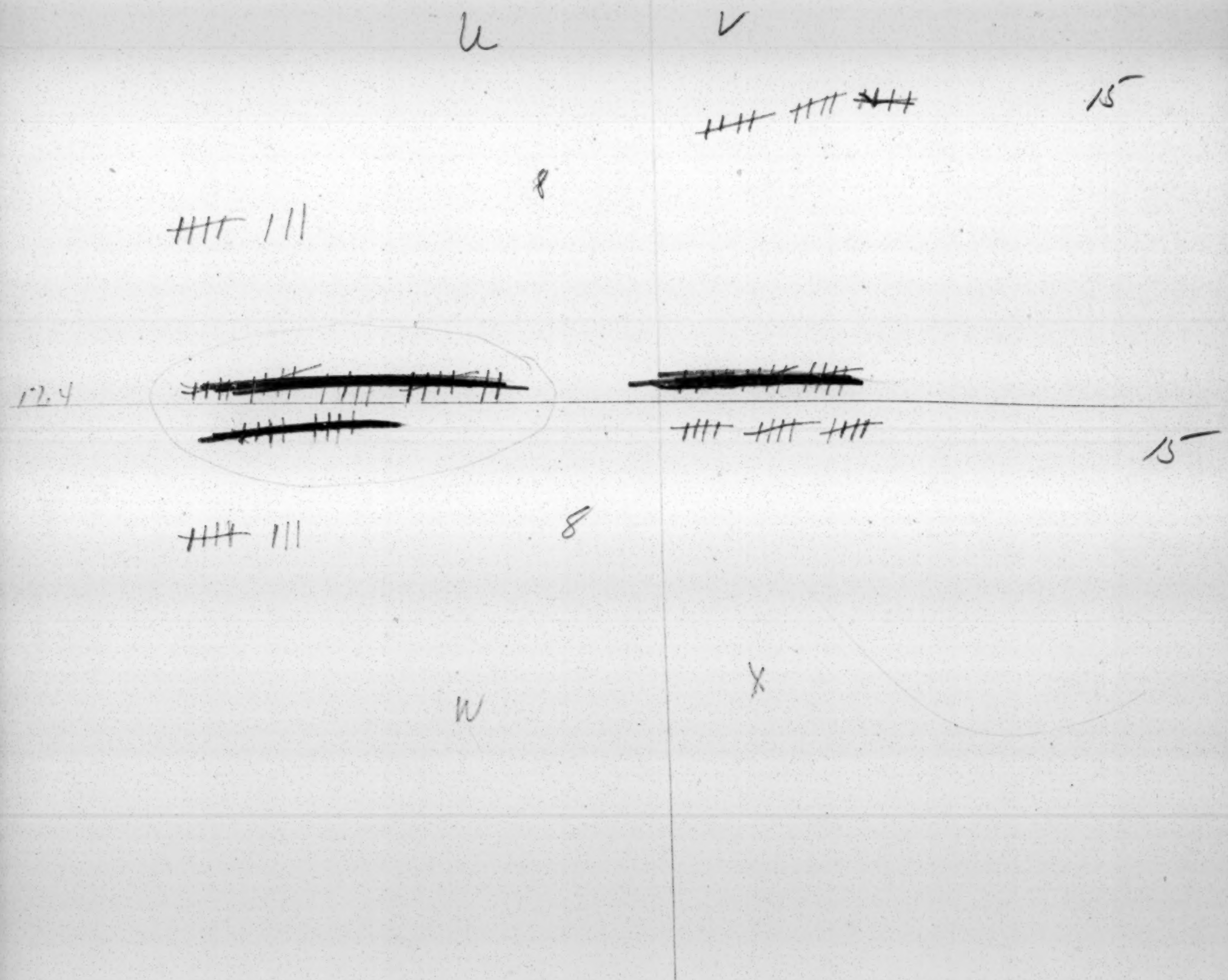
Median School Yrs
Non-white



8C

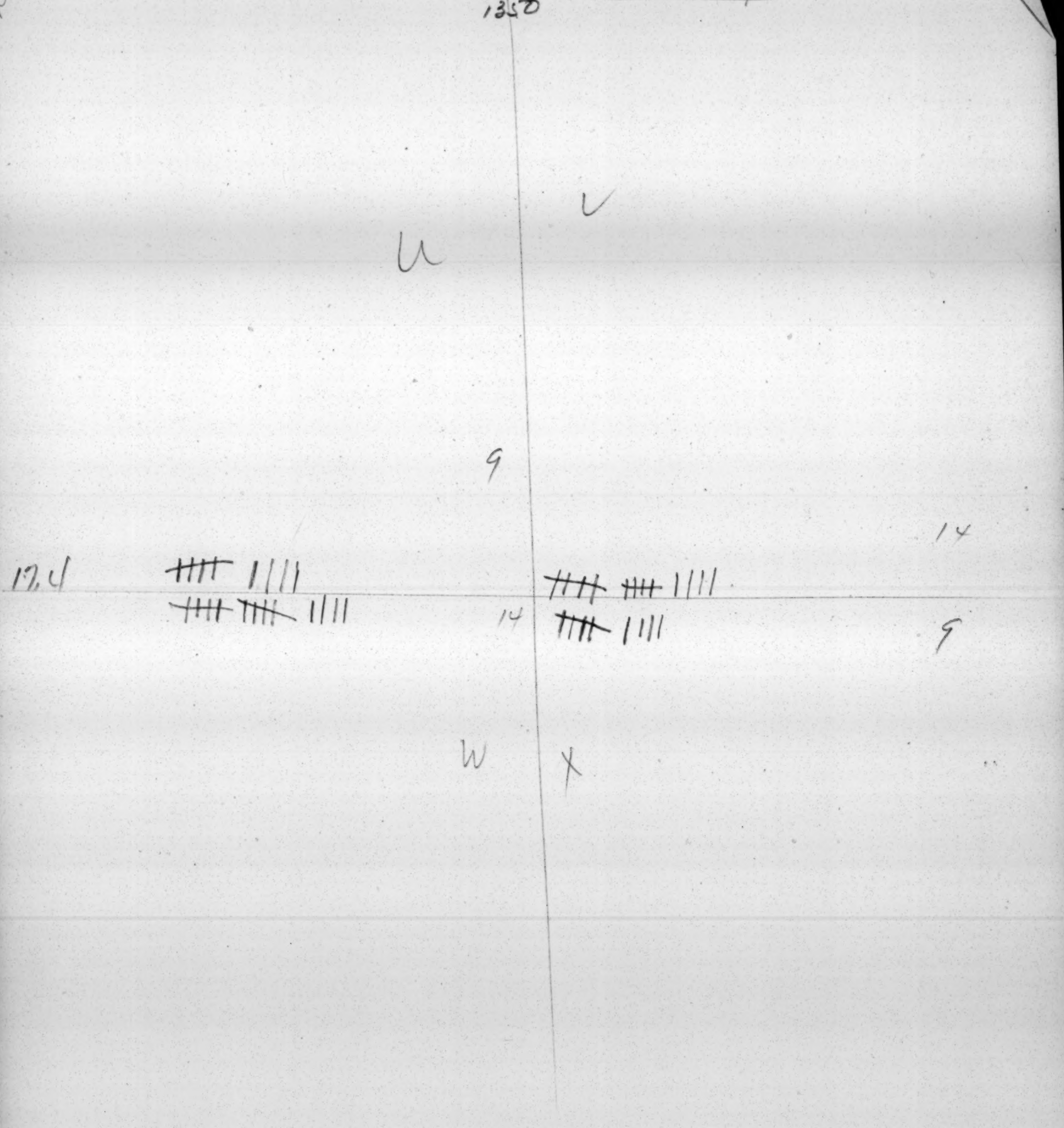
Median School Yrs - County

6.9



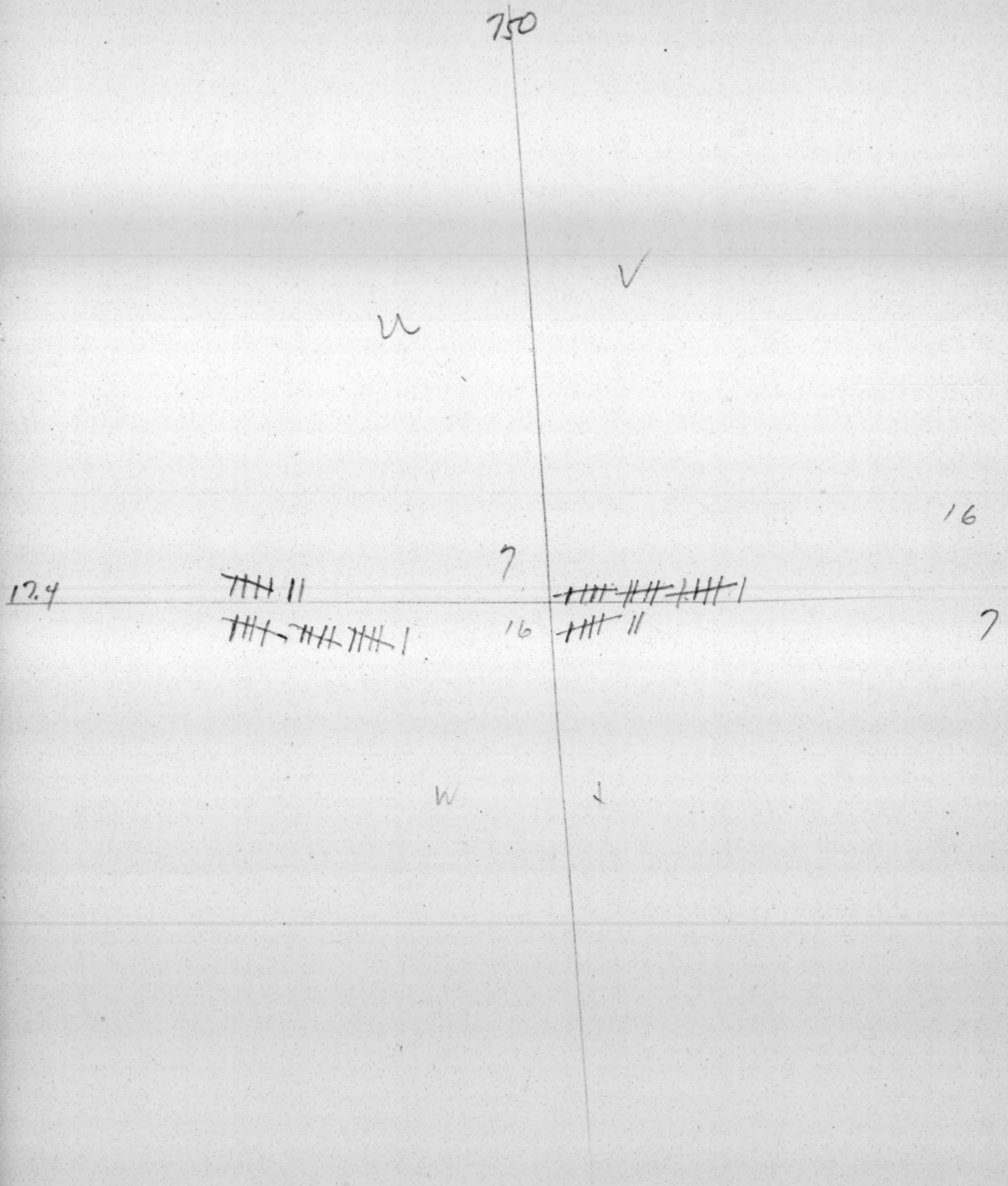
8C

Median Income - County



8C

Median Income - Non-white



bC

Less than 50% Urbanization over 50%

u v

Over 40% ||||

over 30% |||

~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ |||

3

17.4 |||

23

Over 30% ~~||||~~ ||

Over 40% |

~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ |

w x

8C

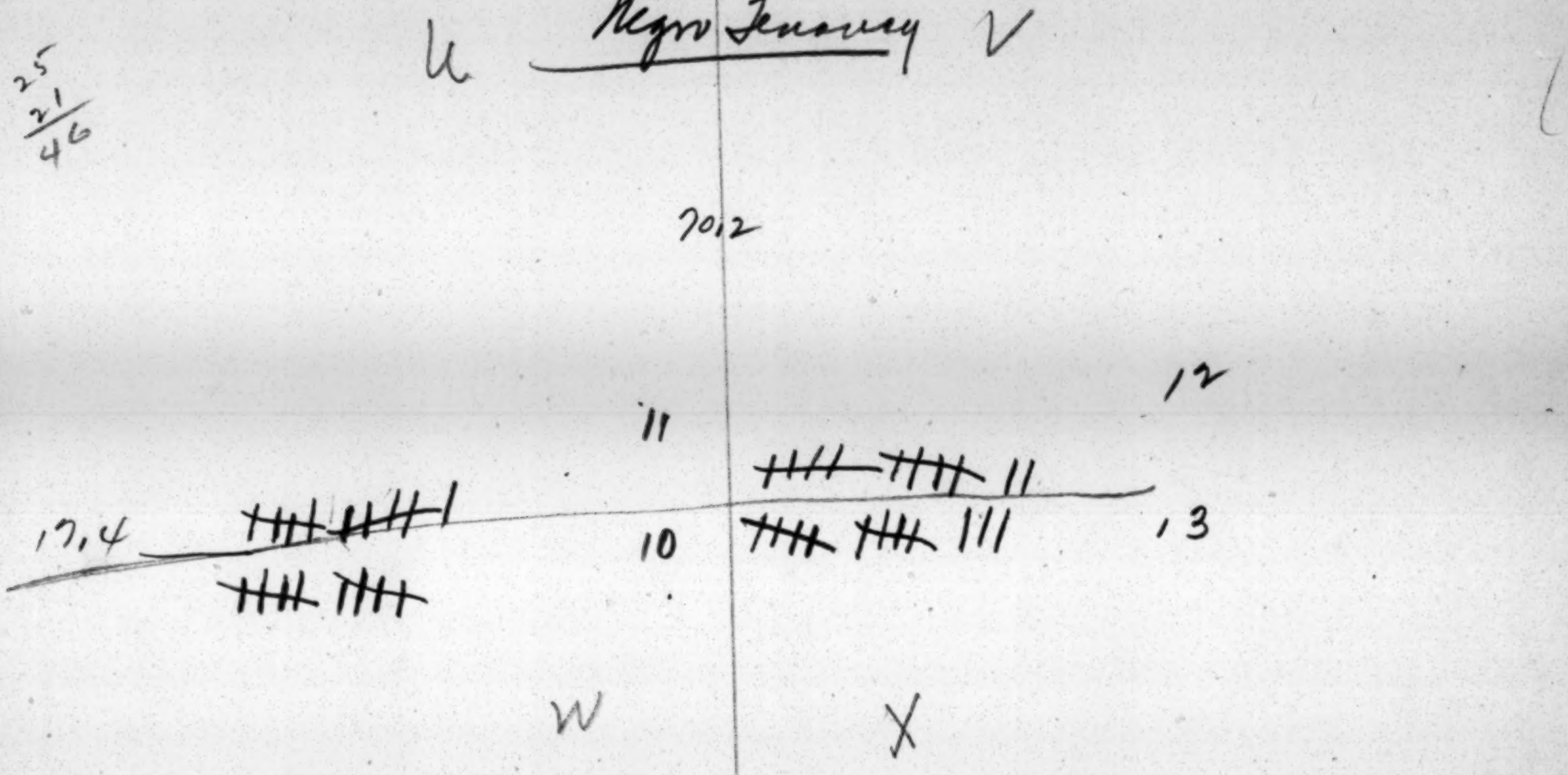
Industrialization

Less than 25%			more than 25%	
	u	v		
	12			12
17.4 卌 卌 ||			卌 卌 ||	
卌 卌 ||||	14		卌 |||	8
	w	x		

AC

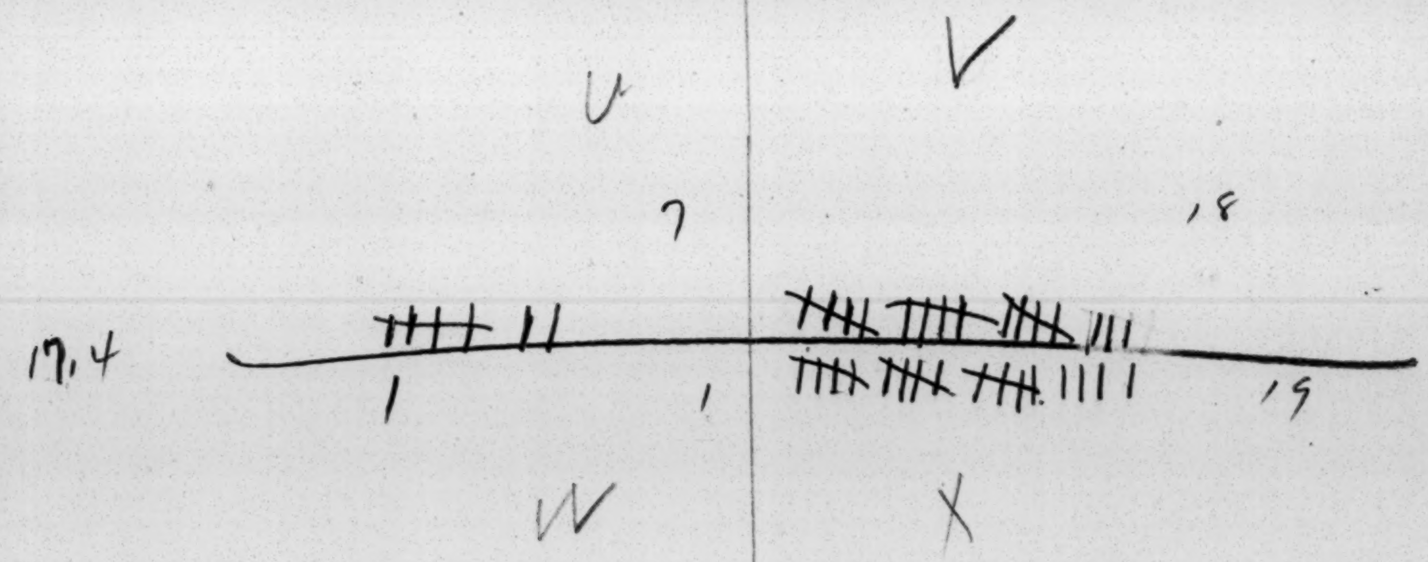
25
21
46

Negro Tenancy



Less than 50% Tenancy | More than 50% Tenancy

Negro Tenancy



Texas

Non-white Pop - $$\frac{28 \times 29 - 19 \times 19}{28 \times 29 + 19 \times 19} = \frac{812 - 361}{812 + 361} = \frac{451}{1173} = .38$$

County Pop Change - $$\frac{20 \times 13 - 35 \times 27}{20 \times 13 + 35 \times 27} = \frac{260 - 945}{260 + 945} = \frac{685}{1205} = -.57$$

Non-white Pop Change - $$\frac{20 \times 8 - 40 \times 27}{20 \times 8 + 40 \times 27} = \frac{160 - 1080}{160 + 1080} = \frac{920}{1240} = -.74$$

Urbanization - $$\frac{23 \times 7 - 41 \times 24}{23 \times 7 + 41 \times 24} = \frac{161 - 984}{161 + 984} \quad \frac{-823}{1145} \quad -.72$$

Industrialization - $$\frac{41 \times 5 - 43 \times 6}{41 \times 5 + 43 \times 6} \quad \frac{205 - 258}{205 + 258} = \frac{53}{463} = .11$$

Tenancy - $$\frac{31 \times 12 - 36 \times 16}{31 \times 12 + 36 \times 16} = \frac{372 - 576}{372 + 576} = \frac{-204}{948} \quad -.22$$

Median School Yrs County - $$\frac{17 \times 24 - 24 \times 30}{17 \times 24 + 24 \times 30} \quad \frac{408 - 720}{408 + 720} = \frac{-312}{1128} \quad -.28$$

Median School Yrs Non-white - $$\frac{18 \times 21 - 26 \times 28}{18 \times 21 + 26 \times 28} = \frac{378 - 728}{378 + 728} = \frac{-350}{1106} = -.31$$

Median Family Income County - $$\frac{14 \times 15 - 33 \times 33}{14 \times 15 + 33 \times 33} = \frac{210 - 1089}{210 + 1089} = \frac{-879}{1299} = -.68$$

Median Family Income Non-white $$\frac{15 \times 15 - 29 \times 30}{15 \times 15 + 29 \times 30} \quad \frac{225 - 870}{225 + 870} = \frac{-645}{1095} = -.59$$

Divide East + West Texas

% Pop. Non-white - (7)* TEXAS

22.3

19

29

Negro median

26.7

28

19

19
29
19
28

T - 95

*From 95 selected counties

Population Change [county] (G-) Texas -

	Losing	Gaining
	35	13
Negro median 26.7		
	20	27

1

35
13
20
27

T - 95

Population Change - Nonwhite - (H) TEXAS

Losing	Gaining
40	8
20	27

Negro Median
26.7

40
8
20
27
T - 95

Urbanization - (I) TEXAS

	Below 50%	Above 50%
	41	7
Negro Median 26.7		
	23	24

41
7
23
24

T - 95

Industrialization - (J) TEXAS

	Below 25%	Above 25%
	43	5
Negro Median - 26.7		
	41	6

43
41
5
6

T - 95

% Tenancy for Negro Farm Operators (K) Texas

Under 50%	Over 50%
36	12
31	16

Negro median 26.7

36
12
31
16
T - 95

Median School years Completed – County – ([illegible]).

TEXAS –

8.4

24

24

Negro Median 26.7

17

30

```
   24
   24
   17
   30
T – 95
```

Median School years Completed - Non-White (M) TEXAS - 6.4

26

21

Negro Median ~~[illegible]~~ 26.7

18

28

26
21
18
28
93

Unknown - 2
T - 95

Median Family Income - County (N) TEXAS

16 | 30

33

15

Negro Median

26.7

U

V

14

33

W

X

Median Family Income (Non-white) (0) TEXAS
$905.

29

15

Negro Median
10.9.

15

30

29
15
15
30

89

Unknown - 06
T - 95

Texas

?
Median registration figure among Negro eligibles in Texas was 26.7% Only 95 counties were included in the Texas survey because of the vast geographical area covered by the 254 counties. However, 9__ % of Texas' Negro population resides in these ___ counties.

September 9, 1958

Dr. Guy Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Once again the Southern Regional Council is planning a survey of Negro suffrage in the South. The latest figures compiled here covered a period ending in 1956. At that time Negro registrations in North Carolina were estimated at 135,000.

Do you know if it is possible to obtain official figures from a central, state source? We were not able to do so at the time of our earlier survey. Or do you, perhaps, have any current figures on both white and Negro registration in North Carolina? Any assistance or suggestions you can offer will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

Margaret Price

MP/bec

September 10, 1958

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

To supplement our telephone conversation today:

As you know, we ran into particular difficulties in compiling registration figures in Alabama during our previous voting survey. Consequently, we are particularly anxious about the Alabama figures we will use in the current effort to bring the voting picture up to date.

The latest figures available to us from Alabama are contained in the April 20, 1958, story by Hugh Sparrow in the Birmingham News. In that article he used totals as of April 15. However, since the registration books did not close until April 30, and since there often is a last minute rush to register, we wondered if he might have had a later story which we missed. If you have such in your files we would appreciate it if you could send it to us for copying and prompt return.

But, in any event it would seem worthwhile to make an effort to get official figures from each county. In the counties from which we could get no response, we could use the Sparrow figures. Incidentally, I noticed that the News still did not list the number of Negro voters registered in several counties from which you had received replies to your inquiries after our previous survey.

(continued)

Since you had such a good response I thought we might send a letter to the probate judge in each Alabama county this time asking how many white and Negro voters were registered. Harold Fleming suggested that we might have better luck if you sent the requests. If you agree, and are willing I'm sure we could draw up a form letter here, run off the copies, type and stamp the envelopes and then just bundle them off to you for signature and mailing. (Since we do not have your letterheads, of course, we would just use plain paper and envelopes and type in your return address.) I assume the letters should go to the probate judge in the county seat in each case.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Please let us know, too, if you have any suggestions on the collection of voting figures or any other phase of the voting picture.

Again, I apologize for bothering you at this particular time. I hope the situation brightens for you soon.

Sincerely,

MP/lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

September 10, 1958

Mr. Kenneth Toler
Mississippi Bureau
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Toler:

The Southern Regional Council is compiling a list of current voter registration in the 11 Southern states. We are interested first in the number of white and Negro voters registered in each state. Also, where available, we are gathering the number of each registered county-by-county. Mississippi presents a particular problem since there apparently is no central source for official figures.

Could you offer any suggestions as to how we might arrive at a reasonable estimate of current white and Negro registration in Mississippi? We thought you might know of a reliable reporter who could do the necessary checking for us. Of course, the Council is willing to pay an honorarium and expenses. Naturally, if you yourself would have the time to check for us we would be pleased.

Yours truly,

MP/lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Same letter sent to:
Dr. Tilman C. Cochran
Dr. Lewis Killian
Dr. Elston E. Roady
Dr. Kenneth Vines
Dr. Henry A. Bullock
Dr. Harry W. Roberts

September 10, 1958

Dr. James E. Pierce, Dean
Graduate Division
The Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Doctor Pierce:

The Southern Regional Council is planning to bring up to date the 1956 study "Negro Voter in the South."

We are particularly interested to have any comments you might make as to changes in the past two years. For example, does it seem to you that interest in voting has increased or decreased among Negroes in your state? Naturally, any specific instances you might cite would be welcome. We would be interested also in learning of any groups, new or continuing which are working to increase registration among Negroes and in your views on their effectiveness.

In fact, anything pertinent would be helpful--instances of discrimination against those trying to vote or register, the effect of any legal changes, emergence of Negro candidates, any change in attitude of political parties and candidates toward Negro voters, etc.

Of course, we are faced with updating registration figures as far as possible. Any later ones which you could share with us or suggestions as to how we might obtain them, would be most helpful.

If you have any clippings which you think would be useful we would copy them and return them promptly.

Sincerely,

MP/led

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

September 11, 1958

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
Editor
Texas Observer
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

At the suggestion of Fred Routh I am writing to ask your help in a current Southern Regional Council project. As you may recall, SRC made a survey of Negro voting in the South in 1956. Now we are trying to bring the project up to date, with particular emphasis on current registration figures.

Texas presents a special problem, since we have been unable to find a central source which might issue official figures. We are trying to compile registration figures on a county-by-county basis, with a racial breakdown, where available. But, in every case, we are trying first to arrive at statewide totals--the number of white and Negro voters registered currently. Do you have, or could you suggest how we might obtain, such totals for Texas? Any aid or advice you might offer will be most welcome.

Yours truly,

MP/lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

September 11, 1958

Miss Florence Irving
615 South East Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Florence:

Here we go again--another voting study. (I can imagine your saying to yourself, "I left just in time.") The Field Foundation gave SRC a special grant to do a follow-up to the 1956 survey. This one, as I understand it--but I've only been here since Monday--will be much less exhaustive than the previous one. For one thing, I don't think there will be all that business with the county-by-county figures, although we'll try to get those where available, of course.

The first thing, however, that we do need are new figures for white and Negro registration in each state. You will remember the difficulty we had in getting reliable figures for North Carolina. I wonder if you have any idea of how we could get any current figures, either official ones or reliable estimates. I'm writing Guy Johnson at Chapel Hill also to ask if he has any suggestions. As you can imagine, any help or ideas you can offer would be very welcome.

No one here seems to know whether you will be teaching again this year and if so where. Everyone is most interested so do let us hear what is new with you. I hope you and your family all are well. Please remember me to your sister.

Sincerely,

MP/lec

Margaret Price

September 15, 1958

Dr. Elston Roady
1916 West Indian Head Drive
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Doctor Roady:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter last week and for sending us the figures from the Secretary of State. I am looking forward to reading "The Negro In American Society," which you were kind enough to send and I know others at SRC will find it interesting also.

Your comments on the current Negro voting pattern in Florida will be most helpful and I am indeed grateful to you for giving us your appraisal. Judging from the figures coming in from other Southern states, it appears that off-year registrations will show a drop in both white and Negro qualified voters as in Florida.

I had not seen the comment by Governor Collins on Civil Rights Commission. It will be useful in the updating of the 1956 voting survey. I am enclosing the clipping, which we have copied.

And again, thank you for all your help.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bcc
Enclosures: 1

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL

MEMPHIS 1, TENNESSEE

From: Jackson, Miss., Bureau
The Walthall Hotel
Sept. 16, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta.

Dear Mrs. Price:

As you noted in your letter, there is no central point in Mississippi where a list of qualified voters is available. And it is difficult to get them county-by-county from the ~~mg~~ registrars in the 82 counties.

I will undertake to check all sources to ascertain whether even an approximate figure is available. As soon as I can hear from the officials, I will let you know.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Toler

Kenneth Toler

Tel. no.- Jackson, Miss.
Walthall Hotel
FLEETwood 2-4051
or, at capitol
FLEETwood 2-7941

September 17, 1958

State Auditor
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir:

Two or three years ago I made a study of voting in the South. I would appreciate it if you could tell me how many voters now are registered in Arkansas and of this number how many are white.

If such figures are available on a county-by-county basis, I would appreciate these also. If any cost in involved, please let me know.

Yours truly,

JAG/lec

John A. Griffin

September 17, 1958

State Board of Elections
State Capitol
Richmond, Virginia

Gentlemen:

Two or three years ago I made a study of voting in the South. I would appreciate it if you could tell me how many voters now are registered in Virginia and of this number how many are white.

If such figures are available on a county-by-county basis, I would appreciate these also. If any cost is involved, please let me know.

Yours truly,

JAG/lec

John A. Griffin

September 17, 1958

Secretary of State
State Capitol
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

Two or three years ago I made a study of voting in the South. I would appreciate it if you could tell me how many voters now are registered in Louisiana and of this number how many are white.

If such figures are available on a parish by parish basis, I would appreciate these also. If any cost is involved, please let me know.

Yours truly,

JAG/lec

John A. Griffin

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

September 17, 1958

Dr. Herman Long
Dept. of Sociology
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Doctor Long:

You may recall the Southern Regional Council's survey of "The Negro Voter in the South" prepared in 1956. We now hope to bring this up-to-date with developments of the past two years.

Naturally, our first concern will be current registration figures. In the earlier study, Tennessee presented a problem, since we could find no central source for registration totals. Once again we are confronted with the same situation.

Harold Fleming suggested that I appeal to you for help. He thought you might perhaps have some later figures. If not, could you suggest how we might gather an official total or arrive at a reasonable estimate of current white and Negro registration in Tennessee? Where available, we also are collecting county-by-county figures.

Also, we would be happy to have any suggestions or comments from you on Negro voting in Tennessee in general -- whether or not interest has increased in use of the ballot in the past two years, instances of discrimination, the effectiveness of groups working toward greater registration, any change in attitude of political parties and candidates toward Negro voters, etc.

Yours truly,

Margaret Price

MP/bee

1003 Duke Street
Greensboro, North Carolina
September 17, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Margaret:

It was indeed nice to hear from you and to learn that you are back at the Council for a continuation of the voting study. Actually, I wish I could be there to work along with you, but being at home or in the home area has meant a lot to me and to my family. I've returned to A. and T. College for the current year.

Offhand, I don't know of a source from which we can get accurate figures on present voter registration in North Carolina. I'll be going home this weekend, and I'll phone or visit the chairman of the State Board of Elections to see if he has such data. I'll inform you immediately if I secure any information.

The NAACP has campaigned vigorously during the past year in an effort to increase Negro voter registration. Perhaps, Mr. Charles McLean, North Carolina Field Secretary, 1453 Hattie Avenue, Winston-Salem, can tell you of the effect of this campaign. I phoned his office yesterday, but he travels throughout the state and was away at the time of my call. If you do not get a fairly prompt response upon writing him, I can probably contact him on one of his trips to Greensboro or go over to Winston-Salem to see him.

The Institute of Government conducts a good deal of research in North Carolina, and there is a slight chance that it may have information on voter registration. I'm uncertain of whether Mr. Albert Coates is director of the Institute or merely editor of its monthly publication. At any rate, the address is The Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

If you get any leads which you wish me to investigate in my section of North Carolina, I shall be glad to do so. Good luck with the study, and I shall be eager to hear of your progress and findings.

Please say hello to the SRC staff for me. I'm truly ashamed of having written so seldom, but I think the members of the staff know that, in spite of the infrequent letters, I hold them in warm regard and that there is no waning in my interest in the Council and its objectives.

Incidentally, I did enclose a note in a Christmas card to you last December. Apparently, I had an incorrect address since the card was returned to me. How is Bem? Regards to him.

Sincerely,

Florence

Florence Irving

September 23, 1958

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street (Room 100)
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

SRC has embarked on a project to bring the 1956 survey of Negro voters up to date. I have the report from the South Carolina Secretary of State giving the new state total of registrants and county figures which you sent some weeks ago.

Paul Anthony said that when you sent the list there also were one or two clippings from The State of stories written at the time the totals were issued. He said that copies were run off here and the clippings then were returned to you. I have not been able to find the copies and wonder if you would be good enough to send them to us once again. I will return them to you promptly. A letter in July refers to items being returned to you as two from The State of 5/20/58 and 5/24/58 and I assume these are the clippings in question. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bec

September 24, 1958

Prof. Donald S. Strong
Dept. of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Strong:

You may recall that in 1956 the Southern Regional Council made a survey of Negro voters in the South. We now plan to bring this up to date.

For the previous study a consultant in each of the states gathered information, conducted interviews and analyzed the material. This time we want to use a different and more modest approach. Since only a two-year period has elapsed, it would seem to be a duplication of effort to call again for the same kind of state study.

We are gathering general, region-wide voting material here from all available sources. We hope to be able to collect voting totals by race for each of the 11 Southern states, information on legal changes in registration, pending suits-- in short, everything we can find in print on Negro voting in the region in the past two years.

Along with this, we want to have some studies-in-depth of a number of specific counties in the South. We don't expect to draw broad generalizations from these but instead just say, for example: here is a deep South county, which has a population of ___ per cent Negro, where it is easy (or difficult) for Negroes to register, but where only this number has done so; this is its story. And then, we would go into its history, economic composition, background of violence (if any), record a number of interviews, etc., to give a general picture of the particular county.

In Alabama we would like to have such a study of a Black Belt county and thought Dallas County would be a likely spot. (However, we're open to suggestions, if you think of one more suitable.) We want to include one or two metropolitan areas and decided Birmingham would be a good choice, since Negro registration there is low. Then perhaps a second city, where Negro registration is above average (for the region), could be selected.

Would you be willing to handle such a report for either Dallas or Birmingham? I know this must be a particularly busy time for you but I thought that since you already have done so much work on Voter Registration this project might not be as time consuming as one in an unrelated field. (Your "Registration of Voters in Alabama" was a great help in the earlier SRC report.) If you can undertake one of the areas, could you recommend someone for the other--or, two persons if you are unable to help us. Of course, expenses and a fee will be paid.

I would appreciate it if you would let us know one way or another as soon as possible for we would like to get the work underway in order to have all the material in hand before too many weeks have passed. I will be returning to my home in Virginia this week (my mail will be forwarded there) to wait for the various reports before coming back to Atlanta. However, if you have any questions or want to discuss the project, would you make a collect call to Harold Fleming, SRC executive director, at Jackson 2-8764 in Atlanta?

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bec

September 24, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

SRC has embarked on an effort to bring its 1956 survey of Negro voting up to date. Harold Fleming suggested I write to ask if you would have the time and would be willing to help us.

For the previous study, a chief sonsultant was used in each of the states to gather information, conduct interviews and analyze.

This time we plan to use a different method. Since only a two-year period has elapsed it would seem to be a duplication of effort to call again for the same kind of state study. Also, a smaller fund is available to finance this project.

We are gathering general, region-wide voting material here from newspaper and magazine reports. We hope to be able to collect voting totals by race for each of the 11 Southern states, information on legal changes in registration, pending suits-- in short, everything we can find in print on Negro voting in the region in the past two years.

Along with this, we want to have some studies-in-depth of a number of specific counties in the South. We don't expect to draw broad generalizations but instead, just say for example: here is a deep South county, which has a population over 50 per cent Negro, where it is easy (or difficult) for Negroes to register, but where only this number has done so; this is its story. And then, we would go into its history, its economic composition, background of violence (if any) etc., to give a good, general picture of the particular county.

Would you be interested in doing such a report on Beaufort

County? It seems to be a good example of a county which, although it has a population over 50 per cent Negro, has an above average registration (for the South) of Negroes. Our figures from the South Carolina Secretary of State show that Beaufort has 2,855 or 69 per cent of the white eligibles registered and 1,286, or 31 per cent of the Negroes.

We would be very pleased if you would undertake the study for us and would let us know one way or another as soon as possible for we would like to get the work underway in order to have all the material in hand before too many weeks have passed. Of course, expenses and a fee will be paid.

If you are interested, I'll write again and send along a list of questions, which might be of some help in getting started on the project, or at least in giving you a better idea of the sort of thing we have in mind.

As Beaufort seems to be one of the brighter spots in the South, McCormick County, S. C., represents one of the gloomier ones, as no Negroes are registered to vote there. Could you suggest someone who might be interested in doing a study of that county? (Or would you, perhaps, recommend another county?)

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bcc

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

September 25, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I have received your letter requesting information to bring up to date the 1956 SRC study "The Negro Voter in the South."

I shall be happy to cooperate in this endeavor and should have some data ready for submission in about two weeks. At the present time I am rather busy getting the semester started and consequently a slight delay will be necessary before I can gather the materials.

I am very interested in the work that the Southern Regional Council is doing on this subject and hope that the present revision will be as successful as the 1956 study. Although my materials will not be complete by any means as regards Negro registration and voting, I will have some interesting materials to submit.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines
Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

Tel. - Tulane
UNIVERSITY 6-2741
Home TWINBROOK 1-5318

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Hal:

This is the report from Travis. He explained, when I called him, that in Tennessee there was no central agency for gathering these figures, that even the number of voting precincts was never really certain as each state election arises and actually has to be agreed upon during the night of balloting when it is discovered in fact(I recall myself that each statewide election night we always get a precinct total from AP, a different one from Up, and perhaps a third one from our own correspondent....these are counted on by the state officials themselves for the record...and about midnight there is final agreement on how many precincts are coming in). Also, Fred reports, there is no registration by party in Tennessee, so no one feels called upon to centralize this information. You, of course, know that this all stems from that old border state, independent Tennessee attitude and image and myth, that East ~~ad~~ and Middle and West Tennessee are all so different in ~~ox~~ outlook that the very key to knowing Tennessee politically is to keep in mind there never is anything li,e statewide agreement or integration of action, or else it would stop being Tennessee.

Anyway, Fred went to work on what he couldget.I am certain his total statewide figure is the best approximation possible in this state...Fred is the dean of the capitol correspondents, a very sound and reliable fellow, a true Tennessee moderate who despises the Mississippi mentality, and a chap who has the confidence of every meaningful local leader in this state as no one else even hopes to have.

This is the best I can do for you. Keep the letter. I have made a copy for my files. Best wishes always,and hope we can get together soon for a good bull session with you,Jane, me, the dog and the "Greek Way".

Love

Pop

Pop

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

VIA AIR MAIL September 29, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

John Griffin called this morning to relay word received from the Virginia Secretary of State. Unfortunately, no county-by-county figures. But following are the state totals, which the Secretary of State said were based on reports of estimated numbers of voters furnished by clerks of courts throughout the State. He didn't say how recently these reports had been gathered, but I suppose we may assume these are 1958 figures.

Total Registration - 937,129

White Registrants - 805,431
Colored Registrants - 131,626
Indian Registrants - 72

Bruce Galphin's series began Sunday in the Journal-Constitution. John Constable will be sending you the articles as they come out.

I was delighted to hear from Bem this morning that he is going to be here next week. I am sure an Atlanta stop will result in one or more good pieces.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Oct. 2, 1958

Miss Margaret Price
S.R.C.--63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Price:

I certainly owe you an apology for the delay in replying to your inquiry about registration data in North Carolina. I returned from a six-week trip about the middle of September, and the pile of accumulated mail plus the ordinary routines of getting started into the fall term have been more than I could take care of comfortably.

I have asked several people who are in a position to know, and they report that North Carolina does not have any official over-all compilation of registration by race. An occasional local registrar will keep a tab on race, but finding such people among the 2000 precincts would be quite a job. I'm sorry to say that personally I have not kept up woth this matter very closely lately, and I have no good estimates in the files. I think that Harry Jones, Executive Secretary of the N.C. Council, might have something on it in his files.

Awfully sorry that I can't be more helpful. All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Guy B. Johnson

Guy B. Johnson

11CF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 2, 1958

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Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 24. I certainly have been quite interested in the voting survey made two years, and the use of it in Congress.

I would be quite interested in making a report on Beaufort County, although I am not sure that I can get the sort of material that you want, nor do I have a record for being prompt or punctual for any undertaking. Is this study something that would require a good bit of time all at once, or do you visualize it as something that could be sort of sandwiched in between other duties that I have in connection with Penn? I would not be able to undertake the former, but would try doing it if it is the latter.

Certainly a fee, and even expenses would not be necessary if I could do it, although I might consider expenses if I go down to the lower part of the county. Incidentally, although I do not know definitely, I would imagine that Beaufort County would offer a study in contrast with the upper part showing to be considerably different from the lower part. (The division is Broad River). My impression is that there are very few Negroes to vote either on Hilton Head Island or Dafuskie, which lies South of Broad River. I am not sure how much of a job I could do on the lower part of the county, other than the one or two day trip, since I am not very familiar with the people or situation in that section.

Perhaps the material you send as to questions, will be sufficient, but I am wondering what your opinion is concerning asking certain officials such as the Registrar for the polls, and various elected officials for whatever information they have, or is this a study that you would prefer not to come to the attention of officials.

As to another county within the state, that would be good to make a survey, I must confess my total ignorance about the situation elsewhere, and about people particularly good to do the job. Although obviously, it would be good to have perhaps a local person to do the survey within his own county, if you chose a county such as McCormick, it might be difficult to find that person. Also, Negroes whom I think might be able to do a good job on such an undertaking, would be the Rev. F.C. James, a Methodist pastor of Sumter, (of whom James Dabbs would be able to give ~~a~~ good ~~opinion~~ advice) and Mr. W.E. Solomon

Executive Secretary for the Palmetto Education Association, 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia. You know that he is also a member of the Southern Regional Council Board. Mr. James, incidentally, was an unsuccessful candidate for the City Council this last Spring. Both of the men, I am sure, could do an excellent job if they have the time to make surveys, even outside their own counties.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:rfp

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

October 2, 1958

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Thanks for your letter of September 24 concerning your idea of a study-in-depth of Negro voting in certain counties of the South. You suggest for Alabama, Dallas County, and then probably Birmingham. I don't think I would want to touch Dallas County, but I can recommend someone who might be able to handle the job fairly well.

I have several unfulfilled commitments at present so I would be hesitant about accepting the Birmingham study myself. I shall not close the door completely with respect to Birmingham, but I would want to know how much of a study you expected and the amount of your fee before I could give it any serious consideration myself.

Last semester a graduate student by the name of John R. Vaughn, who can be addressed in care of this department, wrote me an excellent term paper on the subject of the registration -- or non-registration of Negroes -- in Dallas County, which is his home county. I have shown him your letter and asked him if he would be interested. He indicates that he would certainly be sufficiently interested to have an exchange of letters with you on the subject. Vaughn is now a second-year graduate student, a Ph.D. candidate, and a person that I would recommend unhesitatingly for the Dallas County project.

You might consider discussing with him the Birmingham project also. Although he lacks the personal contacts there that he has in Dallas County, I could certainly start him off with a few leads, and I would try to give him any advice that he solicited.

I have in mind a couple of other people who are less singularly well qualified. However, if you have any difficulty making arrangements for Alabama, let me know and I shall try to contact these people for you.

Sincerely yours,

Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong
Professor

DSS:akp

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Malcolm Smith

Bob Rankin at Duke

Jos L. Bernd

Bowman / Ala St

1954

Dear Margaret Price,

For a long time, I've meant to write to say "Welcome back" to SRC ! Hope we shall see each other before too long.

We're in the midst of preparing for an important meeting--- my apolpgy for allowing your request to get to the bottom of a pile which has daily grown higher rather than lower! Please return as soon as you've used as this is our office copy. (Margaret I made these copies for you & returned original) M.P.

Please call the attention of Harold and John to the other clippings from the News & Courier re the Charleston West Va. controversy.

Yours,

Alice N Spearman

10-7-58

The Florida State University
Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 17, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

Please excuse me for not having answered your letter of September 10 sooner. My excuse is the usual one -- I have been very busy. In addition, I have been racking my brain to think what I might be able to report to you. In the meantime, I have found that you have also written to Dr. Roady and that he has been bringing you up to date on Negro voting in Florida. There is really nothing that I can add to what he knows about the situation. I do want you to know that I have not ignored your request, however.

I am happy to know that the 1956 study is being brought up to date. I think the first edition was a great success. Good luck in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis M. Killian
Lewis M. Killian

LMK:cc

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 17, 1958

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 14. The list of questions you enclosed are certainly most helpful.

What you speak, in terms of deadlines, seems practical at this point. It remains to be seen as to how close I can adhere to it. I gather that the information you need by November 4, you already have in the office, so that the deadline of January 1 would be that affecting me.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

October 19, 1958

Department of Political Science

University of Alabama

Mrs. Margaret Price

Southerh Regional Council, Inc.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I am sorry, but I will be unable to do the research on Dallas County. I was under the impression that the study would be more closely concerned with registration and voting. It appears from your list of suggested questions that the study deals with broader issue of the Negro's social and political status in Dallas County. I do not feel that I have the time for a study of this magnitude.

I am very sorry that I cannot be of assistance to you. I wish you all good luck on the study.

Sincerely,

John R. Vaughn

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
College of Arts and Sciences
University, Alabama

Department of Political Science

October 20, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

Please overlook my failure to answer your letter promptly. I held it on my desk for a few days hoping that I might devise some way of getting together with you, but I am afraid I shall be unable to.

The scope of your suggested inquiry is rather broader than I had in mind. It comes close to being an examination of the Negro's entire status in Jefferson County. I can claim competence only in the much narrower field of Negro registration and voting. More important, I just do not have the time between now and January 1. I have a couple of other unfulfilled commitments to which I must give first attention.

Let us keep in touch and perhaps we can get together on something else at a later date.

Very sincerely yours,

Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong
Professor

DSS/a

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Va.
October 21, 1958

Dear Florence:

Thanks so much for your earlier letter. Since I haven't heard from you again, I've assumed that statewide registration totals were not available from the State Board of Elections. Following your suggestion, I've just written Mr. McLean in Winston-Salem to ask if he can help and I'll also try the Institute of Government at Chapel Hill. Guy Johnson, incidentally, couldn't help. I'll let you know if we have a response from the above two sources and if not, I'll send you another S.O.S. Meantime, if you can think of any way we can get a N.C. total please let us know--we're desperate.

As planned now, we want to put out a sort of interim report on which a news release can be based just before the upcoming Nov. 4 election. Of course, the new totals are the most important items for this. Then later, after some field studies have been made in some selected counties, a longer report would follow. As Harold explained it to me, the Field Foundation made a grant for a year's continuing study of voting in the South.

I hope you'll forgive me for not having written to you before this. Things have been rather hectic with us these past three months. In July Bem left for Lebanon, after about a day's notice. After he'd been there a couple of weeks he cabled he was flying to London the next day and if I wanted to meet him there for our vacation to let him know. I'd been planning to go to Atlanta and SRC that week-end (the cable came on a Friday). First, I checked with Harold and he said by all means go, the Council project had been delayed so long, a ~~furthermore~~ delay wouldn't matter. The next few days I rushed around like mad, getting vaccinated, my passport, xxxx shopping, arranging to get the grass cut and all the things taken care of in the house. And, Tuesday night I was aboard a plane. We had a marvelous time, in London, Paris and Rome. I came home for a very busy and domestic week and then went to Atlanta for three weeks. Another week at home before Bem left for Huntsville. Meanwhile, I've been doing all the scrubbing and cleaning so long over-due.

This Sunday I'll be going back to Atlanta and when I get there I hope I can sort out just what voting material we have and what we need so that by the next time I write I can give you a better picture.

SRC is a far more comfortable place these days, now that the expansion takes in parts of two floors (had the move been made before you left?). Ruth hasn't been feeling at all well and planned to enter a hospital this month for an exploratory operation. Fred still is tootling about in his Thunderbird, breezy as ever. He and Emory have an extremely nice secretary, a girl who is doing graduate work at Emory. A very pleasant person is now receptionist, which is a great relief to Ruth. John's secretary, Lou Cummings, is cute as she can be and keeps the fourth floor a lively place (I guess she's also Mrs. Tilly's secretary). Mrs. Tilly fell, injuring her leg, and she finally was persuaded to see a doctor, who found she also had pneumonia. This not only did not hospitalize her, it scarcely slowed down the remarkable Mrs. T.

Sincerely,

October 21, 1958

Mr. Charles McLean
Field Secretary
NAACP
1453 Hattie Avenue
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. McLean:

About two years ago the Southern Regional Council issued a report on "The Negro Voter in the South." Now, we are trying to bring this up to date.

Our first concern is the collection of current registration totals in the eleven Southern states. Tentatively, we plan an interim report around Nov. 2 and a more complete one sometime later.

I wondered if you possibly could give us any help on the registration totals for North Carolina. We particularly need to know the current statewide total of both Negro and white registrants. Where we can, we also are gathering county-by-county figures, but I understand this is impossible in North Carolina.

Miss Florence Irving, who formerly was a member of the SRC staff and who now teaches at A. and T. College, wrote me some time ago that she would check the State Board of Elections and would let me know if there were any statewide figures available there. Since I have not heard from her, I assume that official figures are not available. She suggested that I write to you to ask if you have any such information.

In 1956 the total Negro registration figure in North Carolina which we used was 135,000.

I understand the NAACP has conducted a vigorous campaign to increase Negro voter registration in North Carolina this past year and it would be most interesting to learn more about the drive.

Any help or suggestions you can offer--both on registration totals and any change in the pattern of Negro political participation--will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
October 22, 1958

Mr. Levin Nock Davis
Secretary
State Board of Elections
State Capitol
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am trying to compile a list of the number of voters registered in Virginia currently. In addition to the total registration, I would like to know how many are registered in each county in Virginia and of this number how many are white.

If such figures are available, I would appreciate it very much if you would supply this information. If the figures at the October 4 closing of the registration books have not yet been compiled, the number of the registrants at the time of the 1958 primary would be welcome. Please let me know if there is any cost involved.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

October 27, 1958

Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Chief Counsel and Staff Director
Committee on the Judiciary
Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Slayman:

Thank you for your letter of October 15 and the copy of the reprint of the records of the public hearings conducted last year by the Subcommittee. If more are available, as you suggested, we would very much appreciate an additional six copies.

As I work for the Southern Regional Council only from time to time on special projects, I am turning your letter over to Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, for a reply; he is much better informed than I on the entire field of civil rights.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP/mf

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

October 28, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I have been in telephone contact with the Secretary of State today, and he has promised to forward me this afternoon photostats of registration figures which have come in for the parishes. Two parishes have not reported, but I will be able to give you figures for 63 out of 65 parishes of Louisiana. The photostats should reach me tomorrow and then I will be able to mail them to you so as to arrive by Friday. In the event of a delay, I will telephone the results in.

Please forgive my delay in not reporting sooner. I have some other data on candidates and voting behavior which I shall send to you at a later date. I was mistaken in my belief that a 1957-58 Report of the Secretary of State had been published and it must have been the 1956 report that I remembered coming out not too long ago.

If there is any time at all I will try to do a short statistical analysis of the parish registration figures before forwarding them to you. If, however, time runs short as it appears likely to do, I will simply send you the gross figures and forward some analysis later. I do hope that the council report is as successful as the earlier study. As you know the 1956 Report has been widely quoted and used and is the only reliable source of data on Negro registration and voting available.

Please let me know immediately if I can be of further service in this important work.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA
P. O. Box 467

October 30, 1958

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Re our telephone conversation today, enclosed is copy of report to which I made reference.

Very truly yours,

William P. Mitchell

William P. Mitchell, Chm.
Voter Franchise Committee
TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Enc.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

November 5, 1958

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. — Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

This morning's Tennessean carried a report of the additional estimates on Negro voters which your SRC study has provided since its initial attempt two years ago. I am glad that you were able to report something on Tennessee, despite my failure to respond and to be of any help. I put your letter aside, with the intent of giving it detailed attention, but I got involved in meeting the deadline for completing a study on integration within the Congregational Christian Churches, and did not get back to it.

But we were in the same position as two years ago. We did not have any state-wide figures on Negro registrants and voters, and we were unable to get any from the state election commission. I assume that you have used population figures as a means of arriving at estimates, holding in mind such west-state counties as Fayette and Haywood where it is consistently reported that there are no Negro registrants and voters.

On the whole, I have not noticed any great increase in voting activity on the part of Negroes in this state. I would guess that there has been some slight increase in number as the result of registration campaigns by the NAACP and other groups. In Nashville it is estimated that about 2,000 new Negro voters were added during the last year, but even this figure may be a little generous.

The gubernatorial primary campaigns this summer held considerable interest for Negro voters, although the issues and candidates were not clearly enough counter-posed to provide direction for Negro voter interest. Clifford Allen represented a liberal position on the integration question, but he was not a personable candidate and had become a "traditional" candidate for office. Many persons believed that "Clifford Allen just could not be elected," and said they would not "throw away their vote." On the other hand, there were some Negroes who supported Bufford Ellington, the Clement-picked candidate who is a segregationist and who said on several occasions that he would close the public schools to prevent violence.

With appreciation for the timely work of the Council in this all-important area, and best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

November 5, 1958

Mr. William P. Mitchell, Chairman
Voter Franchise Committee
Tuskegee Civic Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the report on Macon County and for the assistance you gave during our telephone conversation last week.

The excellent report of the Tuskegee Civic Association will be most helpful in preparation of the survey of Negro voting in the South which the SRC hopes to issue sometime after the first of the year. I am looking forward with interest to seeing the next report of the Association, which you promised to send.

I will send you a copy of the interim SRC report on voting as soon as it is available.

I relayed your message to Fred Routh, who has returned to the office after a trip out of the state, and I am sure you will hear from him soon.

Again, thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

MP/lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 5, 1958

Dr. Elston Roady
1916 W. Indian Head Drive
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Roady:

Enclosed are the clippings which you were kind enough to send to us on October 13. Copies have been made for the files here. Thank you for the clips, and again, for your earlier assistance.

I will send you a copy of the SRC interim report on voting as soon as available.

Sincerely,

Clearcopy Onion Skin

MP:lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Enclosure

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Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U S A

November 5, 1958

Professor Donald Strong
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Strong:

We have been discussing the Negro voter project here again today and I wanted to write to you once more to discuss the Jefferson County report. I realize you are pressed for time and also that the suggested list of questions drawn up for some of the consultants could lead you to believe we had in mind a more detailed report than actually is the case.

Our primary concern for this study remains the status of Negro registration and voting. The other information is sought as background which might explain the high or low degree of Negro political participation. Because of the limitations of time and funds available, we can aim only at a brief, impressionistic picture of a county.

Plans at this stage are flexible and it occurred to us to ask if you feel you would have time to work on a report confined to Negro voting and registration in Jefferson County. Because we would like to have the benefit of your experience in this field, we are willing to have you determine the scope of your report. Our fee would remain the same, $250, plus expenses.

Sincerely,

MP:lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 5, 1958

Mr. John R. Vaughn
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
Drawer 1
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Vaughn:

Before closing the door on the possibility of a report from you on the status of Negro voters in Dallas County, I wanted to explain a little more fully what we have in mind. The list of suggested questions may have been misleading.

You were right in assuming in the first place that the primary concern of the new SRC survey is Negro registration. However, we feel that the mere presentation of population and registration figures, with a report on performance of registration boards, presents an incomplete picture, without some background information on political, social and economic factors in the particular county in question.

However, I can see that the list of questions sent out may have led you to believe that we are seeking a more detailed, time consuming study than is actually the case. What we are looking for is a brief, impressionistic picture of the county. The kind of background information we need could be gathered, I believe, in a short time--in the county seat, perhaps--by anyone familiar with the area. If, for example, we could say the county is predominantly rural, with the majority of Negores dependent economically on the white community, etc., we would not need masses of statistics to back up the statement. In short, we want to know the number and percentage of Negroes of voting age registered in a given county and some of the influencing factors.

(continued)

In light of this, I thought you might want to reconsider the possibility of making a report for us on Dallas County. Since you have dealt with the question of voting there in a term paper and are familiar with the area undoubtedly you already have much of the information at hand and so I did not want to let the matter drop without explaining to you somewhat more fully what we are seeking.

Sincerely,

MP:lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 5, 1958

Dr. Kenneth Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

Thank you for the help you gave us last week on the voting totals for Louisiana. I was sorry to have to bother you as I did but we were rushing to get out an interim report before the week-end, in order to issue a pre-election news release. (Mimeographed copies are being run off this week and I'll send you one as soon as available.)

Regarding our conversation last week about the county studies planned for the new SRC Negro voter survey, Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Council, is delighted also that you are willing to undertake a report on a Louisiana parish for us.

We will try to gather everything we can find in print on Negro voting in the region in the past two years. This would serve as general background to the studies of a number of specific counties in the South. We don't expect to draw broad generalizations from these but instead just say, for example: here is a deep South county, which has a population of_____per cent Negro, where it is easy (or difficult) for Negroes to register but where only this number has done so; this is its story.

As I mentioned to you on the telephone the other day, I have drawn up a list of suggested questions, which I'm enclosing. With your experience in this field, the list may seem unnecessarily long or you may think of other information which should be sought. Any suggestions along this line will be

(continued)

helpful when we are making arrangements for other county studies.

As for Louisiana, we would like to leave the kind of study--and we know it will have to be somewhat impressionistic because of time and money available--to your judgment. We would like to do the same thing as to the actual parish selected. Your suggestion that it might be well to study one where a purge of the voting list had been particularly effective sounded excellent, especially since this probably would be an area with a high concentration of Negroes. Also, of course, you know best where it would be easiest fro you to gather information. So, we will await your suggestion on a specific parish.

We hope the fee of $250, plus expenses, will be satisfactory. We have been thinking in terms of a deadline around January 1. Does this seem feasible to you?

Any recommendations on a suitable person who might be available for a report on a Mississippi county would be welcome.

Sincerely,

MP:lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

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Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

November 9, 1958

Mr. Richard M. Morehead
Dallas News Bureau
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Morehead:

Thank you again for getting estimated voting totals in Texas for us last week. I'm having a copy sent to you of the interim report on voting in which figures were used.

As I mentioned to you, we plan to have a more detailed report some time after the first of the year. By then we hope we will have been able to work out some kind of poll in the states where official voting figures are unavailable.

We are open to suggestions as to the best way to get registration figures by race in Texas. Since you know the state, you would be able to tell better than we could here whether a sampling technique would be feasible or whether all the counties should be polled.

Both possibilities that you mentioned--that your newspaper might be interested in making such a check, or that you might consider conducting a poll on your own sounded excellent. In the latter case, I hope we could work out a fee, within our project budget, that would be agreeable to you.

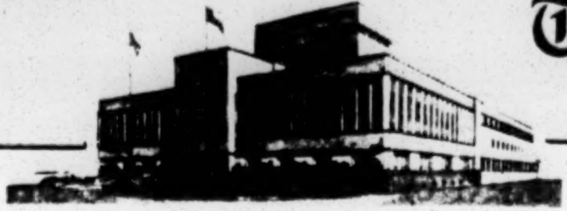
Sincerely,

MP:lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

AUSTIN BUREAU
Box 2396, Capitol Station
AUSTIN 11, TEXAS

The Dallas Morning News
TEXAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER
RADIO-TELEVISION STATIONS WFAA • TEXAS ALMANAC



Nov. 10, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:

Give me a little time and I may be able to work out something on sampling the Negro vote potential in Texas. With the holidays and then a session of the Legislature approaching, I would have to get it in motion in the next three or four weeks or wait until next summer. Right now, I am working on two other surveys connected with educating Negroes in Texas, so the vote proposal would come behind that.

Please let me know when you need these figures. Also, would you please send me a leaflet or something which describes the Southern Regional Council, and its backing. I have in mind taking this up with our managing editor to see if The Dallas News would sponsor the survey and give you the benefit of the results, perhaps with you sharing some of the expense. I am sure he will want to know generally about your operation, and I am hazy about it.

Sincerely yours,

Richard M. Morehead
Richard M. Morehead

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

November 11, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I wonder if, first of all, you would send me the list of suggested questions which you failed to enclose in your letter of November 5th. I would like to begin thinking about the research problem and it is possible I might have some suggestions.

The parish I would suggest for analysis in Louisiana is Ouachita Parish. There are several reasons for this selection. First, Ouachita Parish has experienced a spectacular decline in Negro registration and is important for that reason. In the second place, it contains a medium size city, Monroe, which should facilitate the gathering of valid information. There is reason to believe also that Ouachita Parish would be typical of those parishes in northern Louisiana where Negro registration has been reduced.

Concerning your request for suggestions on a Mississippi consultant, the problem is, as I am sure you realize, a difficult one. I think the best bet is a private university, one which is not connected with the state. Professor Harry B. Manley of Millsaps College taught summer school at Tulane last year. There is a possibility that he might be available. If you find it convenient you may mention my name in writing him. While on the subject of personnel, I think you should have the name of Dr. John McConaughy of the Department of Political Science, University of South Carolina, who is interested in problems related to Negro voting and politics and who is currently doing some research on the subject. I met Dr. McConaughy at the Southern Political Science convention last week, and would recommend him if you need someone from South Carolina.

Professor Manley's full address is:

Chairman, Department of Political Science
Millsaps College
Jackson 10, Mississippi

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines
Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

November 17, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

Thank you for your letter of November 5 and your most accommodating attitude. However, I am snowed under and just cannot take on any other commitments.

Very sincerely yours,

Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong
Professor

DSS/a

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

11-21-58

Margaret -

This looks good to me. If you think so, go ahead and write him yes. I haven't thought it through with any care + will leave the decision to you.

Best,
Harold

LONG NEWS SERVICE

Stuart Long

Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas
Phones: GR 7-1686 GR 2-7174
Telegraph: Capitol Pressroom
Austin, Texas

Nov. 20, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:'

Richard Morehead has given us your letter of Nov. 9, saying that he just does not have time to handle the survey you suggest, and asking us to make you a proposal.

Because Negro poll tax paying is very spotted, depending on the initiative in each locality of the Negro and white liberal leadership, I doubt if a sampling technique would work.

I would suggest a mail check of county tax collectors in most of the 254 counties, with a postage-paid return envelope or card to make the reply as easy as possible. Then, when the returns are in, those failing to reply would have to be written again. Finally, the counties remaining blank would have to be given weighted estimates based on our knowledge of liberal activity in that county. In some cases, we can get accurate information by writing to liberal leaders we know in the counties.

What I am suggesting is, as you can see, a little expensive. We would be willing to make the study for you for $150. It would take about six weeks in all.

I have been active in politics in Texas for many years, and I am convinced that there is no other way to survey Negro registration. The figure will have to be adjusted for the small-town and rural Negro population over 60, the age at which no registration is required.

I am also in a position, through a study of voter turnouts, to provide an estimate on voter turnout among Negroes who have bothered to pay their poll taxes or get their exemption certificates. This is the key to Negro voting weight, and the reason Texas still elects as it does.

Our organization, which is a free-lance news and research agency for Texas daily newspapers, would be pleased to make this study for you should you feel it is worth the cost.

Sincerely,

Stuart Long

Stuart Long, Editor

November 21, 1958

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans, 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

First, I apologise for my carelessness in not enclosing the questionnaire in my earlier letter. Also, I must explain my delay in answering your letter of Nov. 11. I may have told you that I work for the SRC only on special projects, which means that I am in Atlanta only intermittently since I now live in Virginia. As I had returned home, this meant some slight delay in receiving your letter. However, it simplifies matters if letters regarding the voting project are addressed to me in Atlanta for in this way Mr. Fleming can see them before forwarding them to me, and thus keep in touch with the progress of the survey. I probably will not be returning to Atlanta until after the first of the year, but meanwhile if I can help in any way and speed is important, please feel free to call me collect in McLean (ELmwood 6-4516).

Your sdlection of Ouachita Parish for an analysis sounds excellent and I wish you all good luck and smooth sailing.

Thank you for your suggestions on other consultants. Mr. Fleming has been busy with the annual SRC board meeting and out-of-town engagements but I will talk to him soon about the possibility of a Mississippi study and Professor Manley. As for South Carolina, we already have one study underway in Beaufort County and have talked to another consultant about an analysis of one of the hard core western counties. However, the latter depends in part on his being able to establish working contacts. If this is impossible perhaps we can contact Doctor McConaughy and in any event I'm glad to learn of his interest in the problem of Negro voting, because questions may arise on which he can shed light for us.

Incidentally, if you have county-by-county figures for Louisiana from the secretary of state, we would very much like to have them for we are planning tentatively to include figures from the states which have official lists. If you need the list for your files, it could be copied and returned to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 21, 1958

Dr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
Fisk University Office
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Doctor Long:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 5 and for your comments on voting by Negroes in Tennessee.

The figures to which you reffered were from an interim SRC report released before the Nov. 4 general elections. We hope to have a more detailed report some time after the first of the year. As this is a continuing study, we would be happy to hear from you at any time you learn of anything additional pertinent to the study.

While we are not completely satisfied with the registration figures available to us for Tennessee, they were the best we could obtain, since a central list is unavailable. In fact, Tennessee presents one of the greatest problems in the South in this regard. For this reason, we are particularly interested in any information on Negro voting and registration in this state.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Nov. 21, 1958

Mr. Richard M. Morehead
Austin Bureau
The Dallas Morning News
Box 2396, Capitol Station
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Morehead:

Thank you for your letter regarding the possibility of sampling Negro registration in Texas. I hope that you will be able to work out something. As to the timing, we plan a survey that will be more detailed than the interim report issued the first of this month. This is scheduled for some time after the first of the year--right now I would guess it should be finished in February or March, although we are trying to have all our material in hand by Jan. 1. So, if you can fit the survey into your schedule in the next three or four weeks this would work out very well for us.

I am enclosing an outline of the Southern Regional Council's origins and aims. Since it was released two years ago, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S.C., has become president of the SRC. He is a plantation owner, an elder in the Presbyterian church, a former university teacher and author of a recent book, "The Southern Heritage." Also, during this period Harold Fleming, a native of Georgia and a Harvard graduate, became executive director.

Since I work for the Council only intermittently, on special projects, I think I can view it in a more detached manner than if I were a regular staff member. And so, I'd like to add my own comment. I have found the SRC an excellent, well-balanced, reasonable agency which is doing outstanding work in the field of race relations. I think this is borne out by the reputation it has among reporters and, in fact, our government, which refers so many foreign visiters interested in racial problems to the SRC. You probably know John Popham, now with the Chattanooga Times, and I'm sure he would be glad to add his appraisal of the Council. (I mention him because he traveled so widely in the South and knows so many newspaper men through his work with the New York Times.)

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 29, 1958

Mr. Stuart Long
Long News Service
Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin, 11, Texas

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you for your letter and your offer to conduct a survey of Negro registration in Texas. Your suggestion as to method sounds quite logical, particularly backed as it is with your knowledge of the inherent problems of gathering figures in Texas.

So, this is by way of a go-ahead with the outline you proposed in your letter of November 20. Both the $150 fee you mentioned and the six-week time period also are acceptable.

Again, thank you, and good luck. Please let us know if we can help in any way.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Forward to Margaret P.

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 10, 1958

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Thank you for forwarding to us the special report, "The Negro Voter In The South -- 1958." The report is a clear, concise statement of electoral conditions concerning the Negro. We look forward to reading the final report upon its completion.

In regards the gerrymandering of Tuskegee's city limits, as you probably know, the ruling of the district court has been appealed.

Sincerely,

William P. Mitchell
WILLIAM P. MITCHELL
Secretary, Tuskegee
Civic Association

cc: Mr. C. G. Gomillion
President, Tuskegee
Civic Association

Rev. K. L. Buford
Acting President, Tuskegee
Civic Association

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

December 25, 1958

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Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

I was certainly hoping that at least by this time, I would have the report from Beaufort County on Negro voting. Unfortunately, it is not enclosed. However, my interviews have been completed and last week I began dictating on this.

A number of things, primarily our clearing ~~50~~ 100 acres of land for planting pine trees, have so interrupted other work that I have been unable to return to this report. Also, I will be leaving on December 26 for a week in Charlotte. I will certainly try to get this to you by the middle of the month.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

January 2, 1959

Dear Mrs. Price,

Just a note to let the Council know the progress of my report on Ouachita parish and "vote purge" parishes of northern Louisiana.

I was able to make a field trip to northern Louisiana the first of December and completed interviews and an on- the-spot investigation. The informations thus gathered proved interesting and helps in understanding the nature of the purges.

My report goes to the typist this weekend and in the mail Sunday or Monday. I could wish for mhre time to investigate this important phenomenon, but I trust that what I have prepared will prove useful.

A pleasant surprise to me was the ease with which both Negro and White subjects in Monroe werewilling to talk about the purge situation. I had expected, frankly, such an atomphere of antagonism and fear that noe one would talk freely and candidly. Antagonism there certainly was but not thefear or reluctance I had expected and so the interviews all went well.

Sincerely Yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

January 9, 1959

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

Enclosed are the results of the interviews I have had in connection with the survey on Negro voting in Beaufort County. I enjoyed doing this very much because it gave me an occasion to ask questions that I would not feel like asking on my own.

In all of the cases I found the persons interviewed very cooperative. Only in the case of the Sheriff did I feel that he was very much on the defensive. While I attempted to be impartial while taking this information, obviously, in all cases I knew the people interviewed, and particularly in the case of the sheriff, our approaches and viewpoints are different and well known to the other.

I might point out that the sheriff holds a much more important position politically, than probably any other counterpart in the state. I think his term of office has been over twenty-five years. He is a close friend of the congressman and recently organized a much publicized Rivers Appreciation Day in Charleston.

When I wrote you earlier that I would charge only for my expenses, I anticipated making a number of trips to the lower part of the county. As I indicated in the survey, I limited myself to the area on St. Helena and around Beaufort, so that I was not out any expenses myself. However, I estimate the expenses of the secretary in making up the draft and the final preparation, to be in the neighborhood of $15, so would appreciate your making out a check for that amount to Penn Community Services.

You may have some questions about the material I have sent, and I certainly would be glad to clarify anything. Also, if there are any particular blind spots that I have overlooked, or any subsequent information that you would like, please let me know and I will try to get it for you.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

enclosure

January 19, 1959

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

In response to your letter to Margaret Price, I am enclosing our check for $348.00 in payment of expenses of $98.00 and fee of $250.00. Your report on Ouachita Parish has been forwarded to Mrs. Price, who will probably write you shortly.

Meanwhile, let me say that we appreciate your interest and cooperation in our voting project and look forward to working with you further.

Cordially,

HCF

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check - $348.00)
cc: Mrs. Margaret Price

H.C.F.

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

— UNiversity 6-2741
XT 348

January 21, 1959

Vines Res.

TWINBROOK 1-5318

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of a check from the Southern Regional Council and a note from Mr. Fleming that he is forwarding my report to you.

It occurred to me that some additional information I have might be of use to you. As you know my report just submitted was an attempt to understand the reasons behind and the circumstances of the purge in one parish. Other information which I have but did not include in the report is as follows:

Statistics on the rate of Negro registration in the entire group of thirteen purge parishes as compared with rates of Negro and White registration in a sample of non-purge parishes.

Detailed information concerning the "slow down" of Negro registration in Caddo parish (containing city of Shreveport) obtained from Dr. Simpkins of the Voters' League of Shreveport and including case studies of voters actually "slowed down", and an account given me by Dr. Simpkins of the techniques used and his ideas of the reasons behind the slow down.

It would take me three or four days to have the notes typed up in readable form but you are welcome to them if you can use them. I did not include the data in the report because it actually did not fit in the case study.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

January 26, 1959

Mr. Stuart Long
Long News Service
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you very much for your tabulation of the number of Negroes currently qualified to vote in Texas. We are delighted with the survey in every way.

I know how difficult it is to compile county-by-county figures in states where there is no central, official source and the size of Texas, of course, makes it an even greater problem. The method used in arriving at estimates, where actual counts were unavailable, seems quite logical. Also, your knowledge of the state adds to the validity.

I agree with you that no matter how sure we might feel about any estimates, they should be labeled clearly as such. In fact, all of us at SRC are well aware that questions raised about just one county can cast doubt on an entire effort. And so for this reason we tired to be very careful in a previous registration survey, as we will be in this one, to make clear the source of the various figures, and where an estimate is used to tell how this was reached.

Do you by any chance have an extra copy of the sheets on which you typed the figures. If so, I would appreciate your sending a set-- I will fill in the blanks. (I have a horror of losing a tabulation and feel safer if a duplicate can be kept in the SRC reference files.)

I want to ask you, also, if you know the total number of eligible voters in Texas. As I recall, one newsman in the state told us last fall the estimate usually given at that time was 2,055,000 (or, 1,905,000 eligible white voters, using an estimate then of 150,000 eligible Negroes).

In response to your question about using the figures at the time of the SRC release, I can see no reason why this couldn't be worked out. We can't say just when the survey will be completed, due to an unforeseen delay in one of the contributing studies. However, when the survey is wrapped up and a release date set, I will write to you again, and I hope in time for you to make the maximum use of the figures.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

January 28, 1959

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans, 18, La.

Dear Doctor Vines:

Thank you very much for your cooperation in the SRC Negro registration survey. Your report on Ouachita Parish is an invaluable addition to the project. It is exactly what we had hoped for and is both informative and interesting. I found your conjectures on the purges particularly interesting and I hope we will be able to quote them verbatim.

Indeed we are interested in the additional information you outlined in your letter of Jan. 21 and would be extremely grateful to you if you could send us both the statistics on the rate of Negro registration in all the thirteen purge parishes and the detailed information on Caddo.

You may recall that I wrote to you last November about the possibility of a study of a Mississippi county, similar to the oneon Ouachita. To date we have done nothing about this. Now, however, due to an unforeseen delay in one of the reports for the survey, the release date has had to be moved forward and so it seems there may be time to include a Mississippi study after all.

You mentioned the possibility of interesting Prof. Harry B. Manley of Millsaps College in such a report. However, it is sometimes difficult to outline our needs to someone unfamiliar with SRC work, particularly when we are asking for a study to be done in a rather short time. So, we wondered if you would have the time to undertake another report for us, this one on a county in Mississippi. The fee, $250 plus expenses, would be the same. If you are willing, we would leave the method to you--perhaps you could find time to produce the report yourself or if not, supervise the project and find someone, perhaps Professor Manley, to gather the basic information.

If you are interested, it should not be difficult to settle on a particular county in Mississippi. Do you have any suggestions on this?

Meanwhile, our sincere thanks.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

January 28, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S.C.

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

I found your excellent report on Beaufort County not only informative but very interesting reading. It gave me a good mental image of the area. I was happy to hear of the cooperation among those interviewed and that you enjoyed the project. Your report certainly will be of great value in the new SRC Negro voting survey.

There may be some questions or request for additional information we'll find would be helpful when the writing of the over-all survey gets under way but right now I can think of nothing that seems to be missing.

We'll keep you posted on the progress of the survey. But meanwhile, I did want to add my warmest thanks to those of all at SRC.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

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Southern R **Inc.**
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A ORGIA
2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 5, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for the various things you have sent recently. I'm particularly grateful, since I know Bem's rough time must have kept you busy. Glad he's so much better.

The additional items for the violence survey couldn't have been more timely, since we seem to have general agreement at last -- SRC, AFSC, and the National Council of Churches to put it out jointly! I'll keep you posted.

I sent on your letter to Vines without change. Hope he'll do the Mississippi job. I sent a thermofaxed copy of his Ouachita Parish report to Harris Wofford of the Civil Rights Commission - at his request. It seems they are planning to take on the Louisiana purges next. Of course, I asked them to treat Vines' report as confidential for the time being.

Les Dunbar isn't on the job yet, but should be in about ten days.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I'm looking forward to seeing the Virginia pamphlet you've had to labor so hard over.

LONG NEWS SERVICE

Stuart Long

Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas
Phones: GR 7-1686 GR 2-7174
Telegraph: Capitol Pressroom
Austin, Texas

February 11, 1959

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:

I apologize for my delay in answering your letter. It is just pure put-it-offedness on my part.

The county tabular forms are enclosed.

The number of eligible voters in Texas stacks up like this (for the 1958 elections): Poll taxes paid, 1,770,811. Exemption certificates issued, 284,508. Total both categories, 2,055,318. Then there are the persons over 60 outside cities of 10,000 or more, who need to be added to that total. As far as I know, no estimate has been made of that group, which I call the "unlisted exempt", and which, of course, we have counted by census figures in all the counties of Texas, for Negroes alone, as 54,291. If we apply that figure to the total Negro census population of 1950, we find that 5.5% of the total Negro population is over 65 and living outside cities. Take 5.5% of the 6,733,736, and adjust it to the various situations, and you come up with an estimate of non-Negro "unlisted exempts" of 167,017. This would make the total eligible electorate come to 2,222,335, of both races.

There have been some late returns from some counties, and I wish you would adjust the counties, and the totals, accordingly:

	Polls	Listed Exempts	
Jasper County:	636	3	(actual count)
Bee County:	120	0	" "
Caldwell County:	370		" "

This will change the totals Statewide to:

Polls: 163,405 Listed Exempts: 8,754 Grand Total 226,450

Naturally, I need to point out that our calculation on Caldwell missed by one, but I won't mention Jasper and Bee.

Please let me know when I may publish these figures. It has been a pleasure working with you, and please feel free to call on me if I can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Stuart Long

Stuart Long

LONG NEWS SERVICE

Stuart Long

Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas
Phones: GR 7-1686 GR 2-7174
Telegraph: Capitol Pressroom
Austin, Texas

Jan. 20, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

We are enclosing a tabulation giving the picture of the number of Negroes qualified to vote in Texas during the year from Feb. 1, 1958 to Jan. 31, 1959.

We had fairly good success in getting actual counts made of the poll tax and exemption lists, in that you will find 165 counties with actual counts on poll taxes paid and on listed exemptions. In some cases they gave us the figures lumped together, in which case they are listed as "poll taxes paid" with an arrow breaking the line to show that this figure (as in the case of Harris County, the State's largest) includes the poll taxes paid and listed exemptions. These further footnotes are required:

E--Means county tax assessor-collector's estimate.
EEP--Means "educated estimate by a political source".
EX--Means "statistical estimate based on 12% of total Negro population in county".
EE--Means "statistical estimate based on the percentage paid in known adjoining counties".
X -- Means a city of 10,000 population in county, which means that those over 60 in city limits must get exemption certificate and become a "listed exempt" to vote.

The column of "unlisted exempts" was obtained by using pure census figures (1950, of course) of the total number in the county who were over 60 and therefore entitled to vote without obtaining an exemption certificate, and who lived outside a city of 10,000 or more. Texas law provides that one over 60 is exempt from paying the poll tax, but must get an annual exemption certificate if they live in a city of 10,000 or larger. Thus, we were able to ascertain exactly, from census figures, the number eligible to vote as "rural overage exempts". We realize that the migration to the cities has been developing since 1950, but feel that the census figures on persons in older age brackets are more likely to have remained valid than in the case of younger people.

We carried the column of county Negro population because we felt it would be interesting to compare by counties.

As for the counties marked "EE", here was our procedure. When we were unable to get actual figures on a county, we took a tier of counties on all sides of it, chosen because they had much the same sort of racial patterns, added up the total qualified voters, and calculated this total as a percentage of the Negro population in the tiers of known counties. Then we applied this percentage to the Negro population in the unknown county to reach our "Educated Estimate". We believe this to be valid, or at least as valid a way as can be devised. After we had applied this method, we got in late reports on actual counts, and found it to be very close in all cases. It should be noted that the "unlisted exempts" were taken in all counties from census figures, because in all counties there are rural areas where oldsters need not get exemption certificates to vote. (Now I will grant that it is possible that many of these 54,291 may not know that they are entitled to vote, but under the law they are, and many of them do.)

There are cases, of course, where the census doesn't show any Negro population, yet there are Negro voters. That is due, of course, to the fact that they have moved in since 1950. You will be interested to look at Loving County, the smallest in Texas, in far West Texas at the New Mexico border. The census found none in 1950, but the tax collector says there are now four, and that all of them pay their poll taxes and vote every time. It probably is the only 100% qualification and vote in Texas.

Let us make one suggestion in the use of these figures. We are convimced that they are valid, but of course the totals in some of the estimated counties could be subject to attack. So if they are to be published by counties, they should be clearly labeled as statistical estimates.

There is only one county where we departed from the footnote definitions used above. We gave El Paso County a 23% figure instead of 12% because there is a strong liberal movement there, manned by lineral whites and Latin-Americans, much like the one in San Antonio and if anything, better. So we used the San Antonio percentage of 23% (Bexar County) in arriving at an educated estimate on El Paso.

Our job was complicated by the fact that many counties do not "segregate" their poll lists by showing "white" or "Negro". For that reason, it just is not possible to make an actual count on the poll tax list.

We are enclosing our bill for these services. If you have any further questions, we will be glad to answer them. I believe this survey is the first ever made in Texas, and the figure is higher than the 150,000 I have seen used. I would like permission to use these figures in stories for the daily newspapers I represent, when you are ready to release them. Some of my newspapers cooperated with me in making the count, and they have asked for stories when it is finished. If it is to be released for publication, please let me have the release date in advance so I can prepare my stories. If you do not care to release them, then it won't be done, since they are your property when you pay for them.

Please call on us again if we can be of any help.

Sincerely,

Stuart Long

Stuart Long

P.S: Counties with no "footnote" were actual counts of the poll tax and exemption lists.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 15, 1959

COURTNEY SICELOFF
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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

After finishing the survey of Negro voting in Beaufort County, I have let several people see the paper for their comments.

There seems to be general agreement by those who have seen it, on the results of the survey; however, there is an exception to the item reported in Question 14 on page 14, the last paragraph of the section. In that, I indicated that as a result of a petition for assigning pupils without regard to race, a teacher had lost her job, as well as several other persons as school lunch room and maintenance workers. I now have it from a person who is in position to know, that no teacher lost her job as a result of signing this petition. There are two that a number of Negroes have felt lost their jobs because of this, but their dismissal came for other reasons. However, this person does not know if the dismissal of school lunch room and maintenance workers, was on that basis or not. Furthermore, my informant, the Negro supervisor of teachers, indicated that at no time had there been any disapproval, either official or unofficial, of teacher's membership in the NAACP or other activities which are controversial. This is noteworthy, in that several years ago the state legislature passed a law indicating membership in the NAACP, was sufficient to bar teachers from their jobs, and several counties made quite an issue of this; ~~as~~ apparently, it was not mentioned in Beaufort County. Therefore, I do think that change should be made in the report concerning the teacher having lost her job, which apparently, is not now the case.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

February 17, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

Dr. William Goodman, a consultant for the Committee on Civil Rights, has written asking my help in the material he is preparing. What I would like to know is whether or not the Council has any objection to my sending him a copy of my recent report on Ouachita Parish.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know the Council's policy on this.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

February 18, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Thank you for your letter of Feb. 15. The changes suggested in your report on Beaufort County will be made.

I have been in Atlanta this week, winding up another project for the Council. But I hope to be able to begin working again now on the voting survey and perhaps by the next time I write there will be some definite progress to be reported.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

February 23, 1959

Dr. Kenneth Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

The Council has no objection to your sending Dr. William Goodman a copy of your Ouachita Parish report. In fact, SRC has made available its material on registration and voting to the Civil Rights Commission, but with the understanding that, as in the case of your report, no public use or attribution is to be made without checking with us first.

I take it you would have no objection to our using your name as the author of the report in our subsequent publications. If so, please let us know.

Thank you for the notes on Caddo Parish, which arrived today. I am sure they will be quite useful. We also are looking forward to the material on the other purge parishes which you mentioned earlier. If there were any secretarial or other costs for all this, please feel free to bill us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP:ls

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island **Frogmore, South Carolina**

Courtney Siceloff
Director

RECEIVED JUL 6 1959

July 3, 1959

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

This is a hurried note to mention what you may have thought of already - that the two rape cases which came up last week in the Beaufort court should be included in the report on Beaufort County.

I believe this had rather complete coverage in the press, but if you need additional information from this point let me know.

We are getting started with a seven-week high school work camp, sponsored by the American Jewish Society for Service, and getting ready for a second group of midwives, so things are humming around here.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 26, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 29 1959

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Margaret Price:

I was certainly interested in the manner in which you organized the material I sent you, and the way that you anticipate using it.

This is certainly a more interesting form than I sent you; however, there are a number of changes that I feel should be made and am making note of them. As to the By-line, I prefer that it not be used in my case, but indicating that the report was based on a field of study made by me. It so happens that there are a couple of activities coming up at this same time, which may draw some unfavorable criticism upon Penn.

A work camp begins a seven week stay here on next Wednesday. The other is the possibility of my being on the Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission in South Carolina . Therefore, coming at this time I decline the use of a by-line.

The words used on the title page and on page 2, to describe the situation in Beaufort County ~~and~~ is incorrect, I believe. You have used the sentence, "Race relations in Beaufort County are characterized by ~~rights~~ white, permissiveness and Negro apathy." Also on page 2, the next to the last sentence, you have, "one word to describe the prevailing attitude of the white community towards Negroes in Beaufort County, it would be paternalistic." I believe both of these sentences fail to give correctly the positive elements that exist. I feel our situation is not unlike that of Atlanta, where Negroes have well-educated leaders who expect and receive respect from many white persons, including several county officials.

I think both statements are true to the situation as reported by C S & should be left in. The "positive" element are recognized sufficiently by the 3rd sentence of the proposed introductory paragraph. M W

There is no doubt that there is some permissiveness, some apathy, and certain relationships paternalistic, but there are also other elements which are almost, if not as strong, operate on a totally different plane. I am unable to suggest a substitute word in this, but hope that you can convey that approach. Also on page 2 at the bottom of the page, I would eliminate the word "particularly" preceding "racists" OK

On page 3 I would eliminate the words I have crossed out and perhaps substitute the words, "used in the manner employed in the south." I feel certain that the law enforcement people particularly, do

I think the words should be left in, with the insertion I have placed in the margin. M W favor upholding law and order. Also, there is not a specific court case concerning Beaufort County, so they are not actually practicing evasion. In fact, we report later that the Episcopal minister has ~~urged~~ heard discussion of preserving the public schools even with desegregation.

OK - reluctantly LWD

On page 4, ~~second~~ 3RD sentence, I have struck out the words "democratic club," and the last phrase, and substituted "citizens committee." To leave this statement as appears in your text, would cut the ground under the local leaders, as you can well understand. I have also substituted the words "desegregated" for "integrated," concerning the parade, since the latter word is too emotional even for describing parade.

OK

On pages 7 and 8 describing the churches, I believe you will understand the substitutions that I have made. Since there is only one church of each denomination, it would be quite obvious which particular one was meant; therefore, rather than identifying any particular church, I have substituted "one," "another," "third," "fourth." You may be able to describe them in a better manner without mentioning the particular name.

OK

On that same page I have substituted the word "governing body" for "vestry", since that would identify it as an Episcopalian church. There may a better ~~adjective~~ NOUN that could be used, however.

OK

Also, I have struck through with a pen the last part of that section, but it certainly would be all right to include it without identifying the particular church. I have also struck out the word Catholic on page 8, but that can be left in, and have substituted the words "The Negroes are welcome to all spiritual activities, but their presence at social functions pose a problem."

I think it should be left in LWD

leave in LWD

OK

On page 8 it would be wise to substitute for "a state senator," the words, "a public official."

OK

On page 9, I have eliminated the paragraph concerning the USO. This information I obtained from a Negro minister, but ~~they~~ I checked with the director who indicated they are not admitted to any function there. He did indicate that if there was enough pressure and interest from the Negro community, they would consider establishing a separate facility for them. This information could be inserted if you like, or be left out completely.

I think it should be LWD

On page 9 I have inserted the following: "The sheriff took issue with these impressions. He indicated that in June 1959, a white man was fined in the city court for cursing the Negro policeman who had remonstrated with him for disturbing the peace. Also, the sheriff denied that prisoners could go home at night." In checking with another source, I found that at least some of the Negro prisoners used to go home at night, but since one became involved in a homicide, it is possible that this practice has been stopped. Therefore, you could leave the statement of the Negroes and the denial of the sheriff, or omit that altogether.

OK

OK

On page 10, second paragraph, please substitute "33" for "25 years." To the next sentence, please add, "and the U.S. Senator; you can add the name of Thurmond if you care to. McTeer feels that Thurmond will feel slighted if he is not also mentioned. The second sentence in the following paragraph should be eliminated likewise.

Why?
LWD

OK

On page 11, in the second sentence the phrase, "thus it apparently is weak," should be omitted. Such a statement might be just the thing that would reactivate the council here. As you probably know, it has new state leadership and just this week had Senator Gressette in charge of the segregation policy for the legislature to address the leaders of all citizens councils over South Carolina, complimenting them on their organization and the need for them.

take it out
LWD

Page 12, I have circled "he said he would remain in court during election day so that if any Negro were refused his voting right, the election official would be brought immediately into court". I have heard this statement for quite some time and have no way, myself, of checking it besides calling JUDGE ~~George~~ Waring. Since you have a footnote, perhaps there is in his order this statement, which is sufficient; however, if there is doubt about this, you might call Judge Waring to check on it. I cannot be positive about that.

I realize particularly since this is not going under my by-line, that you are not bound by the changes I have suggested. I would appreciate your incorporating these changes either to reflect more actively the situation here, or to take in consideration the effect of mentioning denominations, etc. I will leave it to your judgement as to how these matters can best be expressed; however, should there be doubt in your mind concerning one or two items, I will be glad for you to call.

I do appreciate very much your letting me look over the copy for my comments.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
ca:rfp

Suggest as title:

RACE AND POLITICS IN A COASTAL COUNTY:
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Suggest as introductory paragraph:

Race relations in Beaufort County S.C., are characterized by white permissiveness and Negro apathy. In these respects, the cuunty is illustrative of racial practices often seen to prevail in coastal sections. [redacted]e easier, more relaxed relationships may form a base for progressive improvement of the Negroes' status; on the other hand, they may represent simply a different technique for managing affairs in the interest of continued white dominance.

March 25, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 McRall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

It was good to talk with you and I hope that most of your questions got answered. I am enclosing the state population figures which you requested; also the corrections for ten South Carolina counties. For whatever interest they may have to you, as guides, I am sending you therma-fax copies of some census bureau estimates. The one marked "A" is from *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,* dated October 5, 1956; the one marked "B" is from the same source, dated December 9, 1957. The computations for the Virginia cities will be along just as soon as I can collar our graduate student and get the work from him.

I am also enclosing the Durham voting study which I mentioned to you. As I said, I don't believe the university people would release anything here for publication. But you may get some interesting impressions from it. I am enclosing also the therma-fax of an affidavit filed with the Civil Rights Commission of Tennessee. This is not to be publicised. You may, however, if you deem it interesting, make some reference to it in your writing - which may or may not get edited out, depending on the circumstances at the time of printing.

Best wishes. We all hope your husband gets along well in the hospital.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Please return the Durham Voting Study when you have seen it.

POPULATION

		White	Non-White	Total
1.	Arkansas	863,415	232,182	1,095,597
2.	Georgia (7-1-58)	2,791,000	1,143,000	3,934,000
		2,729,000	1,132,000	3,861,000
3.	Louisiana (1958)	2,067,740	1,062,433	3,130,173
4.	Florida (7/58)	3,603,100	844,900	4,448,000
5.	South Carolina (1-1-57)	1,461,385	954,117	2,415,502
6.	Virginia (7-1-56)	2,981,893	817,281	3,799,174
7.	Alabama (7-57)	2,272,813	1,035,843	3,308,656
8.	Mississippi (7-1-56)	1,147,200	962,000	2,109,800
9.	North Carolina (7-1-58)	3,325,900	1,140,535	4,466,435
10.	Tennessee (7-1-57)	3,026,051	555,802	3,581,853
11.	Texas (1958)	-	-	9,660,391
12.	Kentucky (7-1-55)	-	-	2,957,025

SOURCES

1. Arkansas. Jimmie "Red" Jones, Auditor of State. N.B. These figures are for population over 21 and presumably are the latest estimates. Actually, a spot check of counties show that they differ little from 1950 official figures. The 1950 totals for Arkansas, over 21, were 880,675 white, 232,191 non-white. I doubt that these are worth using. No other figures for Arkansas, past 1950, are available, except estimate of the College of Business Administration of the University of Arkansas, dated February 1957. These were county estimates, but no age or race breakdown. Total population of 1956 was an estimated 1,793,000 (a decline of 6.1% from 1950's 1,909,511.

2. Georgia. Georgia Department of Public Health. The figures ~~are~~ on the second line are civilian population. As military personnel are excluded from the county estimates, I advise using the civilian totals!

3. Louisiana. Louisiana State Department of Health.

4. Florida. Florida State Board of Health, 2-12-59

5. South Carolina. State Board of Health

6. Virginia. Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 5-57

7. Alabama. ? Alabama figures are mostly 1950 census; estimate different from 1950 have been made for only 23 counties.

8. Mississippi. H. A. Pedersen (Sociologist), Mississippi State College, adjusted by Mississippi State Board of Health

9. North Carolina. Public Health Statistics Section

10. Tennessee ?

11. Texas. Texas Employment Commission

12. Kentucky. State Department of Health, 3-12-56

SOUTH CAROLINA

(corrections)

	Population			% Negro in Population
	Total	White	Negro	
Anderson	100,724	77,296	21,428	21.3
Charleston	193,973	113,329	80,644	41.6
Florence	90,885	49,189	41,696	45.9
Greenville	193,720	157,176	36,544	18.8
Greenwood	46,524	32,327	14,197	30.5
Orangeburg	78,513	27,910	50,603	64.5
Richland	165,882	106,686	59,196	35.7
Spartanburg	167,990	129,872	38,118	22.7
Sumter	69,385	30,494	38,891	56.1
York	82,092	56,145	25,947	31.6

March 20, 1959

Dear Les:

Thanks for the copy of your memorandum to the Civil Rights Commission. Nice job. It should be helpful to them and I know it will be to me. I haven't yet gone into this thing state by state. This week, however, I did finally wade through the fat report of the 1957 Civil Rights hearings.

① The statistical work came today and it looks like a nice job. I noticed that only in what apparently was the first state tackled, Virginia, were there the two columns listing per cent of Negro population registered and per cent of white population registered. Are these figures upcoming for the rest of the states or was the decision made to drop them? I can see that giving the per cent of total population registered would not be so meaningful as per cent of voting age registered. The interim census reports do not have this age breakdown, of course, and perhaps that's the reason for dropping these percentages?

② Incidentally, what about Texas? Since there are no current population figures by race do you and Harold think it would be better just to list the registration totals and not use percentages based on the 1950 census?

AC
Va ③ One request--could you or Marge send me, please, current state populations by race (I don't need the county figures--just statewide totals) for the Southern states? I don't need those for Florida and Louisiana, however, since these are listed on the statistical sheets received today.

④ Just one other thing about the material that came today--I noticed the white registration was not listed for Louisiana and Florida, although these figures are available. But, these could be inserted easily.

⑤ Has there been a reply from the letter John Constable wrote the Birmingham News asking permissinn to use their copyrighted county-by-county registration figures?

⑥ Also, any word from Dean Brazeal?

Thanks for riding herd on the statistics.

Leroy Simmons
Managing Editor

Sincerely,

~~A C.~~
~~Va.~~
Garwitt
Durham

Tenn

Thermo-Fax copy to
Margaret Price

The Birmingham News
EVENING AND SUNDAY

NEWS DEPARTMENT
VINCENT TOWNSEND, MANAGING EDITOR

BIRMINGHAM 2, ALA.

March 27, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

We regret that we cannot give permission for you to reprint our county-by-county Alabama voters figures.

We have received several previous requests and have adopted a policy of not allowing any republication of these figures.

Perhaps it would be better for your purposes anyway to obtain the figures from official sources in each of Alabama's 67 counties.

We have no record here of any previous letter on this subject. Either it was lost in the mails or misplaced by someone here.

We regret any inconvenience caused you by this delay.

Sincerely,
Leroy A. Simms
Leroy A. Simms
Managing Editor

LAS:vf

11 D/
11 46/
12 2/

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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 16, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

We've at last finished messing around with the voting manuscript, and I'm enclosing it complete with scribbles and draft inserts by Les and me. Also Courtney Siceloff's reactions to your rewrite of his material. The changes of language in the text -- mostly flyspecks -- and the shorter insert are mine; the notes at the beginning of each section, the longer insert, and the notes on Siceloff's letter and MS are Les's.

I'm sorry to send you this hashed up copy, but there seems little point in another typing until you have had a chance to rework it to your satisfaction. Feel free to revise our language as much as you like -- and to challenge any of the suggestions you don't agree with. Les felt that several of the points made in quotes from Douglas, The Reporter, etc., could be made more effectively and authoritatively by us, and he has enclosed clippings on which statements in our own right can be based.

We're still suffering complications on the Brazeal article. Despite the careful rewriting, it is the opinion of legal counsel that there might be some risk of a libel action. Several named individuals are accused, directly or by implication, of illegal or unsavory conduct -- and this on the word of downtrodden people who wouldn't even be in position to give sworn testimony in evidence. So -- it seems we must make another agonizing reappraisal. I propose to revise the account as a case-study of an unnamed blackbelt county. This certainly leaves something to be desired; but, after all, our purpose was to depict conditions fairly prevalent in the blackbelt, rather than do a specific exposé of one county.

There seems to be no need to obscure the identities of the other two case-study counties. It first seemed to me we would have to do so for consistency, but Les disagreed and I have come around to his opinion that it doesn't matter if one is unidentified and the other two aren't. Your views on this would be appreciated.

If, after looking all this over, you have questions -- as you well may -- don't hesitate to call me collect. And we will be expecting your voucher for time put in on the further rewriting.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

P.S. -- Jane and I enjoyed your letter giving us the latest word on you and Bem. We'll be writing.

HCF/sl
Encls.

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 3, 1959

Dear Harold:

First, my apologies for not getting the revised draft to you sooner. It would have reached you a week earlier but Bem was taking part of his vacation and this in turn slowed me up. Also, thanks to both you and Les for the careful reading and the suggestions.

I know the kind of digging Les had to do for the added information, particularly the statistical run down on the Black Belt counties, was time consuming. But I think it strengthens points made considerably and I'm grateful to him.

I think you will find that I used most of the additional information sent, although in some cases in a different section, where I felt it fit in more smoothly. There were a few clippings sent and a few sentences not used, but in no instance were they discarded capriciously. For the most part, either the examples had been used already in the 1956 survey and I found later substitutes, or a sentence suggested for one section rased a point already made in another, etc.

The major exception to this was the sampling of the five South Carolina cities, which I didn't use. My personal feeling is that this is inclusive and dull. With a lot of text the sampling well might be part of the kind of study the South Carolina professors (I'm assuming they were the source) have in mind. I don't think it adds anything to this survey. For example, the questions asked about attitudes--do you have a say in what the government does?--are, I think, rather meaningless without a similar sampling from white voters for comparison. Then the sampling itself was made only in wards where Negro voting participation was higher than in other wards of the cities; it gets involved with Candidates A, B, C and runoffs; Negroes doing one thing in one city, something else in another--it's a mish-mash. About the only thing it seems to show is that they didn't bloc vote, or they bloc voted differently in different cities.

The suggestion that the Alabama and Terrell County stores be shortened was followed and I cut both in half. I also deleted the various quotes from Senator Douglas, a couple of newspapers, etc.

Added were several developmeints, including: the Supreme Court decision in the N.C. Lassiter case (which I shorted to one paragraph); the Northern Louisiana and Washington Parish cases; the pending move in Alabama to reinstate the cumulative poll tax; the defeat in Louisiana of the Long bills to make it harder to purge voting rolls; the Negro turnout in the Virginia primary in July.

I took out the reference to the Civil Rights Commission being due to expire in September, since it appears its life will be extended. Also, I referred only to a study of a Deep South (rather than Georgia) Black Belt county, since I assume we won't even mention the state in which Brazeal's report was made.

As for Courtney Siceloff's letter, I agree with all the points he raised and made changes accordingly. His suggestions seemed reasonable and I don't think any of the changes or deletions weaken his report--none of them were major. He is on the scene and knows the county so I bowed to him on my use of the word "paternalistic;" I deleted this and also the "permissive and Negro apathy" phrase contributed by Les. Agreeing on all points with Courtney puts me in disagreement with Les on a couple but as I said, none of the points were major, anyhow, and I think we should go along with Courtney. I tossed out the lead paragraph Les wrote and my original one, for both seemed stilted, and came up with one I hope is a little sprightlier.

I will write to Courtney today or tomorrow and send you a carbon. I'm assuming it's okay to use his report without a byline but mention it is "based on a field study by, etc." as Courtney suggested. (I will leave this to you to put in somewhere. Also, you will note in my insert on the Beaufort rape cases I had to leave the outcome of the trial of the Negro charged blank since I haven't seen anything on that here.)

This leaves only the important matter of timing of the report. I've talked this over at length with Bem. We agree that it would be much better to bring it out ahead of the Civil Rights Commission report. For one thing, I'm sure it would get better play that way. If it came out three weeks, or even two, in advance of the Sept. 9 report, it would be fresher and not just a rehash of the government report. Then, when the CRC made its release, using the same figures as SRC, it would add to the weight and prestige of ours. But I don't think the reverse would necessarily be true if SRC followed. In addition to the question you raised of what the sponsors would think of the delay (and I've wondered what the consultants and the Texas man must think about our deadline of last Jan. 1) there would be the problem of redoing much of the report once again. Aside from this, I feel strongly it would have a greater impact if brought out by Sept. 1. If you decide to make the push and I can help in any way either here or in Atlanta, just let me know.

Sincerely,

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 4, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helana Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney Siceloff:

Thank you for your letters of June 29 and July 3. I would have answered them sooner but working at home in Virginia causes more than an ordinary delay. Your suggestions on the Beaufort material were digested first in Atlanta and then sent on to me here. Finally, over the week-end, I could send SRC a new draft of the entire voting survey.

It was good of you to take the time to go into such detail. All of your suggestions seemed quite reasonable to me and I think I have made each change or modification suggested. The first paragraph, with the pharase to which you objected about the county being characterized by "white permissiveness and Negro apathy" had been inserted in Atlanta. The rest of the draft, which I had put into narrative form very hastily, can be blamed on me, including the use of the word "paternalistic." I have eliminated both. You are on the scene and know the county and I certainly do not want to apply any label with which you do not agree.

I inserted a paragraph or two about the rape cases. The only other change, other than those you suggested, was the substitution of a rather general three paragraph introduction (a copy is attached).

As I understand it, we will not use a by-line on the Beaufort report, but instead will indicate it was based on a field study made by you.

It sounds as if you have been having a busy and interesting summer, with the high school work camp, the midwives meeting, and the possibility of being named to the advisory committee of the Civil Rights Commission. (Have the appointments been made yet?)

I've long been intrigued by your islands, and want to see them even more after having read your report. The Flemings told me of their visit with you and your wife and I've been intending to see if the Library of Congress has any available recordings of the "shouts" Jane described. My husband has told me something of the area, too--he has met your sheriff, incidentally.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 4, 1959

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are three substitute grafs dealing with the CRC report on the hearings in Montgomery. I didn't see the news stories on this until after I mailed the draft to you. I still haven't had time to read the 322 page report but based the brief insert on news stories. I thought in case you do decide to go ahead with the report now I'd better not delay, while reading the CRC transcript.

I assume you now have the transcript, but I'm enclosing their news release, which may not have been included. I'll try to wade through the CRC report this week.

Enclosed, also, is a carbon of my letter to Courtney Siceloff.

Sincerely,

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .
to Mrs. Bem Price

August 8, 1959

Dear Margaret:

Just a word of thanks for the prompt and efficient job of revision on the voting manuscript.

We're accepting your judgment on the South Carolina data, Siceloff's criticisms, and the timing. The final copy went to the printer yesterday, and he has promised a "crash" schedule. Even so, it will be ready uncomfortably close to the Commission's publication date -- that is, near the end of this month, as compared with the Commission's September 9. But I think you are right about the liabilities involved in any further delay.

I went through Brazeal's report and made the necessary alterations for the sake of anonymity. It doesn't hurt it too much, if you regard it as a case study rather than an exposé. I also discussed the matter fully with Brazeal. He wasn't overjoyed, of course, but took it like a gentleman.

If the occasion arises, I'll be calling on you further. But it looks now as if all we can do is pray for a speedy printing job.

Bem's series on NATO has been running in the Journal. A very good job.

Best to you both,

Harold

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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Southern R Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A ORGIA
-3764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

via airmail special August 14, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thanks for your good suggestion about an advance release on the voting study. This is obviously what we should do. (Bem must be living right.)

You are by all odds the logical person to draft the release, so I accept your offer with joy and thanksgiving. Assuming you have a carbon of your last draft of the report, the only thing you haven't seen is my brief foreword, the only copy of which is at the printer. Tentative title: "The Negro and the Ballot," subtitle "in the South," byline (I trust) Margaret Price.

If we can move fast enough, perhaps we could make the release date Sunday, August 23. Monday is ordinarily better, but we're subject to some criticism for giving all our stuff to morning papers; I just can't see a weekday afternoon release, but I do think we should compromise occasionally on a Sunday story.

I'm not at all confident of the press we will get, since we've put out so many releases lately and since the schools are in the limelight just now. Incidentally, after giving the violence report and waiting room survey very good treatment, the AP here backslid on the private school study. One of the boys decided it wasn't newsworthy and threw it in the back of a drawer. Then at 10:30 the night before the AM release, the New York Times (which ran a column on it by Sitton) messaged AP about it. Of course, nobody on deck had even seen the release, and after much telephoning and confusion John Constable took them a copy. Result: a hasty, inadequate story went out at 11:45 PM -- too little and too late to make much difference. Let's just hope the voting report doesn't suffer the same fate.

Overall, I really can't complain. We've had more than our share of good play in the press lately, despite the almost embarrassing frequency of our releases. By the way, the story on the violence report that made front page in the NYT was done by Perry Mullen. A good story, too.

Enough of this chit-chat.

Best,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Yes, do give Long the go-ahead once our release date is certain.

H.C.F.

August 31, 1959

Dear Harold:

I thought the contrast between the stories on the voting report by the NY Times yesterday and the AP, as carried in the Post, was interesting--the difference between a competent, pro job by Sitton and a hack rewrite by the AP. Amazing, what two reporters can do--or fail to do--with the same release.

Since I don't know just what day the report will be released this week, could you write to Long in Texas? He said he'd like to know as far in advance as possible so he could prepare his story. By the time I could hear from you and then write to him the release date might be passed. His address:

Stuart Long
Long News Service
Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin, 11, Texas

(If this reaches you about the time the report is ready, and you want to wire the release, the telegram could be sent to Capitol Pressroom, Austin.)

Incidentally, Marge wrote to me last week to ask if I had anything that should go in the voting files, which she was working on. I'm sending her the Long correspondence and two or three other things. For the most part, the material I have is a duplicate or copy of SRC file material. I have a fat correspondence folder, which I'll mail tomorrow so it can be kept, if you want, with the earlier voting correspondence.

I'm enclosing a list of some of the persons who either helped or at least answered letters asking for information. If they are not already on the list of those to receive the report, could they be sent a copy? (I seem to recall that V.O. Key wrote ages ago to ask SRC for info. Is he being sent a copy?)

I hope the Times piece was indicative of other fair play the report will receive.

The Texas Observer

An Independent-Liberal Weekly Newspaper

504 WEST 24TH STREET
AUSTIN, TEXAS
PHONE GR 7-0746

RONNIE DUGGER

Sept. 17

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:

I consulted with Secretary of State Zollie Steakley about your inquiry on number of Negro voters registered in Texas. No agency compiles this; and Steakley says the only way you can get it is directly off the county-by-county poll tax lists, on which Negroes are designated as such. In a state where most everything else is segregated, they don't segregate poll tax lists, so this would mean a name-by-name count. Unless you could devise a sampling technique, this would take enormous time.

I know it's important; what can be done?

Ronnie Dugger

VOTING SURVEY: Suggested questions for county studies

1. Population of county, white and Negro; percentage of Negro.

2. Median income, white and Negro, per capita and/or family.

3. Median education, white and Negro.

4. School facilities for children of both races. For how many years has there been a Negro high school or schools? What is the per pupil expenditure for education of children of each race? How does this compare with statewide pupil expenditure--perhaps a comparison with average and a county at the top of the list in money spent per pupil. Teachers--comparison white and Negro salaries and educational level. Any one-room schools? Split sessions? Colleges?

5. Voter registration--any effort to limit number of Negroes enrolled? If so, how? Attitude of registrars? More or fewer Negroes registered in 1958 than in 1956 and reasons. If there are few of the eligible Negroes registered, but no apparent discrimination, what are some of the causes?

6. County history--agricultural or plantation and/or industrial. Changes in past decade or two? Labor unions and, if so, community attitudes toward them? Degree of farm tenancy. Principal occupation of Negroes?

7. Religion. Attitude of white ministers toward current racial problems--any statements, etc.? Any work done in this field by women's groups?

8. White leadership. Any old families which traditionally offer leadership? Political candidates--are they particularly racist? Any outspoken "moderate" leaders in community?

9. Police--attitudes and actions toward Negro community of sheriff and deputies and local police.

10. Negro leadership, individual and group. What organizations are working to increase registration? Is there any line of communication open between Negro leaders and white community? Role of ministers, teachers, professional men and women.

11. Ku Klux Klan and/or Citizens Council? If so, estimate of size and effectiveness.

12. History of violence in county--specific instances. Assessment of the influence the violence has had on current attitudes. Does the violence seem to be increasing or decreasing? Has there been any noticeable change since the Supreme Court decisions of recent years and since Little Rock? Do Negroes seem more afraid or do they seem to have a greater determination? What of the white community--greater defiance, any change in police attitudes, more racial talk from candidates?

13. Newspapers--their attitudes on racial problems as expressed editorially and in the manner in which they present news.

14. Legal action--any suits filed challenging racial patterns? If so, what was the outcome (note where pending)?

15. Any desegregation in county--of transportation facilities, bus and train waiting rooms, parks, professional, ministerial groups, etc.

16. Recreational facilities?

17. Courts--do Negroes serve on juries?

18. Health and hospital facilities?

19. Any Negro candidates in recent years? Any elected? Any appointed to boards, etc.? Negroes included in the function of the political parties?

20. Interviews--names used where possible--reflecting some community attitudes, particularly on voting by Negroes. Where possible, interviews of both white and Negro leaders, and also man-in-the-street type comments.

-:-

(A: Answers to points 1-3 available in Southern Regional Council files)

(B: This rough draft of suggested questions is meant to cover both rural and metropolitan areas and those of high and low Negro registration. Consequently, some questions will be more pertinent in some areas, less so in others.)

830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia

My dera Miss Price:

Inmust apologize for not writing you ealier regarding the voting situation in Alabama since all the turmoil. I had to seek out opinion from several of the counties and cities throughout the state. I have up to this time failed to get the desired information. It would appear that from my conversation from several of the Negro leaders there is in many places a more liberal attitude on the part of the registrarzs toward Negroes. However, when the Montgomery Bus Boycott was in progress a top state official stated early in this period that many of the Boards of registrarar had tightened up on Negro applicants. The report coming fromseveral counties this Spring did not verify this conclusion. This official named Birmingham(Jefferson County) as on of the place but by actual count there were more than 11,000 voter which was an increase and Mobile had a noticeable increa-e inthe voting strength also. Montgomery had a token increase . the latter is one of those hard core area. But one of the leaders which head the movement here note some improvement. For these counties, I am of the opinion that the Civil Rights Commission is having some affect for good. In one county where space was provided for only one registrar ata time is now changed. Negro and white sit in the same room and now there is no line. This same county permits Negro to sign the questionaire where at one time only white were permitted to do this. (How ever there are three counties in whichNo Negro has been registered during this period -and intwo No Negro is registered in the whole counties nor has there been one during the life time of any of the living persons. These two counties are Lowndes and Wilcox.) In the former it is reliably reported that the word has gone out that ; if any one reports what is being done down there they are going to run him or them out of the county by refusing to rent them landor extend credit. It is also(further) reported that if they will not leave He will be way laid and killed. Whether this is true or not the rumor is abroad and many has refrained from attempting or releasing any information of what is going on in the county.

The violence, threats and intimidationhas done ~~it~~ their work among the Negro. The loss of job and the refusal to extend credit and supply merchants with com odities have caused the Negro to refrained from many of their civic and community activities. Several reports have come to me of civilial intimidating people for attending churches lodge meeting and other types of religious service unless they can assure the interestd person that it was purely a religious service. I might say that only in the Metropolitan counties and urban communities do we find any appreciable attempts to register. This is not to encouraging. But there are places where they can register with a little more ease now than formerly. While in other areas thehard core opposition to Negro voting is becoming more difficult and there is little or no attempt to challenge this.

Very truly yours

J. E. Pierce

J. E. Pierce

The Texas Observer
An Independent-Liberal Weekly Newspaper
504 WEST 24TH STREET
AUSTIN, TEXAS
PHONE GR 7-0746
RONNIE DUGGER

Sept. 30

Dear Mrs. Price:

The best method that I have been able to come up with after inquiries is based on the fact that many county tax assessor collectors do count Negro and white voters separately. I recommend the letter attached be sent to each of the 254 such county officials with an enclosed stamped return envelope. The question is who signs it and to whom the letter is returned; I strongly recommend your letterhead and your official. From the many replies an extrapolation or interpolations ought to result in a reasonable estimate based on population and race ratios between counties for which you have estimates and those for which you do not. Because of my repute in Texas as too liberal it would not be most effective for me to sign the letter. Now tell me what you want me to do.

I have very little time of my own!

Ronnie Dugger

Add total if no
race breakdown

(To all 254 county tax assessor-collectors in Texas)

Date

[illegible]
Tax Assessor-collector
____________ County
____________, Texas
(county seat)

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council made a survey of Negro voting in the South in 1956 and now wishes to bring the project up to date, with particular emphasis on current registration figures. Many county officials in Texas, we are advised, do keep separate counts for whites and Negroes, and if this is so for your county, we would appreciate your giving us the figures for 1958 in your county in the blanks below. If not, we request that you give us an estimate. ~~[illegible]~~ A stamped return envelope is enclosed. We shall most appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

--

COUNTY: ____________________

~~[illegible]~~ WHITE VOTERS ON COUNTY LIST FOR ~~[illegible]~~ 1958, TOTAL ____________

NEGRO VOTERS ON COUNTY LIST FOR 1958, TOTAL____________

This is (scratch one, please)

--Based on An Actual Count

--An Estimate

(signed)

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helana Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Your letter of October 2 contained good news indeed. We're delighted that you are willing to undertake the report on Beaufort County, with the understanding that you will fit it in with your work at Penn. We appreciate, too, your generosity in waiving the fee but I know Harold Fleming would not want you to pay any costs yourself and certainly would want you to submit an expense account, at the very least.

As to the time element, I feel sure this can be worked out. Perhaps you could give us an idea of a deadline that would be acceptable to you. We have been thinking in terms of two categories. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based just before the Nov. 4 general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include a report on one or two counties which we might have in hand then. Later, when the various county reports are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county studies. Does this sound feasible to you?

I am enclosing a rather hastily drawn list of questions, which might be of some help in getting the county report underway. At least, it may give you an idea of the sort of thing we have in mind. As to the advisibility of asking elected officials for information, my feeling would be that this should be left to your discretion; you know the area and can tell better than we can here how it would be easiest for you to work.

The possible contrast you mentioned between the upper and lower sections in Beaufort sound intriguing but in any event I think Beaufort will provide an interesting study. If there is anything I can do to help in any way, please let me know.

Thank you, too, for your suggestions as to the other counties. I want to go into this matter again soon with Harold and discuss with him the men you mentioned for the other South Carolina counties.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

Thank you for your suggestions for the gathering of voting totals in Texas. I appreciate the time and thought you've given xx on the subject and can understand, alas, your reasons for thinking someone else should do the polling.

We'll try to work out the polling along the lines you suggested and right now are casting about for the most likely person and method of getting the information needed.

I'll keep you posted on our progress, so you will be hearing from me again soon.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Mr. John Vaughn
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Vaughn:

Donald Strong has written that he has discussed with you my letter regarding the Southern Regional Council's planned follow-up to an earlier study of Negro voting in the eleven Southern states.

He perhaps told you that we hope to present several studies-in-depth of selected counties in the South. We thought one of the Black Belt counties in Alabama would be an interesting subject and selected Dallas County. Then when Mr. Strong wrote, recommending you for the Dallas project, saying you already had written an excellent term paper on this area, it seemed like a stroke of good fortune for us.

SRC can offer a fee of $250, plus expenses. As for a deadline, in case you are interested in the project, does January 1 sound feasible? Tentatively, a preliminary report is planned for around November 1, giving current voting totals, changes in registration laws in the past two years, pending suits, etc. Then, later, when the various county studies are in, a somewhat more extensive report is planned. The latter would be based in large part on the county reports. As to how these would be used, I can best illustrate by referring you to the earlier SRC "Negro Voting in the South" printed in 1956. (Please let me know if you would like a copy of this.)

I drew up a rather sketchy list of questions to give an idea of the kind of information sought. Quite obviously, some of these will have little bearing in Dallas County and I'm sure you can think of other things that would be meaningful.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Please feel free to call on mefor any additional information or help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Prof. Donald S. Strong
Department of Political Science
University, Alabama → Univ. of Ala.

Dear Mr. Strong:

Thank you for your letter of Oct. 2 concerning the study of Negro voting about which I wrote earlier.

I appreciate your suggesting John R. Vaughn for the Dallas County project and I am writing to him today to ask if he would be willing to undertake the study there.

Until we know definitely whether or not you would be interested in the Birmingham project I have not mentioned this area to Mr. Vaughn.

We would be pleased, of course, if you do feel you can find time for the Birmingham study. SRC can offer a fee of $250, plus expenses. So far as the time element is concerned, we have been thinking in terms of a two-phase report. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based before the November general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include portions of reports on one or two counties which might be in hand then. Later, when the various county studies are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county reports. Does this sound feasible to you?

To give some idea of the kind of information we are seeking, I drew up rather hastily a list of questions which I thought might be of some help to those who, unlike you, have not worked in this field previously. Your suggestions as to other information we might seek would be welcome.

Again, thank you for your help. I hope that your other commitments will leave you enough time to undertake the Birmingham report.

Sincerely,

(Mrs) Margaret Price

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

November 14

Margaret:

Here are recent letters and items you will need for enclosure with your replies.

I'm dubious about the Mississippi suggestion. Let's exchange ideas before you follow through on that one. Otherwise, it's all yours.

Best,

Harold

Monday August 17

Dear Harold:

Your airmail special arrived yesterday afternoon and I started work on a release last night and finished it this morning. It's rather long, but if it goes out in advance of the report, it's probably better, so reporters can select their own angle.

You'll note I made only parenthetical mention of the three county studies. I thought if I went into any detail, the release would be too long. But perhaps you can think of another way of handling this. It also occurred to me that perhaps someone like Sitton could get another piece out of the report by dealing with the county studies, particularly Brazeal's.

Simply to save time, I did not copy the registration table, but indicated where it might be inserted.

You may want to tack on a paragraph explaining SRC--I don't know whether you still consider this essential or not.

Also, if you arrived at a good, jazzy conclusion in your foreword I hope you'll add that.

I put my name in the third graf but I leave it to you whether or not it should remain. The only reason I put it in is that I thought I might as well get in on any attacks--and such are inevitable, I suppose.

It should go without saying that I hope you'll do with the release whatever you like--I admit it's a hasty job.

Incidentally, I have assumed--and hoped--that someone rechecked my addition on the 1958 registration totals, and also on the eight counties mentioned in the text as having reliable figures. (I always feel a lot safer if my arithmetic is gone over carefully.)

Best,

Dr. Elston Roady
1916 West Indian Head Drive
Tallahassee, Fla.

Miss Florence Irving
615 ~~x~~ S.E. St.
Raleigh, N.C.

William Mitchell
P.O. Box 467
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Dept.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 W. 245h St.
Austin, Texas

Richard N. Morehead
Dallas News Bureau
Austin, Texas

Dr. Lewis Killian
Dept. of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dr. J.E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Ala.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

Dear Margaret Price -

The enclosed map should make my report a little clearer, at least I hope so.

The area circled in red is that covered by the survey. The "upper part" of the county is that north of Whale Branch (Top of red line).

Best regards
Courtney Siceloff

Saturday, January 24

Dear Harold:

I had hoped to tie up the various SRC things I have here by this week-end. I will try to get them taken care of in the next few days. Bem came home from El Paso Thursday night, after being in bed in a hotel there for two days. His doctor came to see him yesterday and after outlining all the infections and complications he has from a virus, about all he could say hopefully was that he doesn't have pneumonia--yet. He really is pretty sick and I know if the next couple of days are like these last two I won't be able to get the various thingsto you before the middle of next week.

But, I did at least want to write about a few things. The manuscripts from Vines and Siceloff have been received. I think they are both quite good. I thought of only a couple of minor things I'd like to ask. But, I shall read them again more carefully. And, I shall get off a letter to both of them thanking them, etc., by Monday at the latest. I'll send you a copy of the letter to Courtney. And I'll send you the original to Vines, if in this one to him, I go into the matter of a Mississippi study, so you can see if it is what you want.

About Courtney Siceloff's fee. He had written, you remember, that he would submit only expenses. Checking back over my correspondence I find I had written him, "We appreciate, too, your generosity in waiving the fee but I know Harold Fleming would not want you to pay any costs yourself and certainly would want you to submit an expense account, at the very least." That, so far as I know was all that was said. So, I think I'd better leave this to you, since you know Courtney, etc. However, I do think that under the circumstances, if you do offer a fee, the $100 you mentioned would be adequate, and fair.

The Texas figures also have arrived and while I haven't gone into them to the extent of figuring just how he arrived at each total, It looks impressive. Since this apparently is the first time anyone has done anything like this I'm delighted we could get them. I will write to him, also, within the next couple of days, and go into the release date with him in line with what you wrote. Second guessing now, I wish we also had gotten the white registration for each county. But, that's of secondary importance for the survey purposes. I would suggest that you go ahead and pay him the $150. (I've just looked at his report again, and can think of nothing offhand that is missing.)

In a separate envelope I'm sending the Virginia registration figures. I copied them from the list in the office of the secretary of the State Elections Board. A few minor changes have been made, which changed the totals we used last October slightly. (He made the revisions in November. Incidentally, the April, 1958, figures I'm sending are the only ones currently available--another listing won't be made before fall.) To be on the safe side, I have a duplicate copy which I am keeping.

I now have made cards of all the instances of violence, reprisals and intimidation I have on hand for the last six months of 1958. I hope to get them into paragraph form to send you next week for insertion in the survey. At the same time, I will send the cards to put into the card file drawer, which I think the reference section could well keep intact in case later questions arise as to source. I have another 40 or so incidents (about half again as many if you break down some of the bomb threats).

Friday, Sept. 4

Dear Marge:

I've gone through my voting files and found that, for the most part, I seem to have only copies of SRC materia. I'll go through them once again within the next week and if I find anything else, send it along.

I think the Birmingham News series,. which is encbsed, is an exception for I don't believe a copy was run off for your files. I'm also sending the Long correspondence, which I assume you might want to put in the Texas file. I'm also sending Harold today all the correspondence on the survey. I don't remember whether the correppondence on the earlier voting report was filed upstairs or whether Mildred has kept it.

We have tickets Monday night for Heartbreak House, having its pre-NY opening here. A Shaw play, plus a fantastic cast--Maurice Evans, Pamela Brown, etc--we felt we couldn't miss this one.

Sincerely,

Margaret

Tuesday

Dear Florence:

Please excuse the delay in sending along the enclosed figures. Last week I seemed to bog down completely in house and yard. I should have written as soon as I returned because now I've forgotten exactly what you need. If these figures aren't the ones you want, please let me know and I'll dig again.

You'll note I left Texas blank, because I think a letter came sometime last December correcting the figures sent earlier. I have my reply thanking the consultant but not his original letter. It should be either in the Texas folder or in the voting survey correspondence filed by Mildred--it was in a filing case beside Carmen's desk the last I heard of it.

Also, to my surprise I had 1956 totals for Arkansas but for the life of me I can't think where they came from--probably the answer there, too, lies in the filing case. Would you mind checking the original copy of the whole survey and in the second section, on registration, there is a table at the end and I think I had noted that the Arkansas total was for 1955. If so, would you mind changing that reference?

Oh--just found another letter, this one a copy of one sent Dec. 28 by Mr. Roberts. You had mailed me a copy. In it, he included the missing Prince or King William County and changed a few other totals for Virginia counties which would change the overall total for that state somewhat, probably. So, would you mind tacking that on? This, I should do myself but I am determined to get this in the mail to you today and the mailman is due any minute.

This is a hasty note, obviously, but I'll try to collect myself and write somewhat more coherently soon.

Sincerely,

Margaret

Florida:

Total 1956 registration: 1,606,741
White: 1,456,955
Negro 149,786 (Nine per ent of registration;
20 per cent of pop. of voting age,
1,823,513; Negroes over 21--366,797)

Georgia

Total 1956 registration: 1,331,835
White 1,168,010
Negro 163,825 (12 per cent of registration,
29 per cent of pop. of voting age,
over 18, 2,181,269; Negroes
over 18--622,703.

Kentucky

Total 1956 registration: 1,534,400
White 1,447,427
Negro 86,973

Louisiana

Total 1956 registration: 896,498
White 735,088
Negro 161,410 (18 per cent of registration; 30
per cent of the population of
voting age, 1,587,145; Negroes
over 21--481,284.

'50 or '56?

North Carolina

Total 1956 registration: 2,000,000 (approx.)
White 1,865,000
Negro 135,000 (7 per cent of registration, 24
per cent of population of voting
age, 2,311,071; Negroes over
21--549,741

South Carolina

Total 1956 registration: 645,065
White 544,275
Negro 100,790 (16 per cent of registe ed, 34
per cent of population of voting
age, 1,150,867; Negroes over 21--
390,024)

Mississippi:
Total 1955 registration: 500,000 (estimated)
White: 480,025
Negro: 19,975

Tennessee
Total 1956 registration: 610,000 (est)
White 520,000
Negro: 90,000 (15 per cent of registration, 16 per cent of voting age, 1,978,548; Negroes over 21--318,790

Virginia
Total 1956 registration : 875,427 (one county, Prince William, unreported)
White: 792,329
Negro: 83,098 (nine per cent of registration, 21 per cent of total population over 21, 2,025,339; Negroes over 21, 422,670)

Texas
Total 1956 registration

Alabama
Total 1956 registration: 870,500
White: 818,500
Negro: 52,000 (six per cent of registration, 30 per cent of total population of voting age, 1,747,759; Negroes over 21, ~~516~~ 516,245)

Arkansas
~~Total 1955 registration 558,295~~
Total 1956 registration: 580,645
White: 510,968
Negro 67,851

(Total 1955 registration: 558,295; white 490,444; Negro 67,851)

Suffrage

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 27, 1956

OUTLINE FOR SURVEY OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES

1. PURPOSE. This study is one of a series of fact-finding projects to be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council in the next nine months. The aim is to assemble, in various areas of Southern race relations, the facts which have a practical, "diagnostic" value in the present situation. The findings will be used variously -- in special publications, through mass media, and as aids to programming by human relations agencies. The present study is designed to document the status of the Negro vote in the South, in terms of size, proportion of the total, distribution, and extent and methods of disfranchisement. The information to be sought state by state is briefly described in the following paragraphs.

II. REGISTRATION

A. Number of Negro registered voters, by county. (Best estimates where official figures are not available.)

B. Ratio of registrants to total population of voting age, by race and by county.

C. Increase or decline in state-wide Negro registration between the following key years: 1940 - 1947 - 1952 - 1956. (See SRC's *Race and Suffrage in the South* and *New South* January 1953 for estimates for 11 of the 12 states for '40, '47, and '52.)

III. VOTING PERFORMANCE

Except where published studies already exist, this can probably only be estimated for the state as a whole and for selected localities. A racial comparison will be useful, if available estimates permit.

IV. LEGAL DETERMINANTS

What state constitutional or statutory requirements (voter qualification laws, poll tax, etc.) make registration more difficult? What administrative procedures or red tape in the application of these provisions serve a discriminatory purpose?

V. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

A discussion of these factors must necessarily depend largely on impressionistic data gathered through interviews and personal observation and experience:

A. To what extent and in what areas of the state do economic dependency of Negroes and/or social pressures serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? (Give illustrative examples, if possible.)

B. To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

VI. OTHER DISCRIMINATORY TECHNIQUES

This section will be based on the same methods as V.

A. Overt violence or intimidation.

B. Cf. the following list, derived by Luther H. Jackson from Ralph Bunche's list of 1940:

1. Requiring one or more white character witnesses.

2. Applying property qualifications severely and requiring only Negro applicants to show property tax receipts.

3. Strictly enforcing literacy tests against Negro applicants.

4. Putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to Negro applicants.

5. Basing rejection of Negro registrants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks.

6. Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long periods of waiting before officials attend to them.

7. Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks while those of whites are filled out for them by officials.

8. Evasion -- informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present, that it is closing time or that the applicant will be "notified in due course".

9. Deliberate insults or threats by officials and/or hangers-on.

VII. ORGANIZED EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS

A. What organized efforts are under way in the state to increase or decrease Negro registration and voting?

B. What appears to be the immediate prospects for Negro suffrage in the state?

VIII. CORRELATIONS

For the sake of simplicity and efficiency, the central office of SRC will correlate the voting figures secured by the field studies with appropriate state and county data. For your information only, the following correlations by race, by state and by county are contemplated:

A. Correlation of voting figures with percent of population that is Negro.

B. Correlation with counties gaining and counties losing population. (Total, Negro or white?)

C. Correlation with counties classified predominately urban and counties classified predominately rural. Total, Negro

(Non-white total) D. Correlation with percent of population that has achieved high-school and/or college graduation.

E. Correlation with degree of industrialization (probably as measured by percent of work force classified by census as skilled or semi-skilled).

F. Correlation with economic status (probably as measured by per capita income).

Tenancy

Total, Negro?

Class of Service
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

(44).

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1956 OCT 31 PM 3 54

NS JZA447 PD=JACKSON MISS 31 243PMC=

TU ATLANTA

=HAROLD FLEMMINGS OFFICE=
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=MAILING AIR SPECIAL INFORMATION RELATIVE TO YOUR CALL YESTERDAY=

=MRS R S LYLLS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

June 21, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

This is an attempt to rid you of some of the confusion my carelessmess has caused you. My work has kept me out of the office most of the spring and summer, and I have had little chance to check upon those whom I use to do basic calculations. I had already detected the error in the table which you sent, and had therefore begun to make the corrections when I received your kind letter.

For some reason, we used the total population as a base for computing per cent non-whites of voting age. I thought I had corrected that in a table sent you previously. However, I do not find a record of having done this. I am enclosing the table with the corrected figures, but you must be mindful of the fact that this table does not represent all of the counties of Texas. It merely represents those counties in which there were so many as 200 or more Negroes. We might have included some not qualifying and excluded some that did in order to get the best possible geographical spread. Please note, too, that the total number estimated as being of voting age for 1956 and these counties is 5,014,352. Whites total 4,330,854.

We secured our voting record from newspapers carrying returns from the Texas Election Bureau. I possibly indicated to you that some of the counties listed in these papers were not given with complete counts. Too, all of the counties of Texas are not included in the facts we gave you. We thought that was apparent, and that we had called attention to this fact when we first began to make reports to you.

Since the error of the non-white count also crept into our article to the Journal, I am sending in a correction. I hope that it is not too late. My big problem is that I have too many things to do. I hope that you will feel free to call on us again in case you need additional information or interpretation.

Thanking you kindly, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Chairman
Graduate Research.

W-S Journal
Suffrage - 1956

Peanuts

"PEANUTS"
BANG!
I GOT YOU, LINUS! YOU'RE DEAD! YOU'RE OUT OF THE GAME!
4-2

Voter Registration Comes to Halt In Heavily-Negro Alabama County

TUSKEGEE, Ala., April 22 (AP)—Voter registration machinery has broken down again in Macon County where Negroes, many of them college-educated, outnumber white residents 5 to 1.

For the third time in a decade, the county where famed Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington 75 years ago is without a Board of Registrars and has been for several months.

No one, white or Negro, has been able to register for voting since the board ceased to function in January with only one of the three appointed members remaining in office.

One member, Mrs. J. F. Segrest, refused her appointment as soon as she was notified last November. Another, S. S. Humphries, resigned in January, leaving only Chairman W. H. Bentley on the board.

Since it takes at least two members to transact business, the board has been unable to function.

Mrs. Segrest, who, incidentally, is a Republican, declined the appointment because she said she hadn't been an applicant and didn't know why she was chosen. Humphries said he resigned for business reasons.

Negro leaders said Humphries, who had been on the board three years, gave up the office under "pressure" from pro-segregation White Citizens Council members. The former registrar denied that.

One of the Negro spokesmen, Charles G. Gomillion president of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., said white people are reluctant to serve on the board because of the heavy Negro population and the increasing demand for voter registration.

"I guess there are people who will serve," he commented, "but only those who will do no more than give us token registration."

Gomillion, who is dean of men at Tuskegee Institute, said Negroes in the past have been discriminated against by registration boards, that they were forced to wait unreasonably long periods of time and frequently were rejected for "trivial" reasons.

Similar complaints were made in a Federal Court suit filed in 1954 against the registrars serving at that time. The suit was withdrawn by agreement between opposing attorneys.

Approximately 84 per cent of Macon County's population of 31,000 is Negro, but only about 900 are registered as voters. By contrast, about 2,700 white voters are on the rolls out of a white population of some 5,000.

A recent comparison of 1950 census returns and the 1952 voters list showed less than 100 white persons over the age of 21 weren't registered to vote, Gomillion charged.

The same survey disclosed about 12,000 unregistered Negroes by voting age, he added.

But the chairman of the last functioning board, Grady Rogers insisted that "there are plenty" of white persons who will serve on the board if asked to. "I'll even serve myself if necessary," he added.

Rogers' term expired last November and he wasn't reappointed.

The former chairman denied, too, that there was any racial discrimination of the board while he served as chairman.

"We followed the law and that was our only policy," he declared. "If they answered the questions (on a questionnaire) right, they were registered and if they didn't they weren't. And that applied to whites as well as Negroes."

The questionnaire is one of the requirements for registration under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1951. Prospective voters also must satisfy the registrars that they have "good character."

Rogers, a retired mail carrier said a good number of white applicants were turned down during his four-year term on the board at Tuskegee, "some of them four or five times before they were finally registered."

Voting Report

Special Suffrage Materials

TO: HCF

FROM: MM

Re: Voting Report

The first question we raised was regarding the total white population of Macon County, Ala. (see page 13 of proof), which the census lists as 4,777 in 1950. The AP release giving the figure 5,000 is attached, but note that it reads, "some 5,000." A 1957 AP clip regarding Macon Co. states, "A state revenue department estimate in 1955 fixed the white population at 4,703...," so perhaps the word "some" should be inserted before "5,000" in our report, for complete accuracy.

A second point we wanted to clear up was the table at the bottom of page 24 of the proof - the 1956 estimate of potential Negro voters exceeded the 1950 census figures of nonwhites 21 and over by 46,716. The first page of the Louisiana consultant's report, which details the process by which the population estimate for '56 was obtained, is attached. Unless the assumption that ratios remain constant is invalid proceedure, we are safe in listing the 1956 estimate, I should think.

The third attachment is a letter from the Texas consultant, which explains the excessive figures used by Margaret Price (in Texas only).

(Important
Please return to
MP —)

NEGRO REGISTRATION AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

A REPORT FROM LOUISIANA

I. Registration

Table I gives by parishes the total number of Negro registrants, the estimated 1956 Negro population of voting age, and the ratio of Negro registrants to the estimated Negro population.

The 1956 population estimate was obtained as follows: (1) The estimated total population of each parish for 1956 was obtained from Sales Management Annual Survey of Buying Power, May 10, 1956; (2) It was assumed that the 1950 ratio of Negroes to the total population in each parish would remain constant; (3) It was assumed that the 1950 ratio of Negroes 21 and over to the total Negro population in each parish would remain constant; (4) Thus by taking the 1956 total population estimate, and by taking percentages of that figure as derived from the 1950 census, a 1956 estimate was obtained of the potential Negro vote in each parish. Please note that by using the 1956 estimated population that Evangeline parish no longer has more than 100 per cent of its potential Negro vote registered.

THE MOVE TO DISENFRANCHISE THE NEGRO VOTER

COMPILED BY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
April 17, 1958

INTRODUCTION

Despite the 1957 Civil Rights Act passed by the U. S. Congress--or in some cases because of it--there is renewed effort in the South to curb Negro voter registration. This is especially true in three of the deep South states, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, where officials have repeatedly called for restrictions of Negro voters in their respective states. In Georgia, a new registration law was passed and signed into law early in 1958. Some Georgia officials admit that this law is aimed at curtailing the Negro vote.

To ascertain that the attempt to curtail the Negro vote is real, one needs only to have read the newspapers during the closing days of the 1957 Congressional civils rights debate and in the weeks following. Statements by Southern State officials and other leaders clearly document the move to disenfranchise the Negro voter.

A survey by the Southern Regional Council of public statements reported by the press gives a clear picture of the move to disenfranchise the Negro. Excerpts from these newspaper reports, presented on the following pages, speak for themselves.

ALABAMA

Alabama's old cumulative poll tax law, deemed archaic and laid to rest by the voters in 1953, has been resurrected in the legislature under the guise that it will help preserve segregation.

The sponsor of the proposed constitutional amendment, Senator Roland Cooper of the Black Belt's Wilcox County, insists the restoration of the cumulative feature is a "must" if the "Southern way of life is to be preserved."

And Macon Senator Sam Engelhardt has echoed with the observation that the reinstatement of the old plan "will serve as a deterrent to Negro voter registration...."--From an editorial in The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, 6-1-57.

CLAYTON, Ala., July 2 (AP)--A judge's call for passive resistance in the face of civil rights investigations was echoed today by the Barbour County grand jury.

The jury, in making its formal report after a two-day session, said "we are heartily in accord with" Circuit Judge George Wallace, who had urged local law-enforcement officers to refuse to cooperate with federal authorities under the civil rights program pending in Congress.

Wallace made his observations in charging the grand jury yesterday. The jury report today said Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammel had expressed the same views to the jurors.

The report said:

"We will continue to cooperate with all agencies in the field of legitimate law enforcement endeavors.

"But if the pending civil rights bills pass at this session of Congress, we recommend that the citizens of this county and the law-enforcement officials of this county refuse to aid in the politically and spitefully inspired civil rights investigations of our citizens."--Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 7-3-57.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 20--Many Alabama legislators warmly applauded a prediction by Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick that white prople of this state will resort to a total boycott of Negroes "if Congress passes this outrageous civil rights bill and the Negroes attempt to avail themselves of its provisions."

The lieutenant governor, who is a prospective candidate for governor in next year's race, told a Birmingham civic club that "all white men will, of necessity, be drawn together by common bonds of resistance."

"And I predict that they will refuse to employ, feed clothe or otherwise aid or assist Negroes, if the latter insist in disrupting and upsetting our way of life in Alabama...."

Lt. Gov. Hardwick sharply criticized President Eisenhower and northern politicians "for attempting to impose this legislation on the South."

In warning that a total boycott would be enforced against Negroes in Alabama, he said that "in my opinion, it would be necessary to do this in order to escape the tragic results sure to come if Congress passes this dastardly civil rights legislation."

"Otherwise," the lieutenant governor added, "the U. S. attorney general and other federal authorities would see that Negroes would be registered and herded to the polls without respect to qualification, education or any other qualifying conditions presently required."

Hardwick further warned that "if and when the U. S. attorney general sets up his bureaucratic offices in Alabama to register Negro voters indiscriminately, we will find ourselves in another tragic era equal to that forced upon our forefathers during the reconstruction period...."--Atlanta (Ga.) Journal-Constitution, 7-21-57.

MONTGOMERY, July 24--A Black Belt legislator flatly predicted today that his section would be calling for legislative reapportionment if the civil rights bill passes Congress.

If the civil rights bill passes, the legislator said, the number of Alabama counties probably would be reduced from 67 counties "to about 50."

He said the reapportionment would be necessary so that the counties now predominantly Negro would not have control of the county's elections.

"You'd have to do it in the House by gerrymandering, and in the Senate by redistricting," he said.

The problem, according to the legislator: If the civil rights bill passes Congress, it would give many Negroes the right to vote. And there are some 13 counties in the state which have more Negroes than whites.

Unless some gerrymandering or re-districting were done, the legislator said that these counties would soon have Negro officials and legislators.

"The state has got to be reapportioned so that each county has a white majority," he said, "We've got to forget about differences between North and South Alabama."

The counties with predominantly Negro population, according to the legislator, are: Marengo, Wilcox, Lowndes, Macon, Dallas, Hale, Greene, Perry, Monroe, Choctaw, Barbour, Bullock, and Sumter. And he said Russell and Pickens are approaching that point.--Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald, 7-25-57.

CAMDEN, Ala., Aug. 28 (AP)--The South can nullify the civil rights bill pending in Congress, Mississippi's Gov. J. P. Coleman declared yesterday, "if we remain firm, cool and calm."

Coleman, speaking to the pro-segregation Wilcox County Citizens Council, said the states can still write their own requirements for voter qualification and, as long as there is no unlawful discrimination, no federal court can interfere.

"The states can make the rules and then they (the federal government) will have to show that we are arbitrarily depriving someone of his rights under the law," the Mississippi governor told his audience of white listeners.

He did not, however, say what form these rules should take....--Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 8-29-57.

MOBILE, Sept. 17 (AP)--Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick predicts 12 to 15 Alabama counties will try to turn election of their local officials over to the Legislature or to have the governor appoint them to escape possible federal civil rights action.

Hardwick yesterday told the Mobile Bar Association that the proposal to abolish Macon County was a "drastic step," but he said the people were demanding it.

"I am afraid when the new federal civil rights law is pressed down on us, there will be many other counties also trying to take drastic action what with all our voter qualification laws broken down," he declared....--Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 9-18-57.

TUSKEGEE, La.(sic)--...Last June, the Alabama legislature, using a trick invented in 1812 by a Yankee, Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry, gerrymandered Tuskegee's (Ala.) city limits. It cut the town's area in half, redrew its boundaries to form an odd 26-sided configuration, and in the process thrust out of the town about 410 of the community's 420 Negro voters. Before the gerrymander, according to the 1950 census, Tuskegee had 1,315 whites and 5,397 Negroes, but registered white voters outnumbered their Negro counterparts by about 200.

The legislature's idea, of course, was to prevent Tuskegee's Negroes from registering enough voters to gain control of the local government....

For a clearer picture of the motive behind the segregationists' political maneuver, and an outline of other plans aimed at circumventing the spirit, if not the letter, of the Federal civil rights law, talk to the author of the gerrymander bill. He's Sam Englehardt, Macon County state senator and executive secretary of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, a strongly prosegregation group.

"We gerrymandered those niggers right out of town," Mr. Englehardt says proudly. Ask him why and he indicates it was because of the new civil rights act, which he calls "our greatest danger."

"If that civil rights commission comes down here and forces mass registration of unqualified Negroes, there'll be bloodshed," predicts Mr. Englehardt. "Why, we'd have niggers in office. Can you imagine being arrested by a nigger sheriff?" he asks in tones of horror.

Currently, the state senator is pushing for ratification of a state constitutional amendment (which since has been ratified) empowering the legislature to abolish entire counties. He already has engineered the amendment through the legislature and the people will vote on it in a state-wide referendum December 17. (The amendment passed).

Mr. Englehardt frankly says the amendment is designed to "abolish Macon County" and divide it among neighboring counties. Negroes now living in Macon County would be parceled out in such a way that they would not constitute a majority in any of the counties receiving them. Admittedly, this calls for mighty skillful gerrymandering, but Mr. Englehardt is confident. "We'll split the Negro political power," he promises....--Ed Cony, Wall Street Journal, 11-5-57.

GEORGIA

Gov. Griffin said Friday he will ask the Legislature in January to "strengthen" Georgia's election laws so that the federal government "won't set up the registration books."

"We're not going to have a federal judge tell us who can vote and who can't," the governor said in commenting on passage of the civil rights bill.

He added that he was "not talking about discrimination...."--Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 8-31-57.

A plan for curbing Negro voting in Democratic primaries in Georgia by legal means has been proposed to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

The plan was drafted by Macon attorney Charles J. Bloch, a highly respected constitutional authority and one of the South's most articulate champions of states' rights. The proposal has been circulated widely, but with little fanfare, among state political leaders....Bloch would have the Democratic party of Georgia declare:

1. That it favors federal legislation limiting the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

2. That Congress should enact legislation to restore to the states powers that are guaranteed by the 10th Amendment and which "they have been deprived by unwarranted decisions" of the Supreme Court.

3. That its members "abhor and denounce" recent court decisions giving to the federal government powers not delegated to it by the Constitution.

4. That the Constitution should be amended to declare that the 14th Amendment was never legally adopted and is null and void.

5. That it denounces federal interference with the rights of state and local governments to manage their own internal affairs including the right to regulate by legislation their schools, intrastate transportation and places of amusement and recreation supported by public funds.

Under Bloch's plan, any qualified voter willing to subscribe under oath to these tenets would be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries. Those who did not so subscribe would be barred from participation in them....--From William M. Bates' Political Notebook, Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 10-25-57.

State Democratic Chairman John Sammons Bell Friday called a proposal designed to keep Negroes from voting something "certainly worthy of the most careful consideration.

But he said he has no plans for calling a meeting of the Democratic Executive Committee right now to consider it. He said the committee would not be called in session "to promulgate rules and regulations governing the 1958 primary" until after the first of the year.

And he said he didn't know whether the committee would take up the new proposal, suggested by Macon Atty. Charles J. Bloch, then....

"The members of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia have it in their power to circumvent legally and constitutionally some of the outrages which have been perpetrated on our people," said Mr. Bloch.--Atlanta Journal, 10-25-57.

Some plan to check growing Negro political strength in Georgia through stiffer voter requirements now appears certain to be put before the Legislature in January.

Sentiment in political circles for curbing Negro voting appears stronger now than at any time since the "white primary" a decade ago.

The sentiment is being fed by the constantly number of qualified Negro voters and by a "right-to-vote" civil rights law enacted by Congress at the last session. The pressure is likely to increase when, as is expected, Department of Justice lawyers start to implement the new law....--From William M. Bates' Political Notebook, Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 11-8-57.

...Another key member of the election law study committee--State Sen. James Peters of Manchester--says he, too, favors raising qualifications for voting. Peters also favors spelling out certain forms of "moral turpitude" which would be a bar to voting....Moves to tighten voter qualifications, aimed in part at Negro voting, coincide with a vigorous registration drive now being conducted by the NAACP and other Negro groups....--From William M. Bates' Political Notebook column, Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 11-20-57.

....State Rep. Wilbur Orr of Wilkes county, while supporting the registration change, warned that it would "disgruntle" many white persons who would have to make two trips to the county court house to register. (Peter Zack) Geer said he would "rather see a few white persons inconvenienced than be faced with several hundred bloc voters." "The white voters of Georgia will be willing to put up with some inconveniences to see that illiterate bloc voters don't get on the registration lists," he said.--Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 11-22-57.

ATLANTA, Nov. 21 (AP)--Sweeping constitutional changes intended to bar many Negroes from registering as voters were proposed by the Georgia election law study committee today....One of the proposed amendments would disqualify for registration parents of illegitimate children, person participating in a common law marriage, persons with a dishonorable or bad conduct military discharge and anyone convicted for child abandonment; manufacturing, possessing, transporting or selling non-tax paid (moonshine) liquor; failure to register or report for military service, bigamy or adultry; false swearing or any felony....Most of the new grounds for disqualification were proposed by Peter Zack Geer, a committee member, who commented at one point that "if I were solicitor of my county I could indict with good evidence 90 per cent of the grown Negroes for bigamy or adultry." He also said that 30 per cent of the criminal cases tried in Miller County "involve Negroes manufacturing, possessing, transporting or selling non-tax paid liquor...."--Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 11-22-57.

...At the (Georgia Election Laws) committee hearings and meeting, Mr. (Peter Zack) Geer has made no secret of his desire to bar "illiterate Negro bloc voters" from registering....Asked Saturday why he favored the constitutional proposal, Mr. Geer replied:

"In my considered opinion as a lawyer, as a private citizen, and as one interested in the affairs of Georgia I believe that the proposed constitutional amendment will improve the quality of the entire electorate of Georgia and is particularly in order under present conditions caused by unwholesome outside influence...."--Atlanta (Ga.) Journal and Constitution, 12-15.57.

House Speaker Marvin Moate has proposed a return to a $1-a-year poll tax as a curb to Negro vote registration.

The Hancock lawmaker, a chief lieutenant of the Griffin administration, said he believes the tax would keep down Negro voter registration in rural counties.--Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, 1-7-58

...Secretary of State Ben Fortson, chairman of the (Georgia Elections Laws) committee, told reporters that only minor changes had been made in legislative suggestions (on voter registration) approved earlier by the committee. Some members of the committee have acknowledged that barring Negroes from registering had been a chief aim....--Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, 1-9-58.

The Georgia House Tuesday rejected Gov. Griffin's voter registration bill and all other attempts to change present qualification precedures....

Griffin himself issued a statement shortly after the vote, saying the House "failed to meet the challenge of campaigns designed by the NAACP and others to destroy the county unit system...."

Proponents of the bill on the floor said it would curb mass Negro registration, but opponents claimed it would only discourage whites.

House Floor Leader Colbert Hawkins of Screven County asserted that the bill would "challenge those who with Martin Luther King said they are going into Georgia and register a half million more colored people...."--Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 2-19-58.

ATLANTA, Feb. 19 (AP)--

...The voter registration bill would make numerous changes in present registration procedures, the principal one being a tough set of questions to be answered by persons who cannot read or write.

Rep. Colbert Hawkins tried to amend the bill to rack on the $1 registration fee which was rejected yesterday. His amendment was defeated 97-61. The bill then passed 134-40. (Later, the Senate passed the bill and Gov. Griffin signed it).

Hawkins said that adding the $1 registration fee would "throw down the gauntlet to the NAACP, which has boasted it killed the poll tax in Georgia once and would do it again."

Rep. Frank Twitty said the bill "gives local registrars a weapon for preserving the southern way of life as we know it and want to preserve it...." --Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 2-20-58.

...The measure passed by the House is aimed primarily at curbing Negro voting. It was drafted by a special election law study committee that worked for 10 months on the voting question....

During the day, (Rep. Colbert) Hawkins offered the $1 registration fee as a "little amendment." The poll tax was a major feature of Griffin's defeated measure.

Hawkins said his amendment would put teeth into the registration bill and said he would support the measure if the amendment was adopted.

"You will have done something for this bill and you will have done something for the counties of Georgia that have a problem with Negro registration," Hawkins declared.

Rep. Frank S. Twitty of Mitchell, a Vandiver leader in the House, took the floor to oppose Hawkins' poll tax proposals to plug for passage of the bill....

He (Twitty) said the bill would give local registrars the "weapon" they need to combat "insidious organizations" such as the NAACP by keeping off the registration rolls those "who ought not to be there."

"Let's give the local registrars the weapon they need to preserve the Southern way of life as we know it in Georgia," Twitty said.

Rep. Raymond M. Reed of Cobb County warned that the NAACP would "school" Negroes to enable them to pass the 30-question test proposed by the bill.

"But who is going to school the poor white people who can't pass the test?" Reed asked. "If you want to play into the hands of the NAACP, this test will do it."

Rep. William M. Campbell of Walker County warned that measures such as the voting bill would "drive the Negroes into the NAACP."

"We haven't got the Negro problem in our county that some of you have," Campbell said. "We control them and we don't have to come to the Legislature and ask for help to do it...."--Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 2-20-58.

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss. (UP)--Gov. J. P. Coleman plans a series of "mass meetings" with white citizens throughout Mississippi soon to tell them how to "circumvent" the civil rights bill before Congress and why a new constitution (sic) is needed in the fight to maintain segregation.

His plans were disclosed in letters written to legislators and in a talk to the Wilcox County White Citizens Council in Camden, Ala., last night.

Coleman said that as soon as the bill passes Congress he will appoint a committee of 82 lawyers, one from each county, who will "sit down and analyze the bill" and decide the best method "to plough around it."

"They are going back home and call mass meetings in every county and tell the people how to get around it --circumvent it if you please."

Before he left Jackson Coleman wrote legislators that he would explain the dangers of the measure to "mass meetings" of white citizens and legislators and why a new constitution will help. He said he had not gone fully into the issue off radio and television because "to do so would tip off the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People...."

"If the Negro can command the vote under the civil rights bill," Coleman said, "then he can as a matter of course get everything else...."
--The Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss., 8-28-57.

CALHOUN CITY, Miss. (AP)--Gov. J. P. Coleman hinted Thurs. he may seek a change in the way Mississippians are registered to vote as a part of the state's defense against civil rights legislation.

The governor told the Calhoun City Rotary Club he may ask that the registration function be taken from circuit clerks under the new constitution he hopes to have written.

Instead, a three-man commission or board would meet at a regular time once a month to accept registrations.

The governor did not make clear the purpose of such a change. Under present Mississippi election laws, which make no reference to race, prospective voters must interpret the state Constitution to the satisfaction of the Circuit Clerk who also is the registrar.

Mississippi has no Negro circuit clerks. Only a small proportion of Negroes vote in most counties....--The Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss., 8-30-57.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, today mapped strategy for a defense against "a reign of terror" he says passage of the civil rights bill may bring to Mississippi.

Coleman, in one of the most outspoken attacks on the bill, announced Friday he would call a meeting of the State Sovereignty Commission to "consider the situation." The commission, the state's official agency for maintaining segregation, rarely holds a meeting.

The governor, who held an impromptu press conference when surrounded by newsmen in a hotel here, said the measure would "not necessarily" mean more Negro voting in Mississippi.

"However, it could start a reign of terror down here if the commission (created by the bill) would come down here and hold hearings," he said....--John Herbers, United Press Staff Correspondent, State Times, Jackson, Miss., 8-31-57.

....Gov. J. P. Coleman, who is not known as an alarmist, acknowledged that the "full weight of Herbert Brownell and the attorney general's office" would be thrown against the state's voter registration system.

Mississippi feels vulnerable to the new federal power. Officials believe the attorney general's office is "out to get us."

Of all the Southern states Mississippi has most defied court integration rulings. Here is the headquarters of the Citizens Councils which fear their officials might be arrested for contempt under the provisions of the new measure.

The federal government is anxious, it is felt, to wade in where the resistance is greatest, now that it has the opportunity.

Mississippi has systematically sought to prevent great masses of Negroes from voting and controlling elections. That was done successfully through high educational requirements for voting provided in the 1890 Constitution, and has been held entirely legal.

These requirements were increased and made to apply against Negroes in a constitutional amendment since the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

The great fear now is that the federal government will override these provisions that have worked so well for the white man, through application of the new civil rights measure and through Supreme Court decisions.

There's more to the objections than voting. Whether for political reasons or in full sincerity, Coleman told legislators in a letter:

"If the Negro can command the vote under the civil rights bill, then he can as a matter of course get everything else."--John Herbers, United Press Staff Correspondent, State Times, Jackson, Miss., 9-1-57.

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)--A bill intended to maintain white supremacy over the Mississippi ballot box passed the House of Representatives Wednesday without a dissenting vote. It was immediately sent to the Senate....The bill, which evoked no arguments regarding its merits, takes voter registration out of the hands of elective circuit clerks and puts it in the hands of a registrar appointed by the chancery judge. Gov. J. P. Coleman told a joint assembly of the Senate and House Tuesday that many circuit clerks are not versed in the law and prepared to stop "unqualified" voting--obviously by Negroes--under the Civil Rights Law...." This is one of the most important bills to come before this Legislature," Rep. Herschel Cameron of Lamar County told the House. "I come from one of those counties where people who have not been on the voting rolls are trying to get on."--The Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, 3-20-58. (On April 14, Governor Coleman vetoed the bill because he thought it unconstitutional because it made the registrar an "inferior" court).--Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, 4-15-58.

VIRGINIA

RICHMOND--Virginia legislators attracted no little attention in the state this week when they introduced an anti-Negro voting bill in the House of Delegates.

The bill, introduced by Del. John B. Boatwright, would empower local Democratic organizations to deny a precinct which did not give 50 per cent of the last general election votes to Democrats the right to participate in the next primary.

If passed, this measure would mean that the colored precincts which were almost solid Republican last November, would be locked from the next primary election....--Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, 1-25-58.

SPECIAL REPORT

**SOUTHERN
REGIONAL
COUNCIL**
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harold:

We decided - after all this was proofread - that the Mississippi figures used are those of 1955. I think I've made all the changes but would you recheck as you read? Ark. also 1955.

All population figs. based on '50 Census except Texas & La., where '56 est. used.

Margaret

Use subheads: I Rework

INTRODUCTION

Negroes in the South have ~~taken~~ made greater strides toward political equality in the past 10 years than in any comparable period since the Reconstruction Era.

Still, they have made but a beginning, for today only about 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age in the 11 Southern states are registered.

Because voting is of primary importance in the ~~Negro~~ drive to achieve justice and legal equality, this study was undertaken by the Southern Regional Council with the financial support of the Fund for the Republic. Its aim was to document the present status of Negro suffrage in the South, to review the forces which limit or encourage it, and to look at its future.

The study is by no means definitive. As it stands, however, it represents the latest and best information available to trained social scientists in the South.

[Any study of the South must, of course, consider the past.]

Negro voting in the region stemmed from the Reconstruction Acts of 1867-68. These acts divided the South into five military districts subject to martial law. They made restoration of state government in the [defeated Southland] former Confederate states contingent in part upon the calling of conventions of delegates elected by male citizens "of whatever race, color or previous condition," to frame new constitutions. These, among other things, were to guarantee Negro suffrage. On failure of the Southern states to call such conventions, Congress required that military commanders, who led federal troops into the area, initiate the enrollment of Negroes. As a result, 703,000 Negroes and 627,000 whites were registered. During the Reconstruction period, a few whites, "carpetbaggers" from the North and native "scalawags," led the newly enfranchised Negroes into the Republican party.

But by 1870 all of the Southern states were readmitted to the Union. The last of the federal troops left in 1877.

As the white Southern conservatives regained state control, Negro political power began to wane. With the federal troops withdrawn, their leaders gone and the "Bourbons" ~~white Southerners~~ bent on gaining the upper hand, by force if necessary, most Negroes found it wiser not to vote. To put a legal stamp on the disfranchisement and to bar those Negroes still inclined to vote, the South set up new requirements for balloting.

From the 1870's until shortly after the turn of the century, the various states enacted ~~created~~ a series of laws providing for use of + (orig.) the poll tax, literacy tests, ownership of property, the "grandfather clause" (enfranchising those who had voted before 1867 or were descendants of such persons), etc.

The laws were passed in the face of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declares ~~states clearly~~, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Ostensibly, all the laws passed in that post-Civil War period to limit registration, as well as more recent ones, were to apply equally to whites and Negroes. In the enforcement however, the practical result was [and is] in the main the disfranchisement of Negroes.

In addition to the legal requirements of registration, the South forged another weapon to keep political control in the hands of white citizens, the one-party system. It was built on fear of Negro political influence ~~domination~~ and the belief that if the white vote were split, Negroes would gain the balance of power.

The one-party system has had a number of side effects. It has led to a curious lack of the kind of issues which stir voters in other sections. The percentage of white Southerners who vote generally is well below the national average. The practical effect of this apathy has often been the delivery of political control into the hands of a small oligarchy.

Give fig.?

As the result of the one-party system a political campaign in the South frequently is only a contest between personalities who are trying to out do each other in promises to preserve the racial status quo. ~~And,~~ So many ~~demagogues~~ Southern politicians have played the theme of possible Negro domination over the~~y~~ years that they have merged into a national stereotype of ~~a Southern politician,~~ the demagogue dependent on his advocacy of "white supremacy."

One of the fears on which he trades is that of "bloc voting" by Negroes, contending that they always vote solidly for or against a candidate in an effort to gain political domination. Actually, the Negro vote splits ~~just~~ about as the white vote does in any election where the issue of race is not ~~raised~~ present.

In any event, until the past few years Negroes in the South had not voted in sufficient numbers since Reconstruction to influence any election. For, from the turn of the century until World War II, the Southern Negro was, for all practical purposes, disfranchised.

In 1940, only about 250,000 Negroes in the region had managed to register and most of these could vote only in meaningless general elections. For nearly 50 years they had been excluded from the Democratic primary, the only place where voting really counted. Southern states maintained that the primary was a private affair and that the party holding it could determine who might participate.

Over the years a growing body of men and women of both races worked to change the ground rules but World War II marked the real turning point. The complacency of many white citizens was shaken; the war against the Nazis, with their racial theory of "Aryan" superiority, and the opposite, democratic aims of our own nation brought a new realization that all was not right at home. Also, a new determination was evident among Negroes, many of whom were serving in the armed forces and commanding better pay and jobs in industry.

Then, 1944 brought the beginning of the end of the "white primary." In an 8-1 decision, the United States Supreme Court, in Smith v. Allwright, held that all citizens have "a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election."

The states affected did not give up immediately and it took another decision to administer the final blow. South Carolina promoted a "private club" plan, which repealed all state laws governing primaries, to bolster the argument that the "white primary" was a private function not subject to legal control. This was struck down by a federal court. Other Southern states which had kept a speculative eye on the South Carolina plan were forced to abandon all hope of retaining the "white primary."

From this point on, the official white South's legal strategy centered on eliminating Negroes at the registration desk rather than the ballot box. New reliance was placed on the literacy test and several states which had had provisions for such tests for half a century tightened the old requirements.

These tests, together with the whole pattern of segregation which has limited educational and economic opportunities for Negroes and left them subject to reprisal and intimidation, are the main weapons of those currently bent on ~~keeping all the region's political power in the hands of the white Southerner~~ excluding the Negro from the political process.

More on:
Significance of vote in seg. controversy
"Apathy" as increasingly large factor
Method + limits of survey
Position of friendly official.

VIII

VOTING PERFORMANCE

The percentage of Southerners who vote is well below the national average, as field reports for this study emphasized once again.

And, it is not only Negro disfranchisement which depresses the South's average for, except in occasional, heated contests, white citizens in the region are less likely to vote than citizens in other parts of the country.

Compare the North and South turnout in a presidential election or the vote for governor in Southern Democratic primaries and in general elections in the North--whatever the yardstick used, the voting performance of the South generally lags behind.

Many reasons for this lack of electoral enthusiasm can be advanced: the one-party system, lower educational and economic levels, poll tax and registration requirements, plus the historic tendency to leave power in the hands of the few in the South.

V.O. Key in Southern Politics in State and Nation studied primary and general elections from 1920-47. He found ~~by~~ THAT "by ANY standard, precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."

He discovered that, in the period surveyed, "Usually less than 30 per cent of all citizens 21 years of age and over vote for governor in Democratic primaries in most Southern states; in four states--Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama--the rate of participation averages less than 20 per cent.

The Key study showed that about five times as large a proportion of the electorate voted for governor in the general elections of Ohio and New York as in gubernatorial primaries in Virginia. The New York rate was about twice that of Texas. Key found that even fewer Southerners vote for U. S. Senator. For example, Vermont, virtually a one-party state, had nearly A 65 per cent turnout of eligible voters in the election of a Senator in 1944, while Alabama had slightly less than 20 per cent. Research showed that "Northern one-party states exceed the South in electorial interest only in lesser degree than do two-party states."

For years the absence of a contest for the South's electoral votes resulted in an exceptionally low turnout for presidential elections. However, in 1956, when there was a far more spirited battle, the region still did not respond to the same degree as the rest of the United States. The Associated Press reported that the total vote in the nation consisted of 77.4 per cent of those registered and represented 60.4 per cent of the estimated civilian population of voting age. In the 11 Southern states, approximately 70 per cent of those registered voted, representing only 39 per cent of the eligible population.

How does the registered Southern Negro react within this framework of low voter participation? Does he, for example bloc vote? The answer to the latter question is "yes" and "no."

Whenever Negroes feel their special interests are involved, they are inclined to vote in a bloc. They are neither more nor less vulnerable to the charge of wholesale support or opposition than those who rally in an opposing bloc to the "white supremacy" banner. All groups--including farm, labor and industry--tend to vote solidly against the candidate who singles them out for special attack.

If race is not an issue, voting by Negroes usually follows the egneral pattern and their vote splits as does that of the rest of the population.

The question of "bloc voting" arises in any assessment of Negro suffrage because it has so long been a pet charge of Southern white supremacists, who hold that the Negro is trying to achieve political domination by this means.

In regard to this charge, a Negro lawyer in Shreveport, Louisiana, summed up a common attitude: "I am told that I should vote as an American and not as a Negro. Well, I love America as much as anyone and I would like to weigh our policies in the Middle East and Far East when I vote. However, I'm too busy tyring to be free--to become an American--to concern myself with such questions. When I vote I must concern myself with what is good for Negroes."

Unfortunately, the Negro in the South often is forced to decide between two racist candidates, which in the case ~~is~~ about the best he can do is to follow the advice once given by the NAACP: "Vote against the incumbent."

Where candidates represent overlapping issues of particular importance to Negroes, their vote is likely to split. An example of this was noted in the 1956 gubernatorial primary in Louisiana, when Earl Long and New Orleans Mayor de Lesseps Morrison were the principal contenders.

Negroes outside New Orleans voted overwhelmingly for Long and his ticket. The name "Long" (Earl is the brother of the late Huey Long) is identified by Negroes with pensions and other state services oriented toward lower economic groups. Because most Negroes still are in this stratum, they tended to vote for Long. However, in New Orleans, the name "Morrison" is as well known and is idenfified with low-cost housing for Negroes, better park and school facilities, and related services. Negroes there divided rather evenly, giving Morrison a slight edge.

There also was a split in the vote for Earl J. Amedee, Negro candidate for attorney general in the same Louisiana primary. Amedee received little more than 50 per cent of the Negro vote. (In the state, he received only nine per cent of the total vote.) Again, Negroes were divided, in this case between a Long and a Negro candidate. Undoubtedly, economics alone did not account for the split. There was evidence that many Negroes outside New Orleans did not know Amedee was a member of their race; also, no one could know how many others saw his candidacy as a gesture, without hope of success, and preferred to vote more practically.

The fact that the presence of a Negro candidate on the ballot does not always result in overwhelming support by members of his race was also seen in Rome, Ga. ~~Georgia.~~ In 1952 an elderly Negro ran for the Board of Education there. Since he had not gone beyond the seventh or eighth grade, some of the Negro political leaders felt he was not qualified and refused to endorse him. Others thought it was not yet time for a Negro to seek such an office in Rome. Whatever their reasons, Negroes did not support the candidate.

The same thing happened in 1956 primaries in Chattanooga and Memphis, Tenn~~essee~~, when Negro candidates for the general assembly did not win overwhelmingly--or, in some precincts, even majority--support of their race. Several of those interviewed said this was because the candidates simply didn't have the proper qualifications. Among others, the bandwagon psychology was apparent--they felt the Negro candidate didn't have a chance and preferred to stick with the winner.

On the other hand, in a special election for councilman in Nashville in 1956, a Negro grocer ran against a white minister. The Tennessee consultant said that both candidates were generally considered progressive and fair. The Negro precinct in the ward voted 1,132 to 64 for the Negro candidate and the white precinct ~~when~~ WENT 1,373 ~~to~~ -- 60 for the white minister.

By and large, Negro registration has risen noticeably in both Memphis and Nashville as Negro candidates with wide popular appeal entered various races or as white candidates who offered a real choice of issues competed.

As Negroes do not always back a candidate of their race, neither do they necessarily support those white candidates who seek to flatter them by soliciting their votes. A white supporter of former Gov.[redacted] Herman Talmadge approached a Negro businessman who carried some weight with others of his race in McIntosh, Georgia, and asked him to support Talmadge in his bid for the United States Senate. The Negro told him, "I won't enslave my soul. What's the use of giving me a piece of bread and then calling me 'nigger'?"

Throughout the region, Negroes often show particular interest in local elections for through these the greatest immediate benefits can be realized. Where the Negro has been enfranchised in sufficient numbers to have a marked influence on local elections, politicians are inclined to pay attention. Material benefits such as paving, improved street lighting and recreational facilities are likely to result. Frequently the most intense interest is shown in election of sheriffs. There are special reasons for this. As Negro registration and voting increases, police brutality against Negroes is likely to decrease; this, in turn, can lead to an even larger Negro vote. In short, the sheriff's office is seen as a key position affecting the Negro's security and well-being.

In discussing this, the Georgia consultant commented:

"Generally speaking, persons who don't understand the racial set-up can't imagine what goes on in the mind of a Negro political leader who knows that the law enforcement officers and some other white citizens are avowedly against what he is doing. Further, he knows that it is difficult to select a jury that will convict any of its 'white bretheren' who move violently against Negroes "who get out of their place."' This is one reason why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff and the mayor, who often appoints the chief of police. They wish to reduce the threat and force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal physical security. When this happens their minds are relieved somewhat and they can forge on with their political leadership."

But, in addition to a lessening of police intimidation, Negroes can look for other gains from local participation, particularly where they hold or promise to hold the balance of power. Although Southern Negroes still have a long, difficult road to travel before gaining major material benefits by their vote, there are straws in the wind.

These ~~were~~ are particularly evident in the Texas findings. Negro strength at the polls has resulted in such things as a Negro youth center in Midland; in Longview, three new elementary schools in Negro areas in three years, Negro service on juries, delegates to county political conventions, employment of Negro policemen. In Brookshire, a bond issue for construction of a Negro gymnasium and a white school cafeteria was carried by two votes: Negroes held the balance of power. Greenville and Beaumont Negroes have served as delegates to county or state Democratic conventions. In large part through the political efforts of Negroes in Fort Bend County, farmers have benefitted from a huge federal project which has been draining 18,000 acres of farm land, all owned by Negroes. Where farmers were able to grow three bales of cotton on 50 acres before the project, they are increasing their yield to one bale per acre.

In Darlington County, South Carolina, where the Palmetto Voters' League (Negro) was founded, 9,000 of the 10,455 Negroes of voting age, or 83 per cent, were reported registered and 13,000 of the 15,237 eligible white men and women, or 86 per cent.

Since Negroes began voting in Darlington, all streets in their communities have been paved and lighted; two Negro policemen with a radio car added; three Negroes named to the Darlington County Democratic Executive Committee, and Negroes put in complete charge of three voting precincts.

Still another example of what the vote can bring was seen in Dublin and Laurens County, Georgia. FEW Negroes in Dublin had running water; their streets were unlighted and in poor condition and, although they had paid taxes for the sewage system for years, almost none benefitted. Then the county split into two factions and the Negro vote suddenly assumed importance as the balance of power. As a result,the city council, mayor and sheriff dedided that $350,000 would be spent in extending water mains and sewer lines into Negro neighborhoods and in paving the main street of the Negro section. Negroes in Spaulding County, Georgia, benefitted in similar fashion when their vote increased.

In Floyd County (Rome), Georgia, Negroes began registering in appreciable numbers in 1946. Ten years later, 45 per cent of the eligible--2,839--were on the voting list. In that period, police brutality, once intense, subsided; two Negro policemen were appointed and others promised.

In addition to practical incentives and the aim of good citizenship, what other factors movitate the Negro voter?

In South Carolina, the voting pattern of Negroes varies from area to area. Those registered in some counties can be counted on to vote in all elections; in others, it takes a sharp local contest to arouse interest. Issues dealing with civil rights have drawn the largest Negro vote in Georgetown, Dorchester, Colleton and Horry counties. In 1956, the primary brought the largest Negro turnout in Charleston County as a protest against the Citizens Council, which backed certain candidates. In Florence County, it was reported that a large number of Negroes voted only when one of their race was mistreated by an official before an election. Negro candidates brought out the heaviest Negro vote ever in Spartanburg.

The latter factor also accounted for the largest Negro vote in Atlanta when Dr. Rufus E.Clement, Negro educator, ran successfully for the School Board in 1953. Still only an estimated 10,000 of the 19,000 Negroes registered there at the time voted.

On the other hand, when a Negro candidate ran for local office in Portsmouth, VA., ~~Virginia,~~ approximately 90 per cent of the Negro registrants voted. Observers in Richmond estimate~~d~~ that about 50 to 65 per cent of the Negroes registered there generally vote~~d~~. In Petersburg, VA., ~~Virginia,~~ the range is from 35 to 95 per cent, depending upon local issues, whether a Negro candidate is running, and whether there is an intensive get-out-the-vote drive.

As for Virginia as a whole, however, it must be emphasized that even a 100 per cent turnout of the white and Negro registrants still would leave the state with a poor voting record. Only 35 per cent of all citizens over 21 had registered in 1952 for the general election (and Virginians usually vote in the greatest numbers in presidential elections). Four years later, the picture had changed ~~a~~ little. Key found that over the years, the organization of Sen. Harry F. Byrd has had to win the support of only five to seven per cent of the adult population to nominate its candidate for governor in the Democratic primary.

Compared to Virginia, electoral enthusiasm runs high in Mississippi, which has ~~had~~ a better participation record, despite its large non-voting Negro population. Key reported that in the 26 year period surveyed, the percentage of white~~s~~ voting in Democratic primaries in Mississippi almost equalled average participation rate of all citizens in New York or Ohio general elections.

But while the white citizens in Mississippi are more inclined to vote than in some Southern states, a vast segment of the population remains disfranchised. Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age but only four per cent of the total registered. And, if one could judge by figures for 1955 ~~1954~~, the only year for which estimates of Negro particiption are available county by county, only a small percentage

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of the comparatively few Negroes qualified voted.

Governor J. P. Coleman estimated that of the 20,000-22,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi in 1954, fewer than 8,000 voted in statewide elections. The governor said earlier he did "not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

A special city election in Greenville, Missi[redacted], in 1954 indicated what some encouragement could accomplish. Of 942 Negroes registered, 546 voted. An official there said this was the only time, the Negro vote was solicited in Greenville.

Apparently, some Negroes have registered in Mississippi for reasons not connected with voting. Some have qualified in order to get post-office or other government jobs but never voted even though they had paid poll taxes for years. In one county, the clerk said Negroes registered in order to have a public record of their age for use in old age assistance claims.

No study of voting performance in the South can be complete without some mention of an ugly facet of political life which is not necessarily confined to the region below the Mason-Dixon line--vote buying and manipulation.

Negroes in some parts of the South, have a long history of "being voted." They were used during the Reconstruction Era by scalawags and carpetbaggers. After Reconstruction, some Negroes were "voted" by former masters, often against their own interests.

By and large, this manipulation of Negroes by whites has ended, but it has not disappeared altogether.

For example, in North Carolina, reports were rampant in one area that the white political machine has had a "slush fund " with which to purchase the allegiance of Negro ministers who were expected to influence their congregations.

From Arkansas came reports that certain liquor interests have paid poll taxes for Negroes with the understanding that they would "vote right" in a liquor referendum.

In an Alabama town, a Negro minister and leader discourage Negro voting; some suspected he was in the pay of a white industrial firm.

In Louisiana, there were reports that in some areas where sheriffs permitted gambling there OFTEN was a tacit political alliance with Negro voters. This quixotic situation works out thusly: The white middle class opposes gambling. The sheriff has to look elsewhere for political support. He finds it among Negroes whom he "pays off" with a cessation of police brutality and passing of the word to the machine that the Negroes have needs which must be met such as paved streets and electric lights.

Like all rumors, these are hard to pin down but if true, one thing is clear: in each case, members of both races are vulnerable to charges of corruption.

IX

Out

THE 1956 ELECTION

"The extent of the Negro vote in Southern states in the recent election will be closely studied as having a possible effect on the two-party system in future elections."

This was the opening paragraph of an editorial in the Chattanooga Times of Nov. 13, 1956. It was a thought ~~considered~~ advanced by many reporters, columnists, and editors in the aftermath of the presidential election, for the Negro vote had assumed a new importance. It could no longer be ignored by either major party.

For a long time the Southern Negroes who could vote--in presidential elections only--followed the Republican party as the party of emancipation, even though the national party ~~had all but publicly endorsed the "lily white" theme of its Southern wing~~ did little to benefit the Negro group.

Keep ?

Eventually, in view of the solidity of the Democratic party and the weakness of the Republican party in the South, it became obvious to Negro leaders that immediate improvement in their lot lay in participation in local politics. It was not until the 1940's, however, after the white primary was outlawed, that they could take part in any significant numbers in Democratic nominations.

Meanwhile, the depression of 1929, followed by the liberal attitudes and economic ~~help~~ programs of the New Deal, caused Negroes to shift their allegiance to the Democratic party. On the national level the party had ~~earned~~ won their ~~gratitude~~ loyalty and become the "party of hope."

The ~~gratitude~~ loyalty, and the hope, began undergoing a steady process of erosion in 1948, when Southern Democrats formed the States Rights Party, chiefly for the purpose of preserving the status quo. It was not until 1956, however, that the allegiance of Southern Negroes shifted radically back to the Republican party.

In the four years between 1952 and 1956 many Negroes awakened to the fact that they were a political factor of importance. They had to weigh whether their chances for improving their lot would best be served by the Republicans or the Democrats. They had before them the Southern Manifesto, declaring the Supreme Court's school decision a usurpation of power. There was the Southern politicians' consistently effective opposition to civil rights to consider. They saw white Democratic politicians from one end of the South to the other preaching open defiance of the school decision. ~~Quite~~ Often, from Virginia to Texas, they saw a close affiliation of pro-segregation groups with local politicians.

A veteran Negro political leader was asked by Springer Gibson, a reporter for the Chattanooga Times (Nov. 18, 1956) why President Eisenhower carried 47.4 per cent of the vote in eight predominantly Negro precincts in Chattanooga, as compared to 21.3 per cent in 1952. He replied:

"The Negroes are interested in civil rights. It was not too hard to show that with the Democrats in we would have Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Senator Fullbright of Arkansas and Sen. Olin Johnston of South Carolina in powerful positions.

"Even if Stevenson was sincere on his civil rights stand, and I think he was, it could easily be shown that he would have too many roadblocks from powerful Southern conservative committeemen.

"Our people believed that President Eisenhower could do more about civil rights.

"It was not hard to show them when you talked about the power of Eastland, Herman Talmadge, Johnston and others.....

"We used recent school laws passed by the state of Virginia to good advantage. The Virginia laws and Eastland were our best talking points."

The end result of this and similar arguments: Where their votes were free and secret, thousands of Negroes in the South returned their presidential vote to the emancipation party of their forebears, the Republicans. What part President Eisenhower's personal popularity played in this shift is a matter of conjecture.

James L. Hicks, managing editor of the Amsterdam News in Harlem, considered the Negro vote in general in 1956 a divorce from the Democrats rather than a marriage to the Republicans. "The divorcee is carrying on a flirtation with a new boy friend (the Republican party) but she isn't going to invite him in unless he puts a ring on her finger," he said.

Val Washington, ~~Negro~~ chief of the minorities division of the Republican National Committee, said of the swing of Negro votes to Eisenhower, "I don't think they've bought the Republican party yet. Give us four more years and I think they will."

One thing was certain— if there were to be a real two-party system in the South the Republicans would have to offer candidates for more state and local posts.

Less than a month after the election there were indications the two parties already were looking forward to the Negro vote in 1960.

This could be seen in the appointment of an advisory committee by National Democratic Chairman Paul M. Butler. Thomas L. Stokes, United Features columnist, wrote (Dec. 6, 1956), "Its creation... was recognition of complaints after the presidential election by Northern and Western Democrats against the Southern leadership of the party.....In Making up the slate of 20 members of the advisory committee, it is noted that Chairman Butler gave preponderant weight to the complainants and protestors."

Roscoe Drummond, columnist of the normally Republican New York Herald Tribune, observed (Dec. 8, 1956) that the most frequently discussed topic at Republican National headquarters was what the Administration could do to fan the embers of GOP sentiment in the South.

He raised the interesting question of whether the Republicans could bring about a widely based party in the South which would not be "a serious drag on the 'new Republicanism' which Mr. Eisenhower is seeking, blur its image and lose the party votes hand-over-fist elsewhere in the nation?"

In short, could the Republican party afford to court Southern white conservatives without endangering the party in the North and among Negroes both above and below the Mason Dixon line?

In any event, the growing political strength of the Negro brought promise of new consideration. For the Southern white conservative it raised a jolting spectre: the possibility of being rejected by Northern and Western Democrats, resentful over the loss of Negro votes, and of being ignored by the Republican party.

An indication of the 1956 swing of Negroes could be seen in the following state-by-state summaries. They were compiled from a roundup of Nov. 11 by the Associated Press, special Southeastern reports to the Atlanta Journal and reports from survey consultants.

VIRGINIA: A sharp swing of Negro voters to the Republicans helped the GOP carry the state in 1956 by 386,459 to 267,760. The Negro vote was credited with throwing the Norfolk area second district to President Eisenhower; two predominantly Negro precincts which had given Adlai Stevenson 1,111 votes to Eisenhower's 178 four years before, in 1956 went 1,262 to 308 for Eisenhower. Similar switches were reported in Portsmouth, South Norfolk and Norfolk County. In Richmond, a Negro precinct which gave Stevenson a 4-1 edge in 1952 reversed 2-1 for Eisenhower; another Negro precinct changed from 8-1 for Stevenson in 1952 to 3-1 for Eisenhower. P.B. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, a Negro newspaper, thought Negroes switched to Eisenhower because they thought he was "a bit more sincere in whatever he said on civil rights." Oliver Hill, Richmond NAACP lawyer and a Democrat, saw the switch as a protest against the local Democratic party and not as a Republican endorsement; he felt the President's personal popularity and the Middle East crisis were factors also.

TEXAS: The Houston Post said that in 18 predominantly Negro precincts where Stevenson won 95 per cent of the vote in 1952, he received only 67 per cent in 1956. Apparently, however, a majority of Texas Negroes remained Democratic. Arthur Dewitty, NAACP legislative representative, knew of no substantial shift. Another Negro leader in the state said the President carried a much larger Negro vote than anticipated and that his stand on school integration in the District of Columbia carried the greatest weight.

MISSISSIPPI: The majority of Negro voters in Hinds County--where 4,305 were registered, more than in any other county in the state--went Republican. However, H.T. Ashford, Hinds circuit clerk, said, "The Negroes here always have voted Republican," and that Hinds was representative of the entire state in this respect.

TENNESSEE: The Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis) was a major, and perhaps the deciding, factor which put the state in the Republican column with a majority of about 8,500. Also, the 20,000 votes cast for T. Coleman Andrews, a States Rights candidate, probably added to the Democratic defeat. Middle Tennessee went Democratic by a larger margin than in 1952; this offset East Tennessee's increase for Eisenhower; West Tennessee fell only slightly until the Memphis vote was in and there a 20,000 vote switch by Negroes to the GOP made the difference. Approximately 60,000 Negroes were registered in Memphis and Shelby County and at least 50,000 voted; there was a swing to ~~Ike~~ Eisenhower in 38 Negro precincts. Three big Negro wards in Nashville gave Eisenhower majorities and two others were almost deadlocked; all normally were heavily Democratic.

ALABAMA: The Negro vote was an important factor in President Eisenhower's carrying Mobile and Montgomery counties. It was the first time in history that Mobile County went Republican; the GOP majority was over 3,000. There were 6,400 Negroes registered. Montgomery had not gone Republican since Reconstruction. The Republican majority there was more than 1,500; the county had 2,176 Negroes registered. Jefferson County (Birmingham) joined the Republican column for the first time since 1928. Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro Republican leader, said about three-fourths of the registered Negroes in Jefferson County voted for Eisenhower and he estimated the same percentage swing throughout the state. In polling a much larger vote in Alabama than in 1952 the Republicans carried seven other counties--Winston, Chilton, Dallas, Franklin, St. Clair, Shelby and Baldwin.

NORTH CAROLINA: All reports pointed to a decided shift of Negro voters to the Republicans. Two Negro leaders attributed this largely to resentment against moves of the Democratic administration to circumvent the Supreme Court school decision. In Raleigh, the switch was ascribed to what many Negroes considered the Democratic party's compromise with the South on the civil rights plank at the national convention. Three Negro precincts in Greensboro and three in Durham went Republican by a small margin;in 1952, Winston-Salem's big Negro precinct voted for Stevenson 750-21 but his 1956 margin was cut to 281-238. The three principal Negro precincts in Raleigh switched to the Republicans in '56 by a vote of 1,136 to 648 but in 1952 the Democrats won 2,177-310.

GEORGIA: The Republicans won about 33 per cent of the total vote in 1956, ~~and~~ as against about 30 per cent in 1952. The gains came almost exclusively in urban areas, where the shift of Negro voters contributed considerably to the increase. This was particularly evident in Atlanta and Savannah. One Negro precinct in Atlanta voted almost 7-1 for Eisenhower; this same precinct voted nearly 16-1 for the Republican opponent of Rep. James C. Davis, chairman of the subcommittee which investigated integration of Washington, D.C., schools. However, although Richmond County, home of the Augusta National Golf Club where ~~the~~ President EISENHOWER often vacations, went Republican, some of the heaviest Democratic majorities were in four precincts where most of the Negroes voted. In all, the Republicans carried 11 of Georgia's 159 counties.

FLORIDA: The director of the Florida Negro Voters League, Gilbert Porter of Tallahassee, said that undoubtedly the Negro vote, which had been Democratic, was predominantly Republican in 1956. He felt this was due to resentment against Senator Eastland and other office holders who held similar views. Miami Negro districts which had voted Democratic in 1952 gave slight majorities to Eisenhower; Tampa Negroes shifted to the Republicans and two all-Negro precincts in Walton County lined up solidly with the GOP.

LOUISIANA: Camille Gravel, Democratic national committeeman, credited the shift of Negro votes, particularly in New Orleans, with the Republican victory in Louisiana. A.P. Tureaud, attorney for the NAACP, outlawed in Louisiana, said, "Negroes wanted to put in a protest vote. They voted in protest against the hostile attitude of the last legislature in passing all those segregation laws and their resentment for Senator Eastland of Mississippi and his attitude on racial matters."

ARKANSAS: Most qualified voters felt there was no significant shift in the Negro vote. (It might be noted that Negroes have ~~been~~ SERVED ~~appointed to~~ ON the State Democratic Executive Committee in Arkansas; THEY ALSO HAVE THEIR OWN STATE NEGRO DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION.)
(1)

~~If this~~ ~~implies~~ present membership on the committee, we must check before going to press. Negroes ~~were absent~~ from ~~recent meeting~~.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Two counties, Beaufort and Aiken, went Republican in 1956. Twenty-one counties voted the Independent or States Rights Ticket; the 21 closely paralleled the black belt section and there were active White Citizens Councils in 14. Twenty-three counties kept the state in the Democratic column, although the Independents and Republicans together polled about 30,000 more votes than the Democratic party. One Negro observer estimated that of the approximately 75,000 who voted Republican, 50,000 were Negroes; he also estimated that about 75 per cent of the Negro and 40 per cent of the white registrants voted. The predominantly Negro Ward 9 in Columbia, often considered a pattern, split about evenly between the Democrats and Republicans; for years it had gone nearly 100 per cent Democratic.

(1)
(In addition to South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama remained with the Democrats in 1956. Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, Texas went Republican.)

APPENDIX

The following figures on Negro voter registration were compiled in the fall of 1956. Where official figures were not available in a given county, estimates were gathered in a variety of ways--from newspaper clippings, political figures and other informed sources, and a spot check of available records. In short, the figures are believed as reliable as could be obtained.

It will be noted that in many counties the number of registered voters exceeds the population of voting age as computed in the 1950 census. In such instances, the figures generally came from official records. The excess may be due to population growth. However, where the discrepancy is great, it is more probable that the registration rolls are out of date. The names of thousands of citizens who have moved or died are still carried on voting lists in many areas.

Registration figures used are for 1956, except in Arkansas and Mississippi, where the latest information available is that of 1955. County-by-county figures were not obtainable in Tennessee. Because of the extensive geographical area of Texas, the consultant did not travel to all the state's 254 counties. However, it is estimated that 90 per cent of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in the following tables.

The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean necessarily that no Negroes are registered but rather that voting figures were unavailable or that a racial breakdown had not been made.

In all other states, a zero means there were no Negro registrants known to the consultants; a dash means the information was unavilable. Where a county has no~~t~~ Negroes registered, the column "Potential Negro Voters" should be checked to determine if there are any Negroes of voting age. This column includes the number of Negroes 18 and over in Georgia and Kentucky, where 18 is the legal voting age, and those 21 and over in all other states.

but rather that it was impossible to get ~~x~~ either

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voting figures

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there are any Negro~~xx~~ residents of voting age. This column includes the number of Negroes 18 and over in Georgia and Kentucky, ~~xxxxxx~~ where ~~xxxx~~ 18 is the legal voting age,and those ~~xxxx~~ 21 and over in all other states.

(Unnecessary to Copy this)

Table 2

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH IN ALABAMA

I,..............................do hereby apply to the Board of Registrars of ....County, State of Alabama, to register as an elector under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama, and do herewith submit answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by said Board.

....

Name of Applicant

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and place of your birth, and your present address:..

....

....

2. Are you married or single:........... (a) If married, give name, residence and place of birth of your husband or wife, as the case may be:..

....

3. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the last five years; and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years:.................

....

....

4. If you are self-employed, state the nature of your business....

....

(a) If you have been employed by another during the last five years state the nature of your employment and the name or names of such employer or employers and his or their addresses:.............

....

5. If you claim that you are a bona fide resident of the State of Alabama, give the date on which you claim to have become a bona fide resident:.............(a) When did you become a bona fide resident of..................County:.......................

(b) When did you become a bona fide resident of................ Ward or Precinct....................

6. If you intend to change your place or residence prior to the next general election, state the facts:.........................

....

7. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter............(a) If so, give the facts:................

....

8. Has your name been previously stricken from the list of persons registered:...............................

9. Are you now or have you ever been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard:............ (a) If you are or have been a dope addict or **hn x** habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can:............

....

10. Have you ever been legally declared insane:........(a) If so, give details,,,,,,,,,,,,,......................................

11. Give a brief statement of of the extent of your education and business experience......................................

....

....

12. Have you ever been chargged with or convicted of a felony or crime or offense involving moral turpitude:.............(a) If so, give the facts:..

....

13. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States

Government.............. (a) If so, state when and for approximately how long:..

14. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorably discharged from any school or college or from any branch of the Armed Forces of the United States, or of any other country:.............(a) If so, state the facts:...

....

15. Will you support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama:..............

16. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any State of the United States by unlawful means:...........(a) If so, state the facts:...........

....

17. Will you bear arms for your country when called upon it to do so:..............(a) If you answer no, give reasons:; ....

....

18. Do you believe in free elections and rule by the majority: ....

19. Will you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States Government or the government of the State of Alabama:..........

20. Name some duties and obligations of citizenship.................

....

....

21 (a) Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict:.................

21. Give the names and post office addresses of two persons who have present knowledge of your present bona fide residence at the place as stated by you:...

....

REGISTRATION OF NEGRO VOTERS IN ALABAMA IN 1954

Foremost among the civil rights of citizens in a democracy is the right to participate in the government through the free exercise of the franchise. The right to vote for those who are to hold office of trust has been a marked achievement in government and cherished by those who cling to the democratic concept. The question of who should exercise this privilege has baffled many in every democratic society. Especially has this been true in the development of modern democracies. Those who exercise the right of franchise may go a long way in determining the nature of the laws governing human rights and in the enjoyment of the benefits which are to be prorated among the citizen of the state. In the attempt to achieve the goals of a real democracy, the nonprivileged, many have been faced with almost unsurmountable obstacles in their effort to achieve the franchise. This most certainly has been the experience of the Negro in Alabama.

The Negro in his attempt to gain the franchise in this state has met with every conceivable obstacle devised by man. In 1940 there were approximately 2,000 qualified Negro voters in this state. In 1946 this total had risen to approximately 6,000; and by 1952, there were around 25,000 Negro registered voters. Today this number exceeds 50,000. In a period of 12 years the voting strength of the Negro has increased something like 2,500 per cent. Yet, this total is less than ten per cent of the Negro population of voting age and only 6.3 per cent of the total qualified voters of the state.

Alabama, like other states of the union has attempted to set-up some standards for determining the qualification of those who are to exercise the franchise. While it is admitted that some criteria should be used to determine the fitness of those who are to exercise the right of franchise, Alabama has endeavored to provide a means which would enfranchise the white and at the same time disfranchise the Negro or restrict him to an ineffective number.

The Constitution and laws which set forth the qualification of an elector in Alabama are so worded as to give the Board of rigistrar wide discretionary and arbitary powers in determining the qualification of a voter. The Alabama laws also have been so drawn as to strike at the most vulnerable spot of the Negro. When the Negro developed to where he was able to overcome the weaknesses which would bar him, some other measures were devised. A brief statement on the qualification of a voter reveals little which one would find difficult to meet. These general requirements are age, residence and citizenship. But here the additional requirements become increasingly more difficult. Not that the Negro could not meet them, but the administration of these additional requirement leaves the Board almost unlimited powers in determining the qualification of the voters. Among the provisions of the constitution and laws are the following: he must be of good character, and must embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the Constitution of Alabama. He is furthermore required to answer in writing a questionnaire furnished him by the Board of Registrars without assistance. This latter requirement will test his ability to read and write.

To aid the Board in determining the ability of the person to read and write, the Supreme Court is required to prepare this questionnaire. However, it must be observed here that this is not the sole means of determining the the applicant's qualification and the Board may resort to other measures in determining the fitness of the elector. The result is that many Boards are "Boswelling" the applicants when they appear before them. The reports have revealed in many counties that additional questions are being asked and other evidences demanded by the Board to test the fitness of the applicant. In one of the blackbelt counties the applicant must get a signed affidavit from three local merchants who have known the prospective voter for two years. When this is done each member will inspect it. If the registrars know the persons vouching for the prospective voter he will get his certificate. Those who have attempted to register under these requirements report no race discrimination but whenever a Negro signs the affidavit the applicant is denied under the simple process of the members of the Board claiming they do not know the signee.

The applicants have other difficulties which bar or limit the number of registered voters. The complaints registered against the Board showing evidence of discrimination are:

1. Additional burdens are required of Negroes: There must be present when a Negro is registering, an elector to sign the application of the Negro but this is not required of the whites.

2. The Negro must get white persons to sign his application: A Negro cannot do this in many counties as many whites will not sign applications of Negroes.

3. Resignation of the Board: In some Counties the Members of the Board of registrar will resign rather than register Negroes. This has been the case in Bullock and Macon Counties.

4. Processing the applications: Many who failed to receive their certificate have been told that the applications have not been processed. White applicants in most instances receive their certificate immediately upon registering.

5. Delay: Many Boards discourage Negroes by pretending to be busy doing office work and fail to recognize the presence of the Negro. If the Board member chooses to recognize

him he will then ask the applicant to wait. After a prolonged wait, the Negro is then informed that there is not a quorum of registrars present if the Negro applicant wants to register.

6. Inadequate accommodations: The space used by the Negro will accommodate only one person and when there is a long line only one can fill out the questionnaire at a time. The long wait discourages some, and others must go back to work.

7. Refusal: Some Board make no pretense but tell Negroes they are not registering Negroes; while others may be more considerate and pretend that there are no blanks. Still others are told to come back at some future date.

8. Hostile reception: Many times the Board will show by their obvious resentment that they do not want to be bothered. If the applicant should make a mistake he is told not to come back. If he has appeared before the Board before,he is refused another chance. Some have extended the time to two years, others six months before a second chance is granted.

Some of the counties do not resort to any of these delaying and evasive techniques, but there are; however, many counties which resort to one or more of these. Since 1952, there have been fewer complaints than formerly. This does not mean that the Boards of Registrars are void of discrimination. But it is encouraging to find that there is a widespread opinion among many of the citizens of the several counties that the attitude of the Board of registrars has changed toward Negro Voters. The white citizens of some communities are urging Negroes to register. The candidates for office are soliciting their votes and in many instances encouraging them not to vote for a certain candidate because of his racial stand. Information has been revealed in many counties of the state of the unfavorable attitude of certain candidates which has been very valuable to the voters.

The counties with a large number of Negroes offer more difficulty than others with small populations. To demonstrate this fact, twelve selected counties have been used to illustrate the difficulty of registering by Negroes in counties with large Negro populations.

Table I illustrates very vividly the Negro registration in twelve of the selected counties in the balck belt.

TABLE I

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 12 SELECTED COUNTIES IN THE BLACK BELT

Counties	White Population 21 years and over	Negro Population 21 years and over	Negro Registered voters 1952	Percent of Negro registered 1952	Voters percent of Negroes registered 195
Barbour*	8,012	7,150	63	.88	250
Bullock	2,633	5,425	7	.129	6
Choctaw*	4,912	4,822	12	.24	67
Dallas	12,597	18,145	112	.617	175
Green	1,820	6,628	12	.31	165
Hale	3,680	7,041	300**	4.2	126
Lowndes	2,057	6,514	None	None	None
Macon	3,081	14,539	700	4.8	855
Marengo	5,456	10,266	27	.26	110
Perry	3,757	6,351	83	1.3	234
Sumter	3,600	8,700	None	None	256
Wilcox	3,560	8,218	None	None	None
TOTAL	54,661	103,757	1,325	1.24	1,238

*These counties have more whites twenty-one years of age than Negroes, but there are More Negroes of all ages than whites.

**The reported number from this county was excessive in 1952. A check of the list of qualified voters from the weekly issue of the Greenboro WATCHMAN reveals only the number in the last column which is 126.

The Negro population in these 12 counties constitute 66 per cent of the total population of these counties of voting age. However, only 2.12 per cent of the Negroes of voting age are registered. In 1952 there were fewer Negro registered voters in all of these Counties than white registered voters in Lowndes which had a population of only 2,057 of voting age, but had 1,420 registered white voters. Among these, two counties have no Negro voters, although there are 14,732 Negroes of voting age in the two counties. One county which failed to report in the 1952 study now claims 250. All counties with the exception of Hale and Bullock show an increase. Wilcox and Lowndes are still closed to Negro voters. (Dallas County with the largest actual number of Negroes of voting age stands fifth in the number of voters. Some comparison might be made of Dallas and Macon Counties. There are 3,606 more Negroes of voting age in Dallas County than in Macon County, yet, Dallas County has only 20 per cent as many voters. Macon county has a larger per cent of Negro of voting age than Dallas. Dallas's population of voting age is 59 per cent of all persons 21 years of age and over, while over 82 per cent of the population of voting age in Macon county are Negroes. It is generally felt that the higher the percentage of Negroes in the population the more difficult it is to register. However, we cannot overlook the role of leadership; and there is a lack of militant leadership in Dallas County.)

The educational opportunity at Tuskegee Institute in Macon County and Selma University in Dallas County and for a number of years Payne University, should have given the leadership needed in both places. While there is evident of effective leadership in Macon we cannot boast of this in Dallas. Macon County has instituted two suits against the Board of Registrars while Dallas has assumed a "do-nothing" attitude. One young man said of this observation when it was pointed out that trained personnel in Dallas included men whose training had been done in such institutions of higher learning as Brown University, Harvard, Columbia and Colgate Universities: "Our parents have failed us. I have never," he said, "heard my family mention voting in all my life. There is no civic interest in my county." The leadership has, in small ways, paid off in Macon County. Macon County with approximately 16 per cent of the population of the 12 counties 21 years and over, has over 38 per cent of the voters in them.

(Some observation may be made in regards to the two non-voting counties by Negroes. Both counties have had the advantages of two very outstanding private schools for a number of years. Many outstanding leaders have come out of these counties. There men and women have and now hold leading positions in education and the church. There is a bishop from each of the counties. There is a college president. Some have Ph. D. degrees and are leaders in the field of medicine, dentistry and business. However, no one has had the courage to face the Board in these two counties and qualify for the ballot. One citizen amply put it when accosted abotu lack of Negro voters in his county, he replied, "bread before ballots." This may have summed up the fear of those who are reluctant to become the "the guiena pig" in the quest for first class citizens in the two counties. When a top official was asked what is the chance for getting a few Negroes registered in one of these counties, he readily replied, "the time is not ripe." Do you really think so? "Yes, it would do more harm than good.")

An analysis of the Registration of Negroes by congressional Districts will reveal further verification of the influence of the Negro population on registration. Table II which tabulates the voting of Negroes by congressional districts will show some marked increase.

TABLE II

VOTING-AGE OF NEGROES REGISTERED IN 1952 AND 1954 BY:

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Congressional District	Negro Population 21 Years and over	Number of Negroes registered in 1952	Number of Negroes registered 1954	per cent Negroes registered	Percent of increase in registration
I	91,050	3,726	7,127	7.6	91
II	73,387	1,932	6,261	8.5	224
III	[illegible]	2,286	[illegible]	6.6	91
IV	50,484	2,443	[illegible]	10.3	144
V	24,766	1,224	3,733	15.0	205
VI	51,042	3,289	7,696	15.0	137
VII	13,883	842	3,880	27.3	360
VIII	31,651	2,282	6,566	20.7	187
IX	121,510	7,200	5,250	4.3	28.5
TOTAL	512,833	25,224	50,028		98.7

It will be noted from Table II that the percentage of those voting tends to reflect the weakness of the potential Negro vote. The central and southern congressional districts invariably have a lower percentage of Negro voters than the Northern district. The total number of Negroes of voting age is invariably higher in the southern half of the state, but the percentage of Negroes voting is invariably lower.

Of the four Southern district-namely, I, II, III, and IV there are 260,976 Negroes of voting age, but only 22,053 are registered voters which is 8.4 per cent of the number of Negroes of voting age. Contrasting this situation with the northern districts, we have 121,342 Negroes of voting age with 21,965 registered voters. The percentage of voters is more than double the southern areas. The percentage of those registered in the northern half is 18.1. In the tabulation of the comparison of the North and South Jefferson County, Birmingham is left out. It deserves special treatment as a separate entity.

There are other analysis which should be done in order to get a clearer picture on the registration of Negro voters. Within the districts there is revealed a differential among the counties making up the district. In every congressional district, one county stands out above the rest in number and percentage. These two measures do not correlate in any manner except in two or three district. In district one (note Table III) Mobile County has the largest number of voters but stands second in percentage. Marengo is second in number but is saved from the last place in percentage only by Wilcox which has no registered Negro voters. The second congressional picture is even worse than the first. Montgomery county has the largest number of registered Negro voters but is saved from last place in percentage by Lowndes which has none and Covington county which has a poor record for registering Negroes. Macon County is second in the number of registered voters with three counties less than it in percentage column. Henry County leads in percentage. This is an interesting county. It was not until 1951 that there were any voters in this county. The leadership there will be treated under another heading.

The Fourth Congressional District reveals a different situation from all others. Dallas County with largest number of Negroes of voting age has the smallest percentage of Negro voters. This verifies the contention of many persons that the more Negroes in a place the more difficult it is to register.

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This does not hold true for the percentage of Negroes in the population. There are counties with much higher percentage of Negroes than Dallas County and have more voters numerically registered.

The analysis of the Sixth District is unique in that Tuscaloosa County has 70 per cent of the voters in this district. However four counties have over 56 per cent of the voting population and only 10 per cent of the registered voters for the district. The four counties have 28,598 Negroes of voting age and only 775 registered Negro voters. The Negro population of voting age is 65 per cent of the population of voting age in these counties. The area of large planation and excessive Negro population one would expect not only difficulty but timid and frightened Negroes.

The leadership is not what it should be. Those who have assumed this role have done a good job. Unfortunately they have not received too much encouragement from the TOP BRASS. The leadership has come mostly from the lower eschelon. There is some evidence of fear existing among those who are better qualified to lead. The fear of reprisal is much in evidence. Those better trained for leadership role, too often, fail to assume any part in the struggle because of fear for jobs. This accounts in a large measure, for the lethargy of the mass of our voters. The college trained Negro, refuses to interest himself in the struggle for the ballot. This is due to two causes; namely, fear for his job, and secondly, too many are not aware of the value of the ballot to a citizen in a democracy.

TABLE III

REGISTRATION IN COUNTIES BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, POPULATION OF NEGROES OF VOTING AGE AND TOTAL VOTE BY DISTRICT AND COUNTIES

Congressional District	Total number of Negroes 21 Years of age	Number of Negroes Registered 1954	Per cent of Negroes Registered	Total number Registered of all People
I	82,352	6,277	7.6	83,000
Counties:				
Choctaw	4,819	67	1.4	4,500
Clark	6,422	400	6.2	7,821
Marengo	10,223	110	1.07	6,050
Mobile	45,085	5,000	11.09	50,000
Monroe	5,914	100	1.67	6,000
Washington	1,677	600	35.7	3,000
Wilcox	8,212	000	0.0	2,900
II	73,483	6,261	8.5	96,000
Counties:				
Baldwin	4,473	515	11.5	13,512
Butler	6,119	600	9.8	7,000
Conecuh	4,427	550	11.29	6,038
Covington	3,151	160	5.08	14,000
Crenshaw	2,799	469	16.7	7,000
Lowndes	6,514	00	0.0	2,200
Montgomery	34,065	2,150	6.3	27,500
Pike	6,863	567	8.2	9,000
Escambia	5,072	1,250	22.6	10,000
III	64,653	4,482	6.6	73,000
Counties:				
Barbour	7,150	250	3.5	5,000
Bullock	5,423	6	.11	2,250
Coffee	3,111	420	13.5	9,750
Dale	2,454	165	6.7	7,633
Geneva	1,685	250	14.8	11,820
Henry	4,027	700	17.3	4,881
Houston	7,200	1,186	16.4	12,000
Lee	8,948	450	5.03	8,000

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Lee	8,948	450	5.03	8,000

Table III Continued

Congressional District	Total Number of Negroes 21 Years of Age	Number of Negroes Registered 1954	1956	Per cent of Negroes Registered	Total Number Registered of all People
III					
Counties:					
Macon	14,526	855	1,100	5.8	3,500
Russell	10,129	200	560	1.9	8,259
IV	50,482	4,917 5,233		10.3	83,000
Counties					
Autauga	4,036	46	73	1.13	4,120
Calhoun	8,270	1,545	1,800	18.6	23,756
Clay	1,010	84		8.4	7,400
Coosa	1,828	431	450	23.5	4,536
Dallas	18,132	175	275	.96	8,100
Elmore	5,542	200	226	3.6	10,500
St. Clair	2,354	710	750	30.0	7,463
Talladega	9,310	1,726	1,134	18.5	17,374
V	24,766	~~4,130~~ 3,733		16.6 15.0	116,000
Counties:					
Chambers	7,170	625	649	8.7	12,000
Cherokee	734	165	250	22.4	6,767
Cleburne	375	51	66	13.6	5,400
DeKalb	438		—		21,000
Etowah	7,653	1,445	2,000	18.8	32,561
Marshall	596	2	—	.33	16,532
Randolph	2,727	945	1,171	34.6	9,532
Tallapoosa	5,073	500	—	9.8	12,000
VI	50,940 ~~51,042~~	7,696		15.0	61,500
Counties:					
Bibb	2,797	295	235	10.5	4,600
Chilton	2,029	875	350	43.1	12,000
Green	6,624	165	157	2.5	1,796
Hale	7,036	126	130	1.79	3,500
Perry	6,349	234	300	10.4	7,700

Table III Continued

Congressional District	Total Number of Negroes 21 Years of Age	Number of Negroes Registered 1954	Per cent of Negroes Registered	Total Number Regis tered of all People
VI				
Counties:				
Shelby	3,362	351	10.4	7,700
Sumter	8,598	250	2.87	3,000
Tuscaloosa	14,145	5,400	31.1	24,751
VII	~~13,983~~ 13,877	980 ~~3,[illegible]~~ 3,980	27.3	101,500
Counties:				
Blount	425	87	20.4	10,500
Cullman	246	81	32.9	16,500
Fayette	1,487	243	16.2	7,800
Franklin	695	325	43.8	10,694
Marion	378	202	53.4**	10,000
Pickens	5,544	517	9.3	6,269
Walker	3,840	2,400	62.5	24,500
Winston	63	25	39.6	6,850
Lamar	1,199	100	8.3	8,000
VIII	~~32,651~~ 31,597	6,566	20,7	94,000
Counties:				
Colbert	4,512	756	16.7	13,500
Jackson	1,231	608	41.2	12,000
Lauderdale	3,985	970	24.3	16,500
Lawrence	3,004	412	13.3	8,300
Limestone	4,007	1,200	29.9	18,400
Madison	10,223	1,120	10.9	18,066
Morgan	4,635	1,500 l	32.3	17,263
☆ Jefferson	121,510	5,250	4.3	102,000
TOTAL	513,~~[illegible]~~ 660	~~51,168~~ ~~[illegible]~~ 49,162	~~9.95~~ 9.53	810,000

* Figures in this column is taken from the AP release, Birmingham News, April 16, 1954.

Finally, the long period--seventy years--(1876-1946) in which the ballot was denied has conditioned the Negro to think negatively of it. He must be awakened to his civic and political responsibility if he is to ever achieve his status as a citizen in a great democracy.

The registration of the Negro in Alabama may be regarded as the "Number One" problem for the Negro in Alabama. A quick glance at Table IV gives a vivid picture of the voting strength of the Negro and the gain made in the two years period. In many counties the vote has tripled and multiplied even more in several counties. It cannot be called to the attention too often that the percentage makes the achievement look better than it really is. Conecuh County which had a gain of approximately 400 per cent, would appear to be phenomenal and the same may appear to be so of many other counties like Monroe, Clark, Chambers, Elmore, and others, but when we consider the base we get a different meaning. It is commendable that such an increase has been made. However, we must not be lulled to sleep over apparent numerical increase, nor become too jubilant over increased percentage.

Autauga County is a case in point, the increase was 200 per cent, but the total vote including the increase is only 1.13, percent. These figures do have merit and should be studied carefully. Every county except Jefferson, Hale and Bullock had an increase. The increases are evidence of two things: First, there is an awakening of the civic responsibility of a growing number of Negro citizens; second, there is developing a new aggressive and responsible leadership. The leadership quality may be determined in several ways: First, organization for stimulating citizens to register; Second, the number of registered voters; Third, the amount of stimulation or motivation shown by those of voting age, and finally the extent to which the Negro has been able to overcome the opposition of the Board of Registrars to Negro Registration.

TABLE IV

NEGRO REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES IN 1954, NUMBER OF VOTING AGE AND THE PERCENT OF INCREASE OVER 1952

County	Negro Population 21 years and over	Registered in 1952	Registered in 1954	Per Cent of Registered Voters 1952	Per Cen of Registered Voters 195
Autauga	4,036	15	46	.37	1.13
Baldwin	4,473	--	515		11.5
Barbour	7,150	63	250	.88	3.5
Bibb	2,797	65	295	2.30	10.5
Blount	425	00	87	.00	20.4
Bullock	5,423	7	6	.129	.112
Butler	6,119	250	600	4.1	9.8
Calhoun	8,270	1,000	1,545	12.0	18.6
Chambers	7,170	20	625	.279	8.7
Cherokee	734	55	165	7.47	22.14
Chilton	2,029	300	875	14.7	43.1
Choctaw	4,819	12	67	.25	1.4
Clark	6,422	100	400	1.55	6.2
Clay	1,010	84	---	8.3	---
Coffee	3,111	88	420	2.41	13.5
Cleburne	375	---	51	---	13.6
Colbert	4,516	---	756	---	16.7
Conecuh	4,427	52	550	1.17	11.29
Coosa	1,828	60	431	3.28	23.5
Covington	3,155	100	160	3.1	5.08
Crenshaw	2,799	---	469	---	16.7
Cullaman	246	---	81	---	32.9
Dale	2,454	----	165	---	6.7
Dallas	18,132	112	175	.617	.96
DeKalb	438	---	---	---	---
Elmore	5,542	40	200	.72	3.6
Escambia	5,072	200	1,250	3.9	22.6
Etowah	7,653	800	1,445	10.4	18.8
Fayette	1,497	150	243	10.0	16.2
Franklin	695	---	325	---	43.8
Geneva	1,685	---	250	---	14.8
Green	6,624	21	165	.31	2.5
Hale	7,038	300*	126	4.2	1.79
Henry	4,027	306	700	7.3	17.3
Houston	7,200	986	1,186	14.0	16.4
Jackson	1,231	150	608	12.0	41.2
Jefferson	121,510	7,200	5,250	5.9	4.3
Lamar	1,199	7	100	.59	8.3
Lauderdale	3,985	400	970	9.9	24.3
Lawrence	3,004	32	412	1.06	13.3
Lee	8,948	224	450	2.5	5.03
Limestone	4,007	---	1,200	---	29.9

Table IV Continued

Lowndes	6,514	---	---	---	---
Macon	14,526	700	855	4.8	5.8
Madison	10,223	900	1,120	8.7	10.9
Marion	378	35	202	9.1	53.4
Marshall	596	---	2	.00	.33
Mobile	45,085	3,550	5,000	7.87	11.09
Monroe	5,914	1	100	----	1.67
Montgomery	34,065	1,300	2,150	3.8	6.3
Morgan	4,635	800	1,500	17.3	32.3
Perry	6,349	83	234	1.3	3.68
Pickens	5,544	---	517	---	8.3
Pike	6,863	30	567	.43	8.2
Randolph	2,727	154	945	5.6	34.6
Russell	10,127	175	200	1.7	1.9
St. Clair	2,354	75	710	3.1	30.0
Shelby	3,362	20	351	.59	10.4
Sumter	8,698	---	250	---	2.87
Talladega	9,310	1,017	1,726	10.9	18.5
Tallapoosa	5,073	200	500	3.9	9.8
Tuscaloosa	14,145	2,500	5,400	17.7	31.1
Walker	3,840	650	2,400	16.88	62.5
Washington	1,677	36	600	2.1	35.7
Wilcox	8,212	00	00	0.0	0.0
Winston	63	00	25	30.0	39.6
Marengo	10,223	27	110	0.26	1.07

From the reports, from questionnaires sent to leaders and officials in several counties in the state the attempt will be made to categorize the counties according to difficulties in registering Negro voters. The criteria used are based on the number of voters, the attitude of the Board of Registrar and the effectiveness of the leadership. There are three counties in which Negroes are unable to register. These are called the (1) prohibited counties, namely, Bullock. Although there are six registered Negro voters, there has actually been a decrease since the last report in 1952. No Negro has been able to register there in several years. The other two are Lowndes and Wilcox. (2) Difficult counties include Autauga, Barbour, Choctaw, Covington, Dallas, Elmore, Green, Hale, Jefferson, Macon, Marshall, Marengo, Monroe, Montgomery, Perry, and Sumter. (3) The moderate counties are: Barbour, Bibb, Clarke, Coffee, Conecuh, Crenshaw, Fayette, Geneva, Houston, Lee, Madison, Mobile, Randolph, Pike, and Shelby. The difficult counties are those in which the Negro have much trouble qualifying for the ballot. These counties either refuse, turn away a large number under the pretense that they failed to fill out the blank correctly, or place additional requirements through additional questions, permit only white to sign the application or use only white names as witnesses, along with other pretense .

The liberal counties are those in which differences in the treatment of the Negro and White is not very much in evidence. In some of these counties Board of Registrars are cordial and encouraging. Among these counties are listed Baldwin, Butler, Calhoun, Chilton, Colbert, Coosa, Etowah, Jackson, Lauderdale, Limestone, Morgan, Talladega, Tuscaloosa, Walker, and Washington.

This classification may be challenged, but to our knowledge this is a fair gradation. In the near future the attempt will be made to do a better job.

One of the bases for placing many of the counties in the third cass is the voting strength of the county and the percentage of those voting. There are some counties which the leaders claim there is no trouble with the Board but the voting strength refute this claim. Others claim that is is the apathy of the Negro which is rejected on an associated claim that sufficient effort has not been made to stimulate voting by the Negroes. Too often other citizens from the same county tell a different story.

The story may be summarized briefly. The Boards of Registrars are in many counties becoming more liveral. More Negroes are presenting themselves before the Boards for registration. There is an increased awareness on the part of the Negro of the value of the ballot and he is striving to become a qualified voter. There is an increasing number registering and voting. The Boards are still discouraging many Negroes in their attempt to register. There is still a need for effective leadership.

The discrimination against Negro voters has its reprecussions on the white. In many counties the whites have also shown a tendency to have a lower voting record. This may be due to the poll taxes. However, both races have shown a creditable increase after its repeal. The future of the Negro may not be as encouraging, dark as that may be, because there is a sinister force at work at this time which makes it difficult to predict the future.

Mr. G. E. Pierce, Research Secretary
Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration & Voting
1630 - 4th Avenue, North - Room 613
Birmingham, Alabama

Jeff. Co. Reg

1955

QUESTIONS ASKED BY BOARD OF REGISTRARS

1. Q. Do you think everybody has a right to vote?
   A. No, Criminals, feeble-minded or illiterate people should not vote.

2. Q. How many Senators do we have in the Senate?
   A. 96 -- 2 from each state.

3. Q. How many Senators and Representatives do we have from the State of Alabama?
   A. 11 -- 2 Senators and 9 Representatives.

4. Q. How many Representatives do we have in the House of Representatives? A. 435

5. Q. How long do members of the House of Representatives serve?
   A. 2 years.

6. Q. How long do members of the Senate serve? A. 6 years.

7. Q. How old does an individual have to be before he can serve in the Senate? A. 30 years.

8. Q. How old does an individual have to be before he can serve in the House of Representatives? A. 25 years.

9. Q. Name the Senators from this state.
   A. Lister Hill and John Sparkman.

10. Q. Who is our Represent~~a~~ive from this District?
    A. George Huddleston, Jr.

11. Q. Who is the Secretary of State? A. John Foster Dulles.

12. Q. Why does New York have more Representatives than Alabama?
    A. Representatives are elected on the basis of population. Therefore, New York is larger and she has the larger number of Representatives.

13. Q. What form of government have we in Birmingham?
    A. Commission form.

14. Q. Name the City Commissioners.
    A. James Morgan, Wade Bradley and Robert Lindbergh.

15. Q. Who is our County Sheriff? A. Holt McDowell.

17. Q. Who is Probate Judge of Jefferson County? A. Grover C. Bonne

18. Q. Who are the members of the County Commission?
    A. W. D. Kendrick, President-- Charles Harrison and Eddie Gilmor

19. Q. What are some of the qualifications of a voter? A. 1. He must be 21 years of age (2) He must have lived in Alabama 2 years-- (3) He must own $300.00 worth of personal property.

20. Q. Can an individual serve in the House of Representatives who has not reached the age of 25?
    A. No. An individual must be 25 years of age and he must have lived in the United States for 7 years and must have been elected from the state in which he resides.

21. Q. What is a felony? A. Major crime.

22. Who si the Governor of Alabama?
    A. James E. Folsom.

1955

23. Q. How many Representatives are there from Jefferson County in Montgomery?
A. There are seven Representatives and one Senator.

24. Q. Who are they? A. J. Paul Meeks, J. K. Edwards, Hugh Kaul, Rufus M. Lackey, Charles Nice, Jr., Walter Emmett Perry, Jr., Paschal P. Vacca. Senator - Albert Boutwell

25. Q. How many departments of government are there in Montgomery?
A. There are three.

26. Q. Name them.
A. Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

27. Q. Give a brief account of each.
A. The Legislative is the body that makes the law.
The Executive is the body that enforces the laws.
The Judicial department interprets the laws.

28. Q. Of what is the Legislative department composed?
A. It is composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate

29. Q. What are the chief duties of the Executive Department?
A. To see that the laws are executed and enforced.

30. Q. What constitutes the Jusicial Department?
A. The courts of the state.

31. Q. How does one vote for a president?
A. He votes indirectly through his Electors in the Electoral College.

32. Q. How are the Electors chosen?
A. By direct vote of the people.

33 Q. How many officers in Washington do the people vote for from the several states?
A. (1) The President (2) Vice President (3) The Senators (4) Representatives.

34. Q. How many Judges are there in the Birmingham district?
A. There are thirteen (13).

35. Q. Name a few of them.
A. Judge Wheeler, Judge George L. Bailes, Judge G. C. Bonner, Judge Edgar Bowron, Judge Windham.

36. Q. Who is the Circuit Solicitor for Jefferson County?
A. Emmett Perry.

37. Q. What form of government is the United States based on?
A. A democratic form of government.

38. Q. Who is the Secretary of State of Alabama?
A. Mary Texas Hurt.

39. Q. Who is Alabama's Treasurer? A. John Brandon

40. Q. How many officers in the Birmingham Court House are elected by the people in Jefferson County? A. Twenty (20)

41. Q. What officers in the Bessemer Court House are elected by the people? A. The three Judges, the Circuit Clerk, the State Solicitor, Tax Collector, and the Tax Assessor.

42. Q. Who is the Lieutenant Governor of Alabama? A. Guy Hardwick

43. Q. What are the qualifications for presidential candidate for th United States?
A. He must be at least 35 years old. He must have been living in the U.S. at least 14 years, and he must be a natural born citizen, that is born in the U. S.

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH

1. ____________________ do hereby apply to the Board of Registrars of ____________________ county, State Of Alabama, to register as an elector with submit answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by said Board.

____

Name of Applicant

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and place of your birth, and your present address ____________________

____

2. Are you married or single: __________ (a) if married, give name, residence and place of birth of your husband or wife, as the case may be ____________________

____

3. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the past five years; and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years: ____________________

4. If you are self-employed, state the nature of your business: ________

____

(a) If you have been employed by another during the last five years state the nature of your employment and the name or names of such employer or employers and his or their addresses: ____________________

____

5. If you claim that you are a bona fide resident of the State of Alabama, give the date on which you claim to have become such bona fide resident ____________________ (a) When did you become a bona fide resident of ______________ County ______________: (b) When did you become a bona fide resident of ____________ Ward or precinct __________

6. If you intend to change your place of residence prior to the next general election, state the facts. ____________________

7. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter. ________ If so, give facts: ____________________

8. Has your name been previously striken from the list of persons registered ______________ ______________________

9. Are you now or have you ever been a dope addict or habitual drunkard ______________ (a) if you are or have been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can ____________________

____

10. Have you ever been legally declared insane______(a) if so give detail.____

11. Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience____

12. Have you ever been charged with or convicted of a felong or a crime or offense involving moral turpitude______(a) if so, give the facts:

____

13. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the Unites States Government?____________ If so state when and for approximately how
Yes or No
long____

____

14. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorably discharged from any school or college or from any branch of the Armed Forces of the United States or any other country.________(a) if so state the facts________

____

____

Will you support and defend the Constitution of the UnitedStates and the Constitution of the State of Alabama________________

16. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government or the Government of any State of the United States by unlawful means____

(a) if so, state the facts________________________

17. Will you bear arms for your country when called upon to do so?

(a) If you answer no give reasons________________________

18. Do you believe in free elections and rule by the majority?______

19. Will you give aid and comfort to the ememies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama?__________

20. Name some of the duties and obligations of Citizenship__________

____

____

____

21. Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict.________________________

22. Give the names and post office addresses of two persons who have present knowledge of your present bona fide residence at the place stated by you:________________________________

____

____

Special Suffrage - Ala   Voter Registration in Ala

ACTION OF THE BOARD

STATE OF ALABAMA ______________________________ COUNTY

Before the Board of Registrars in session in and for said States and county personally appeared ______________________ who
(Name of Applicant)
executed the foregoing application in the manner and form therein stated. The Board having further examined said applicant under Oath touching his qualifications under Section 181, Constitution of Alabama 1901, as amended, and having fully considered the foregoing application for Registration, and Oath as executed adjudges said applicant entitled to be registered and he was duly registered on this the _____ day of ______________ 19 ______ in ____________ precinct (or ward) in said county.

Signed ______________________
(Chairman)
Signed ______________________
(Member)
Signed ______________________
(Member)

(Note) The act of actually determining an applicant entitled to be registered is judicial. A majority of the Board must concur. A majority must be present. The power cannot be delegated. Each member presen must vote on each application. Not until this done may a certificate be issued the applicant.

EXAMINATION OF SUPPORTING WITNESS

STATE OF ALABAMA ______________________________ COUNTY

Before the County Board of Registrars in and for said state and county personally appeared ______________________ who being first
Name of Witness
duly sworm as follows: "I solemnly swear (or affirm) that that the matter of the application of ________________ for registration as an elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God." testifies as follows: My name is ______________ My occupation is ______________, I reside at ______________________ My place of business or employment is at ______________________________

The name of my employer is ______________ I am duly registered qualified elector in __________ Precinct (or ward) in ______________ for ________ years (or months). He is a bona fide resident ______________________________

Signed ______________________

Sworn to and subscribed before me in the prescence of the Board of Registrars this the ______________ day of __________ 19 ______

Signed ______________________
(Member of the Board)

Note: This application blank, when duly executed, on the final preparation of the "Lists" of persons registered, must be delivered by the Board of Registrars to the Probate Judge of the County, whose duty it is to safely preserve it and all accompanying papers. See Title 141, Code of Alabama.

OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA ______________________________ COUNTY

Before me, ______________________________ in and State personally appreared ______________________ an applicant for registration as an elector, who being by me first duly sworn deposes and saying, I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing answers to the interrogatories are correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, I do further solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama; that I do not believe in nor am affiliated with, nor have I been in the past affiliated with any group pr party which advocates to overthrow the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means.

____

Sworn to and subscribed before me in the presence of the Board of Registrars this the _____ day of ______ 19 ____.

Member of the Board of Registrars for ____________ County

SUPPLEMENTAL APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION AND OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA ____________________ COUNTY

Before me the Board of Registrars in and for said State and County, personally appeared ______________________ an applicant for registr-
(Full Name of Applicant)
ation who being by me ______________________ a member of said board
(Any member may administer Oath)

first duly sworn as follows: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that in the matter of the application of ______________________ for registration as an elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help me God, testifies as follows:

My name is ________________, and I have heretofore executed the Application for Registration, Questionnaire and Oath", I depose and State as follows:

1. I was previously registered in the following State and County in the years named ______________________
   (If Applicant has never been registered in Alabama or any State, he should indicate so)
2. I have never been convicted of any offense disqualifying me from registering (Board should call applicant's attention to Section 182, Constitution, and Title 17, Section 15, code of Alabama 1940. If Applicant cannot make foregoing statement, facts shall be ascertained and registration refused, unless fully pardoned and right to vote restored)
3. My present place of employment is ______________________
4. I know of nothing that would disqualify me from being registered at this time.

REMARKS

____

SIGNED: ______________________

Sworn to ~~and subscribed~~ before me this the ______ day of ______ 19______

____
(Member of County Board of Registration

Ala.

The Birmingham-News

1956 5/20/56

Birmingham News 5/20/56

Extensive survey discloses facts—

Area with 30 per cent of state's people has over half of voters

BY HUGH W. SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 19—Much has been said and written in Alabama in recent years about the fact that the state's larger counties—particularly Jefferson—do not have their proper representation in the Legislature.

In other words, smaller counties with considerably fewer inhabitants have a much greater voice, proportionately, in passing laws than the more populous counties.

But nothing at all has been said about the even more jolting fact that Alabama's smaller counties have enough folks on their voting lists to vote rings around the larger and more populous areas.

Minority stronger

FOR EXAMPLE, it was found by this reporter, after a careful check of 1956 voting lists of all Alabama's 67 counties, that 28 counties with less than 30 per cent of the state's population have about 53 per cent of the state's registered vote.

Putting it in another way, the 28 counties with a combined population of 894,326, according to the 1950 census, and 460,518 qualified voters out of a total state registered vote of approximately 870,500 can outvote 39 other Alabama counties with 2,112,412 inhabitants.

28 counties could rule

NOR HAS ANYTHING been said until now about these further facts to be found by studying county voting lists:

That 10 counties with less than 40 per cent of Jefferson's population have more registered voters than Jefferson.

And that the 28 counties, with enough registered voters to dictate to 39 other counties with more than double the population, also have almost three times as many on the voting lists as Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery. Yet the "big three" have 34,600 more inhabitants.

Furthermore, that of the 226,280 white residents of Jefferson County of voting age, according to the 1950 census, only 108,000 are qualified to vote; whereas in 13 other counties there are more on the voting lists than the number of white persons 21 and older.

Smaller counties

HERE'S THE way the 28 counties holding the balance of voting power over the state compare:

	1950 Population	Registered Voters 1956
Marion	27,264	14,394
Clay	13,921	7,298
Lamar	16,441	8,140
Colbert	36,561	17,66

just under Jefferson's total, their combined registered voters numbered 337,105—which is 221,363 more than Jefferson's total.

Two possible reasons

THE FACT that invariably the smaller counties have proportionately a much larger voting list than the larger ones may be due to one or two reasons.

It could be a case, to some extent, of smaller counties not removing names of those who die or move out of the county from their voting lists. Thus they would be permitting the lists to expand far out of proportion.

Or it could be partly the result of larger counties keeping their voting lists properly purged of the dead and those who have moved away.

On discredit side

ONE FACT, however, stands out sharply to the discredit of the larger counties, particularly Jefferson. It is that only about 40 per cent of the adult white people of Jefferson are registered.

The percentage runs much higher for most counties.

Thirteen counties actually had more names on their voting lists than the total number of adult white people, according to 1950 census figures.

They are Butler, Choctaw, Clarke, Clay, Elmore, Coosa, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Marion, Perry, Talladega and Washington.

Voter registrations in a dozen Alabama counties represent from 40 to 50 per cent of the total population. In two counties, Marion and Clay, the number was in excess of 50 per cent. And in 23 other counties, voters represented between 30 and 40 per cent.

Accurate survey

IN CONNECTION WITH this survey of registered voters, county voting lists were carefully scanned. The total number of registrants in each county was estimated.

After making allowances for subheads, such as "Box 250, Precinct So and So," the names of voters to the column were counted and this was multiplied by the number of columns. In cases where only part of the column was used for names of voters, the names were counted and [illegible] to the total.

For the state as a whole, the estimate is that there are from two to three white men to each white woman registrant.

On the other hand, the ratio between Negro women and Negro men on the voting lists for the state as a whole apparently does not exceed one woman to each two men.

Certain city districts

THERE ARE THREE voting machines in Precinct 9, District 1, Legion Field, Birmingham. The voting list shows there are 837 Negro and only five white registrants.

In that district, the list shows, there are ,356 Negro women and 481 Negro men voters. The ratio therefore was 1 to 1.35.

In Precinct 9, District 4, Center-st, Birmingham, there are 1856 qualified voters. Of that number 833 are Negroes and 1023 white. The number of Negro women is 546, the Negro men 287. In this case the Negro women outrank the men. There are 335 white women to 688 white men. The ratio thus is 1 to 2.

In Precinct 59, District 2, Crestline Heights City Hall, Birmingham, there are 1110 white voters and just one Negro. Of the white total 480 are women and 629 are men. The ratio, therefore, is 1 to 1.31.

At Acipco box

THE VOTING LIST for Precinct 59, District 1, Mountain Brook School, includes an all-white total of slightly more than 2300. The ratio between white women and white men voters in that area is virtually the same, even to the fraction, as in the Crestline boxes at the City Hall.

In another voting area in the Birmingham area quite opposite, geographically, from Mountain Brook and Crestline Heights the story is slightly different. There are 974 persons registered to vote in Precinct 42, District 1 at Eagan's School lunchroom, Acipco. Of that total, 752 are white, 202 women and 550 men. The ratio there was 1 to 2.7.

Regstration in state

IN MOST of the Black Belt counties where the voting lists are much smaller than the average county, especially in North Alabama, there are just about as many white women voters as white men.

The following table seeks to give in detail the voters registration picture in Alabama;

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

County	1950 Population	White Over 21	1956 Registered Voters	1956 Negro Voters
Autauga	18,186	5717	4478	55
Baldwin	40,999	19.028	13,312	....
Barbour	28,892	8012	2396	185
Bibb	17,978	6681	6238	....
Blount	28,975	15,399	11,815	....
Bullock	16,054	2633	2356	....
Butler	29,228	9467	10,788	387
Calhoun	79,539	37.379	25,165	2200
Chambers	39.528	15.710	12.011	....
Cherokee	17,624	8821	7600	220
Chilton	26.992	12.888	12,200	350
Choctaw	19,152	4914	5039	30
Clarke	26,548	7832	8527	339
Clay	13,929	6934	7298	88
Cleburne	11,904	6051	5200	....
Coffee	30,720	13,561	10,588	....
Colbert	39,561	18.063	17,606	717
Conecuh	21,776	6734	6444	....
Coosa	11,766	3262	4837	296
Covington	40,373	19.988	15,928	....
Crenshaw	18,981	7604	6906	450
Cullman	49,046	26.268	22,100	....
Dale	20,828	9418	7661	....
Dallas	56,270	12,597	7488	106
DeKalb	45,045	24,601	20,097	....
Elmore	31,649	12,247	12,496	136
Escambia	31,443	11,767	10,902	....
Etowah	93,892	47,214	35,362	....
Fayette	19,388	9279	8560	236
Franklin	25,705	13,460	11,155	....
Geneva	25,899	12,660	10.151	72
Greene	16,482	1820	1794	98
Hale	30,832	3680	3304	190
Henry	18,474	5646	4941	335
Houston		19,698	12,540	....
Jackson		19,381	13,805	....
Jeffers		226,280	115,742	7000
Lamar		8141	8140	100
Laude		23,831	23,908	618
Law		10.905	8871	372
Lee		16,207	9450	

226,280 white residents of Jefferson County of voting age, according to the 1950 census, only 108,000 are qualified to vote; whereas in 13 other counties there are more on the voting lists than the number of white persons 21 and older.

Smaller counties

HERE'S THE way the 28 counties holding the balance of voting power over the state compare:

	1950 Population	Registered Voters 1956
Marion	27,264	14,394
Clay	13,921	7,298
Lamar	16,441	8,140
Colbert	36,561	17,66[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fayette	19,383	8,56[illegible]
Franklin	25,705	11,1[illegible]
Cherokee	17,624	8,8[illegible]1
Chilton	26,922	12,200
Cleburne	11,904	5,200
Blount	28,975	11,815
Coosa	17,766	4,837
DeKalb	45,045	20,097
Elmore	31,649	12,496
Winston	18,250	7,199
Randolph	22,513	8,786
Geneva	25,899	10,151
Etowah	93,892	35,362
Butler	29,228	10,788
Covington	40,373	15,928
Crenshaw	18,981	6,906
Dale	20,828	7,661
Escambia	31,443	10,902
Jackson	38,998	13,805
Talladega	63,639	24,691
Tallapoosa	35,074	13,256
Marshall	45,090	15,958
Baldwin	40,999	13,312

'Big Three'

THE THREE largest counties compare as follows:

Jefferson	558,928	115,742
Mobile	231,105	50,511
Montgomery	138,965	29,535

145788

Another comparison

THE 10 COUNTIES with more registered voters than Jefferson and but 40 per cent of Jefferson's population are Marion, Clay, Lamar, Colbert, Cullman, Fayette, Franklin, Cherokee, Chilton and Cleburne.

Furthermore, 19 counties, including the 10 already listed plus Blount, Coosa, DeKalb, Elmore, Winston, Randolph, Geneva, Etowah and Butler, had 558,901 inhabitants in 1950.

Though the combined population of those 19 counties is between 30 and 40 per cent.

Accurate survey

IN CONNECTION WITH this survey of registered voters, county voting lists were carefully scanned. The total number of registrants in each county was estimated.

After making allowances for subheads, such as "Box 250, Precinct So and So," the names of voters to the column were counted and this was multiplied by the number of columns. In cases where only part of the column was used for names of voters, the names were counted and added to the total.

[illegible] lieved tha[illegible]e largest counti[illegible] in[illegible] thousands of names, the total was not overestimated—or underestimated—by more than 100 names to the county.

Notable exception

USUALLY NO MORE than 60 per cent of Alabama's registered voters go to the polls in any one election.

The May 4, 1954, primary, however, was a notable exception. It was on that election day that Gov. Folsom was nominated by near landslide proportions. The vote total in the governor's race was 594,081. The exact number of qualified voters on May 4, 1954, has not been ascertained.

On the basis of the estimated 870,500 total now on the registered voter lists, the May 4, 1954 vote would have been almost 69 per cent of the total. Presumably there were fewer registered voters two years ago and the percentage of votes cast was more than 69 per cent.

In the recent Democratic primary election, a vote total of 362,959 was cast in the race between Sen. Hill and Adm. Crommelin. Only 342,061 participated in the race between McKay, Folsom and McCord.

Thus it would appear that only 41.7 per cent of the state's voters went to the polls May 1.

Negro voters

BECAUSE NONE of the voting lists were accompanied by summaries showing the exact number of voters registered, etc., it was necessary to analyze each list.

Answers to several questions besides the number of voters were sought.

Where poll lists identified Negro voters the number was counted and totaled. Quite a few lists, however, did not identify voters according to race.

Thus the table accompanying this story does not include statewide totals. Reportedly there are about 50,000 Negro voters in Alabama, of which 7000 are in Jefferson. The table shown herewith lists a total of 21,996.

The fact that no Negro voters are shown for a particular county, however, does not mean there are no Negroes qualified to vote.

The only Alabama county which boasts it has not even one Negro voter is Lowndes.

Ratio of women to men

BESIDES SEEKING totals of white and Negro voters, an effort was made to spot check voting lists for an estimate as to the ratio of women voters to men voters, both white and Negro.

Covington	40,373	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Crenshaw	18,981	7604	6906	450
Cullman	49,046	26,268	22,100	....
Dale	20,828	9418	7661	....
Dallas	56,270	12,597	7488	106
DeKalb	45,045	24,601	20,097	....
Elmore	31,649	12,247	12,496	136
Escambia	31,443	11,767	10,902	....
Etowah	93,892	47,214	35,362	....
Fayette	19,388	9279	8560	236
Franklin	25,705	13,460	11,155	....
Geneva	25,899	12,660	10,151	72
Greene	16,482	1820	1794	98
Hale	30,832	3680	3304	190
Henry	18,474	5646	4941	335
Houston	[illegible]	19,698	12,540	....
Jackson	[illegible]	19,381	13,805	....
Jeffers[illegible]	[illegible]	226,280	115,742	7000
Lamar	[illegible]	8141	8140	100
Laude[illegible]	[illegible]	23,831	23,908	618
Law[illegible]	[illegible]	10,905	8871	372
Lee	[illegible]	16,207	9450	....
Li[illegible]	[illegible]	14,7[illegible]	81[illegible]	[illegible]
Lo[illegible]	[illegible]	2057	2252	....
Ma[illegible]	[illegible]	3081	3892	968
Ma[illegible]	[illegible]	30,662	19,300	....
Ma[illegible]	[illegible]	5456	5861	117
Mario[illegible]	[illegible]	14,271	14,394	....
Marsha[illegible]	[illegible]	24,740	15,958	....
Mobile	231,105	93,506	50,511	3136
Monroe	25,732	7184	6500	21
Montgomery	138,965	51,869	29,535	2107
Morgan	52,924	26,602	17,563	....
Perry	20,439	3757	4382	238
Pickens	24,349	7324	5003	783
Pike	30,608	10,062	8677	....
Randolph	22,513	9860	8786	....
Russell	40,364	11,860	8378	....
Shelby	30,363	13,251	9262	375
St. Clair	26,627	12,123	8500	250
Sumter	23,810	3600	3554	....
Talladega	65,639	23,317	24,691	1134
Tallapoosa	35,074	15,015	13,256	....
Tuscaloosa	94,092	42,200	26,221	5500
Walker	63,769	30,852	17,563	459
Washington	15,612	4929	5845	....
Wilcox	23,476	3056	2877	....
Winston	18,250	9484	7199	....

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May 21, 958

For chairmanship at Chicago—

Citizens Council back
Battle over Sen. Spark

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 19—(AP)—**White Citizens Council leaders, encouraged by the outcome of the May 1 primary, have turned their attention to the chairmanship of Alabama's delegation to the Democratic National Convention.**

They are supporting former Congr. Laurie Battle of Birmingham, who led the ticket in the race for delegate from the state at large. Battle polled almost 26,000 more votes than Sen. John Sparkman (D., Ala.) the runnerup.

SPARKMAN and the former House member he defeated in the Senate race in 1954 are the leading contenders for the delegation chairmanship at Chicago.

Citizens Council leaders are urging support for Battle, who in reply to a questionnaire during the recent campaign promised to continue fighting to preserve segregation.

Sparkman did not answer the questionnaire, says State Sen. Sam Engelhardt, executive secretary of the Assn. of Alabama Citizens Councils which sounded the candidates out on their racial views.

Across the fence, Gov. James E. Folsom and his predecessor, former Gov. Gordon Persons, are reported both working for the state's junior senator, who ran for vice president four years ago on the Democratic ticket.

FOLSOM WAS defeated by a Citizens Council Chairman, State Rep. Charlie McKay of Sylacauga, in the race for Democratic National Committeeman on May 1. He has repeatedly expressed opposition to the Council and its methods.

Persons supported Sparkman in 1952 and is a longtime friend of Adlai Stevenson, the presidential nominee that year and a candidate again this time.

The Sparkman faction argues that failure to send the senator to Chicago as head of the delegation would amount to repudiating the Alabamian who ran for the nation's No. 2 office four years ago.

But the Battle-for-chairman organizers say he rightfully deserves the chairmanship because he polled more votes in the primary than any other delegate.

Meanwhile, the Citizens Council official family has joined some members of the Alabama delegation in proposing a Southwide conference of delegates in advance of the Chicago convention opening Aug. 13.

S. T. Russell of Montgomery, a delegate from the state at large, has announced a meeting of this state's delegation in Montgomery the night of June 1 as the first step.

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MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 19—(AP)—A joint Alabama-North and Alabama-West Florida Civitan District Conveniton was invited Saturday to accept mental health education as a Civitan project.

The recommendation was made by the Rev. Benson Bailes, chaplain at Partlow State School, Tuscaloosa, and Ray Swords, executive director of the Montgomery Mental Health Society.

BAILES SAID mental illness has reached "epidemic proportions" in Alabama but that with the proper care, it is 80 per cent curable.

W. J. Bailey, governor of the Alabama-West Florida District, asked delegates to present the project to their clubs for further consideration.

The project will come up for official consideration at the Civitan International Convention in Boston, June 14-18.

R. Clarence Williams of Anniston, president of Civitan International, will install new officers.

GOVERNOR-ELECT for the Alabama-West Florida District is John Miller of Birmingham. **L. P. Waid Jr. of Oneonta is governor-elect**
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Letter to me from Dr. Donald Strong

Copy

August 14,1956

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter. I have had a rather busy

busy and hectic Summer, and my work has piled up on me.

I take it from your letter that you are interested in my reactionto and criticism of both your questionaire and your monograph on registration. Concerning the questionaire, right now I have no advance studentthat could help on this. If, in the fall semester, someone shows up, I shall get him in touchh withyou. I have comments on some the questionaire questions. I am doubtful about question 4--"Attitudesof the registering and voting". If you have 12,000 Negroes of voting age in a county, I don't seehow you can generalize about their attidtude unless you are equipped to take public opion poll. Any evidence that you get on attitudemay be highly untypical, These same comments apply to alesser degree to your question 6. To be sure, it might be possible to discern active hostility by white citizens.

In your question 9 I thinkexamine critically any statement of registered Negro voters on the difficultiesthey encounter. I think there is real danger that they may fear they have been given the run-around in some instances where that is not true. For instance, some of my own students have been very unhappy about the difficulty they had during registration in Jefferson County. The difficulty is that the meetsonly on Monday and Tuesday of each, so when the students appeared in the middle or end of the week they were unable to register. When they appearedon a Saturday, they were told the board was meeting in Bessemer. Obviously this was not an effort to discriminate against anyone; it was up to the would-be registrantto find out whenthe board meets and appear on the correct day. However, these white students were pretty certain that the board was trying to give them the run-around.

Your question 10 concerning the number denied registration was a problem I encountered in my study. My difficulty was what constitues a"denial of registration". Ho w do you treat an applicant who gives up in despair in the middle of his questionaire, throw it in the waste basket, and leaves the office?

I like your question 11. The rise of the White Citizens Council may have made a changein the situation since I gathered my data in 1954.

Your question 13 should contemplate the possibilitythat some labor unions may be the opponents of Negro registration.

In general I think your monograph is very good, and I am pleased to have a copy for my files. It seems to me to bring your earlier study up to date and cover the subject very well. Since you solicit criticism, let me give you just a few reactions. On page 3 at the top, you observethat many Boards have been Boswelling applicants. I found this true of the Jefferson County board, but I found no otherthat specifically addressed additional questions to applicants. Of course, I covered only twent counties. On the same pageyou list 1 through 8 the form of discrimination against Negroes, you indicate in your No. 1 that an electori is required to signthe application of a Negro , but that this is not rquired of the whites. In Mobile County an identifier is required of all registrants, whetehr negro or white. I wonder also if the paragraph on page 4 which indicate some improvement in the situation could not come before your list ofeight forms of discrimnation. Rrally your point is that some boardsat some time or another have engaged in all eight of these techniques.

On page 14 you refer to the long period-1876-1946 in which the Negro was denied the ballot. I think you should make the first year 1901. Substabtialamount of Negro voting apparently occurred in Alabama between 1876 and 1901.

On the same page you note that Jefferson did not havean increase in the number of registrants. I have some doubts whether you otr I or anyone else ever really had an accurate figure on the total number of Negro registrantsin that county in 1952.

On page 17 you classified Montgomery County as a difficult county. Since this is your home county, I suppose I should not quarrel with you here. However, this classification does surprise me. My conclusion was that Madison and Montgomery Counties were the two that tried most conscientiously to comply with the law. Later on in this same paragraph you refer to counties that turn away a large number "under the pretense that they failed to fill out the blank correctly". Although you and I may agree that the questionaire is a stupid law, it is still the law. If an applicant fails to fill out his questionaire correctly, this is no pretense; he has failed to comply with the legal requirement-- absurd though they may be.

On page 18 your first two sentences in the last paragraph puzzled me. My impression is that the counties of the rural black belt that discriminate most grossly Negroes are the ones with the highest voting rate among whites. Usually one finds in a rural black belt county that just about every white person over twenty one is registered.

Although areas of greater or less difficulty in voting, could you not have generaliized more and indicated that in the rural black belt the Negro finds greatest difficultyin securing registration. In contrast, in the northern part of the state and in the larger cities there is realtively more friendly atmosphere.

I am afraid that my many comments on your monograph may suggest an unduly critical attitude. Please understand that my interest in the subject has prompted me to go into these details

Very cordially yours

Donald S. Strong

Montgomery, Alabama
September 13, 1956

Dear Mr. Pierce:

As a result of my recent survey Negro suffrage in these Alabama counties, I am submitting the following information in addition to the data already filed in your office.

As a historian I have been aware of the general condition of Negro suffrage in the state for some time, but my recent close contact to the situation convinced me of the need for a well-organized educational program to promote suffrage. Of particular importance and impressive was the wholesale lack of interest in voting displayed by Negroes. Contrary to the general belief that threats and intimidation is keeping the Negro away from the poll, I found his apathy to voting equally and sometimes more of a deterrent to full citizenship.

To be considered as a factor in understanding the suffrage situation is the emergence of the "modern scalawag" a middle class of whites who attempt to register Negroes and hold their votes in pawn to control local elections.

These are some general statements which gives my impression of the situation sometimes in conflict with the data collected.

DALLAS COUNTY, The Negro interest in voting seem to have hit rock bottom despite the effort of fair leadership. Negroes in pool halls and barber shops look on voting as something not to talk about at this time. At 8:00 a.m. the pool hall and cafe were full with Negroes which seems to be an indication of the economic struggle of the Negro which evidently influences his action on voting.

PERRY COUNTY, the Negroes seem not be be interested in voting, even though the leadership appears to be adequate. Here, too, you get the impression that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 had changed the attitude of the white toward the Negro. Either this is the case or the Nego believes this to be the case.

MARENGO COUNTY. Here the Negro leadership in control by the economic system. Aged Negro leaders seem to be taking the lead. There is not enough Negro votes to matter - and the aim of the whites seem to be flatly to keep it that way.

ESCAMBIA COUNTY. This county seem to be one of the more progressive counties. Most of the voters however seem to be in the cities. Rural cotton pickers show complete lack of interest when approached. In fact, they makes jokes of the idea - "That's white folk business", mean just that to them. They seem to need more leadership in the rural.

CONECUH COUNTY. A good little county - whites seem to accept Negro votes and Negroes appear to live better economically than in other counties. The leadership is good and progressive.

COFFEE COUNTY. The Negro seem more interes ed in making a living than voting. They fail to get the connection between the two. No overt leadership. The Negroes in the Pool Hall seem contented just passing the time.

SUMTER COUNTY. A tough county - Negro not interested and whites do not encourage them. The struggle for economic security still control this black belt section.

MONROE COUNTY. The greatest desire for Negroes in this county seem to be to leave and not ry to change it. The economic status is low in this county for Negroes.

COVINGTON COUNTY. This county seem to be the worst of all the counties covered. Here one can see the white struggle to get Negroes registered. The modern scalawag influences keep the Negro in fear - not of voting but of giving or selling his vote to the wrong man - with an insurance and electric man and free lancer trying to control Negor votes what can he do.

GENEVA COUNTY. Leadership is very poor, however, it was reported that many whites try to encourage Negores to vote. The whites ge the Negro registered then control his vote at elections. As in ohter counties the insurance man or gas man is also the "modern scalawag". The economic struggle is very great.

PIKE COUNTY. Leadership appears to be too old and set in their ways to aid Negroes. What they call progress - seems to be just drifting. They too show fear of the times brought on by the Supreme Court decision and the attack on the NAACP in the South.

CRENSHAW COUNTY. Here the leadership seems to be to close to the whites since they have worked in stores with whites for years the whites have a "big stick" over them. Economic insecurity is evident everywhere.

DALE COUNTY. This county seems to have good possibilities, but leadership in static. Economic struggle is everywhere and leaders are trying to appease the whites to get by.

HOUSTON COUNTY. A very impressive county. The economic progress of the Negro is evident in good schools, recreation center and favorable business districts. Many Negroes however still appear to be unimpressed with the power of the ballot.

N. W. Walton

ALABAMA

County	Non-white Population Over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population Over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Autauga ✓	4,042	73	Marengo ✓	10,226	170
Baldwin ✓	4,493	625	— Marion	384	200
Barbour ✓	7,158	220	— Marshall	604	20
Bibb ✓	2,801	235	Mobile ✓	45,493	6,400
— Blount	429	*	Monroe ✓	5,914	140
Bullock ✓	5,425	6	— Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Butler ✓	6,024	305	Morgan ✓	4,641	1,500***
Calhoun ✓	8,304	1,800	Perry ✓	6,351	300
Chambers ✓	7,175	649	Pickens ✓	5,547	600
Cherokee ✓	736	250	Pike ✓	6,866	720
Chilten ✓	2,027	350	Randolph ✓	2,728	1,171
Choctaw ✓	4,822	112	Russell ✓	10,135	560
Clarke ✓	6,434	700	St. Clair ✓	2,363	750
— Clay	1,010	140	Shelby ✓	3,356	375
Cleburne ✓	380	60	Sumter ✓	8,700	295
Coffee ✓	3,114	600	Talladega ✓	9,318	1,134
Colbert ✓	4,519	921	Tallapoosa ✓	5,083	559
Conecuh ✓	4,435	960	Tuscaloosa ✓	14,157	5,500
Coosa ✓	1,828	450	Walker ✓	3,850	2,800
?— Covington ✓	3,157	175	— Washington	2,835	600
Crenshaw ✓	2,801	600	— Wilcox	8,218	0**
— Cullman	249	81	— Winston	63	7
Dale ✓	2,454	380			
Dallas ✓	18,145	275			
De Kalb ✓	443	*			
Elmore ✓	5,543	226			
Escambia ✓	5,425	1,606			
Etowah ✓	7,672	2,000			
Fayette ✓	1,497	326			
Franklin ✓	700	200			
Geneva ✓	1,686	300			
Green ✓	6,628	157			
Hale ✓	7,041	130			
Henry ✓	4,029	600			
Houston ✓	7,211	1,700			
Jackson ✓	1,242	625			
Jefferson ✓	121,667	7,000			
Lamar ✓	1,204	100			
— Lauderdale	4,022	495			
Lawrence ✓	3,010	408			
Lee ✓	8,954	500			
Limestone ✓	4,013	800			
— Lowndes	6,512	0**			
Macon ✓	14,539	1,100			
Madison ✓	10,333	1,500			

* Information could not be secured.

** No Negro registrants known to our sources of information.

*** Estimated figure given by Morgan Co. probate judge.

WHITES AND NEGROES OF VOTING AGE IN ALABAMA

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	WHITE
Autauga	4,042	5,717
Baldwin	4,493	19,028
Barbour	7,158	8,012
Bibb	2,801	6,681
Blount	429	15,399
Bullock	5,425	2,633
Butler	6,024	9,464
Calhoun	8,304	37,397
Chambers	7,175	15,710
Cherokee	736	8,821
Chilton	2,027	12,888
Choctaw	4,822	4,914
Clarke	6,434	7,832
Clay	1,010	6,934
Cleburne	380	6,051
Coffee	3,114	13,561
Colbert	4,519	18,063
Conecuh	4,435	6,734
Coosa	1,828	5,262
Covington	3,157	19,988
Crenshaw	2,801	7,604
Cullman	249	26,268
Dale	2,454	9,418
Dallas	18,145	12,597
DeKalb	443	24,601
Elmore	5,543	12,247
Escambia	5,425	11,276
Etowah	7,674	47,214
Fayette	1,497	9,279
Franklin	700	13,460
Geneva	1,686	12,660
Green	6,628	1,820
Hale	7,041	3,680
Henry	4,029	5,646
Houston	7,211	19,698
Jackson	1,242	19,381
Jefferson	121,667	226,280
Lamar	1,204	8,141
Lauderdale	4,022	23,831
Lawrence	3,010	10,905
Lee	8,954	16,207
Limestone	4,013	14,737
Lowndes	6,512	2,057
Macon	14,539	3,081
Madison	10,333	30,662
Marengo	10,226	5,456
Marion	384	14,271
Marshall	604	24,740
Mobile	45,493	93,506
Monroe	5,914	7,184
Montgomery	34,079	51,869

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	WHITE
Morgan	4,641	26,602
Perry	6,351	3,757
Pickens	5,547	7,324
Pike	6,866	10,062
Randolph	2,728	9,860
Russell	10,135	11,800
St. Clair	2,363	12,123
Shelby	3,356	13,250
Sumter	8,700	3,600
Talladega	9,318	23,317
Tallapoosa	5,083	15,015
Tuscaloosa	14,157	42,200
Walker	3,850	30,882
Washington	2,835	4,929
Wilcox	8,218	3,056
Winston	63	9,484

ALABAMA

these are non-whites & figures we are using (FBI)

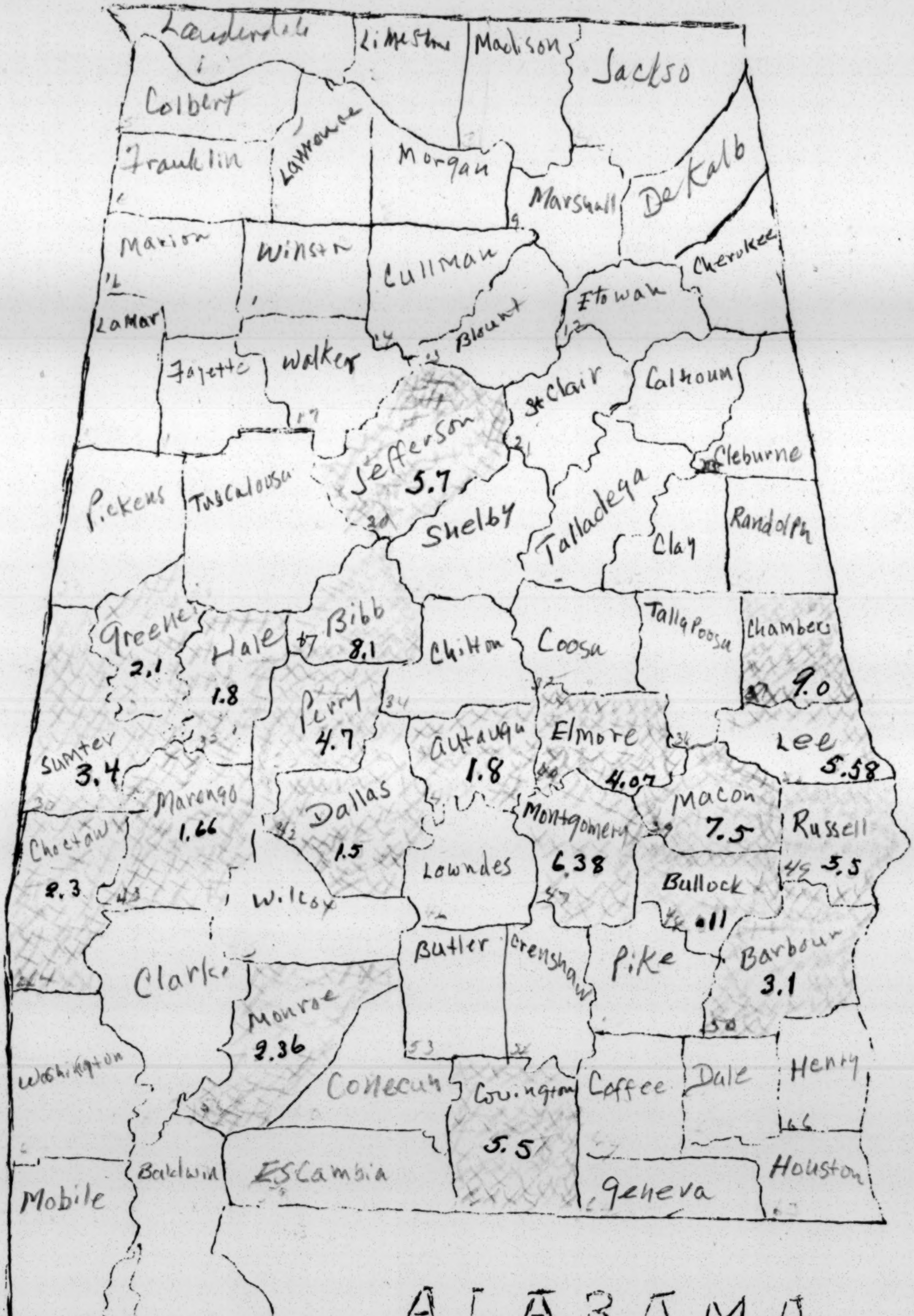
TABLE IV

NEGRO REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES IN 1956, NUMBER OF VOTING AGE AND THE PERCENT OF THOSE REGISTERED

County	Negroes 21 years of age and over	what year? 1950 Census	Negro Registered Voters, 1956	Per Cent Registered	
Autauga	4,036	4042	73	1.8	
Baldwin	4,473	4493	625	~~14.4~~	13.9
Barbour	7,150	7158	220	3.1	
Bibb	2,797	2801	235	~~[illegible]~~	8.4
Blount	425	429	0		
Bullock	5,423	5425	6	~~[illegible]~~	0.1
Butler	6,119	6024	805	~~13.1~~	13.4
Calhoun	8,270	8304	1,800	~~21.6~~	21.7
Chambers	7,170	7175	649	9.0	
Cherokee	734	736	250	34.0	
Chilton	2,029	2027	350	~~17.2~~	17.3
Choctaw	4,819	4882	112	2.3	
Clarke	6,422	6434	700	10.9	
Clay	1,010	1010	0		
Cleburne	375	380	60	~~[illegible]~~	15.8
Coffee	3,111	3114	600	~~19.2~~	19.3
Colbert	4,512	4519	921	20.4	
Conecuh	4,427	4435	960	~~[illegible]~~	21.6
Coosa	1,828	1828	450	24.6	
Covington	3,151	3157	175	5.5	
Crenshaw	2,799	2801	600	21.4	
Cullman	246	249	81	~~[illegible]~~	32.5
Dale	2,454	2454	380	~~15.0~~	15.5
Dallas	18,132	18145	275	1.5	
DeKalb	438	443	0		
Elmore	5,542	5543	226	~~4.07~~	4.1
Escambia	5,072	5425	1606	31.1	29.6
Etowah	7,653	7672	2,000	27.3	26.1
Fayette	1,487	1497	326	21.9	21.8
Franklin	695	700	200	28.7	28.6
Geneva	1,685	1686	300	17.8	
Greene	6,624	6628	157	~~2.5~~	2.4
Hale	7,036	7041	130	1.8	
Henry	4,027	4029	600	~~14.8~~	14.9
Houston	7,200	7211	1,700	23.6	
Jackson	1,231	1242	0		
Jefferson	121,510	121,667	7,000	5.7	5.8
Lamar	1,191	1204	100	~~8.4~~	8.3
Lauderdale	3,985	4022	495	~~12.4~~	12.3
Lawrence	3,004	3010	408	~~13.2~~	13.5
Lee	8,948	8954	500	5.58	5.6
Limestone	4,007	4013	800	19.9	

Table V Continued

County	Negroes 21 years of age and over	Negroes Registered Voters, 1956	Per Cent Registered
Lowndes	6,514 6512	00	00
Macon	14,526 14539	1,100	~~7.5~~ 7.6
Madison	10,223 10333	1,500	~~14.6~~ 14.5
Marengo	10,223 10226	170	~~1.66~~ 1.7
Marion	378 384	200	~~52.7~~ 52.1
Marshall	596 604	0	
Mobile	45,085 45,493	6,400	~~13.5~~ 14.1
Monroe	5,914 5914	140	2.36 2.4
Montgomery	34,065 34079	2,176	6.38 6.4
Morgan	4,635 4641	0	
Perry	6,349 6351	300	4.7
Pickens	5,544 5547	600	10.8
Pike	6,863 6866	720	~~10.4~~ 10.5
Randolph	2,727 2728	1,171	43.0 42.9
Russell	10,129 10135	560	~~3.5~~ 5.5
Shelby	3,362 3356	375	11.1 11.2
St. Clair	2,354 2363	750	31.8 31.7
Sumter	8,598 8700	295	3.4
Talladega	9,310 9318	1,134	12.18 12.2
Tallapoosa	5,073 5083	0	
Tuscaloosa	14,145 14,157	5,500	~~38.8~~ 38.9
Walker	3,840 3850	2,800	72.9 72.7
Washington	1,677 2835	600	~~35.1~~ 21.2
Wilcox	8,213 8218	0	
Winston	63 63	0	


Lauderdale
Limestone
Madison
Jackso
Colbert
Lawrence
Morgan
DeKalb
Franklin
Marshall
Marion
Winston
Cullman
Cherokee
Lamar
Etowah
Blount
Fayette
Walker
St Clair
Calhoun
Jefferson
5.7
Cleburne
Pickens
Tuscaloosa
Shelby
Talladega
Randolph
Clay
Greene
2.1
Hale
1.8
Bibb
8.1
Chilton
Coosa
Tallapoosa
Chambers
9.0
Perry
4.7
Sumter
3.4
Autauga
1.8
Elmore
4.07
Lee
5.58
Marengo
1.66
Dallas
1.5
Macon
7.5
Russell
5.5
Choctaw
2.3
Montgomery
6.38
Lowndes
Bullock
all
Wilcox
Butler
Crenshaw
Pike
Barbour
3.1
Clarke
Monroe
2.36
Washington
Conecuh
Covington
5.5
Coffee
Dale
Henry
Houston
Mobile
Baldwin
Escambia
Geneva
57
58

ALABAMA

23 Counties having less than 10% negroes 21 years & over registered

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 7, 1957

Judge of Probate
Tallapoosa County Court House
Dadeville, Ala.

Dear Sir:

In the current civil rights debate in the U. S. Congress it was reported that several Alabama counties had no Negroes registered to vote. Tallapoosa County was listed as one of these counties. Assuming the possibility of an error in listing your county in this group, I wonder if you would be so kind as to send me the total number of Negroes who are currently registered in your county. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

R E Hughes

R. E. Hughes

Dear Sir:

A recent Count Showed -559- Negros are qualified voters in Tallapoosa County.

Very truly

J Coley
Judge of Probate

8/9/57
Dadeville Ala

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 7, 1957

Judge of Probate
Clay County Court House
Ashland, Alabama

Dear Sir:

In the current civil rights debate in the U. S. Congress it was reported that several Alabama counties had no Negroes registered to vote. Clay County was listed as one of these counties. Assuming the possibility of an error in listing your county in this group, I wonder if you would be so kind as to send me the total number of Negroes who are currently registered in your county. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

RE Hughes

R. E. Hughes

There are 140 Reg negro voters in Clay County

Judge of Probate

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 8, 1957

Judge of Probate
Marshall County Court House
Guntersville, Ala.

Dear Sir:

In the current civil rights debate in the U. S. Congress it was reported that several Alabama counties had no Negroes registered to vote. Marshall County was listed as one of these counties. Assuming the possibility of an error in listing your county in this group, I wonder if you would be so kind as to send me the total number of Negroes who are currently registered in your county. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

REHughes

R. E. Hughes

Marshall County has about 20 negroes registered as qualified voters.

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 8, 1957

Judge of Probate
Winston County Court House
Double Springs, Ala.

Dear Sir:

In the current civil rights debate in the U. S. Congress it was reported that several Alabama counties had no Negroes registered to vote. Winston County was listed as one of these counties. Assuming the possibility of an error in listing your county in this group, I wonder if you would be so kind as to send me the total number of Negroes who are currently registered in your county. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

R E Hughes

R. E. Hughes

8/9/57

Dear Mr. Hughes:

We have about 15 negros over the age of 21 years and 7 of this number are registered qualified voters of the county.

Respectfully,

L H McDonald

L. H. McDonald,
Judge of Probate

Office of
JUDGE OF PROBATE
JACKSON COUNTY
D. S. McCrary, Sr., Judge
SCOTTSBORO, ALABAMA

August 9, 1957

Mr. R. E. Hughes
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

In answer to your request for the number of registered negro voters in Jackson County, Alabama, I am mailing a copy of the letter that I have recently mailed to Senator Sparkman. If you need additional information, please contact me and I will supply same, if possible.

Very truly yours,
D. S. McCrary, Sr.
D. S. McCrary, Sr.

DSM/bc

Office of
JUDGE OF PROBATE
JACKSON COUNTY
D. S. McCrary, Sr., Judge
SCOTTSBORO, ALABAMA

July 26, 1957.

Honorable John Sparkman,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Sparkman:

It has come to my attention that it has been erroneously reported on the floor of the Senate that Jackson County, Alabama has approximately 1200 negro citizens who are elegible to vote and that there is not a single registered negro voter in Jackson County.

According to the 1950 Federal Census, Jackson County, Alabama had a total population of 38,998 persons. It is generally recognized that the negro population of Jackson County is approximately 8% of the total. Using these figures as a basis for computation it would appear that there are about 3,120 negro citizens in this County.

According to present voter registration records in this office there are approximately 625 registered negro voters in Jackson County or a little more than 20% of the total negro population.

The number of registered voters among our white population is about 11,250 or a little better than 31% of the total white population.

Since the registration records are kept according to precincts and in alphabetical order, without distinction as to race, it is difficult to arrive at exact figures on short notice, however, if you desire an absolutely accurate count of our negro voters I will be happy to furnish it upon request.

I might add that I have been observing elections in Jackson County, Alabama for more than 40 years and I have never known of an election being held in this County in which negro voters did not freely participate.

Yours very truly,

D. S. McCrary, Sr.,
Judge of Probate.

DSM/jt

August 20, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter and enclosures of August 12. It is very helpful to us to have the letters from the probate judges in the disputed counties of Alabama.

You are exactly right that our report failed to distinguish between no-report and no-registration counties in Alabama. This was one of those slips that occur in large scale fact-finding projects involving too many cooks. Our chagrin makes us appreciate all the more your words of praise.

I like your idea of proposing that the state groups make constructive use of the county-by-county figures. I will discuss the idea of a newsletter with Fred.

I was terribly sorry to read in your latest bulletin that the Alabama Council is going to lose your services in January. I can readily understand your reasons for feeling that this is the right time to take the next step, but your going will be a great loss to this whole movement.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DELIVERED AUG 14 1957

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Rm. 1218 Comer Bldg.
B'ham 3, Ala.
Aug. 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
SRC

Dear Harold:

Not knowing who is handling the voting materials I am writing you directly as a likely prospect.

Wanting to get to the bottom on this voting business, last week I wrote to the Probate Judges in the seven counties, in Ala. listed as having no voters & got the following five replies today. Lacking are Wilcox and Lowndes, the only Black Belt counties involved, which are known definitely to have no Negroes registered. Enclosed are their answers for what they are worth. No need to return to me and I'll write Jim Pierce of their content.

Apparently Jim or your researcher there made the mistake of failing to note separately "no voters" and "no report".

But from what I can see of it here in local press accounts the material was treated favorably and the SRC has filled a great need at a strategic time - you got there "furstest with the mostest" to borrow from my wife's great great uncle. Congratulations! When I was over in May I said the SRC had failed in public relations on the national level - permit me to eat my words.

Keep up the good work.

Cordially,
Bob

P.S. - Has the central office or other affiliates come up with any ideas on how a state or local council on human rel. could use these statistics to the maximum advantage? Maybe a newsletter from Fred would help on this. - REH

Enclosures:

Associated Press survey—

B'ham News 8-11-57

A look at Negro voting in the South

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

NEGRO VOTING. Around that phrase rages much of the controversy over federal civil rights legislation now being fought out in Washington.

Just what is the status of the Negro voter in the South?

Is he denied the ballot?

Does he have a political voice of any consequence?

As is the case with most Southern racial questions, there is no pat, simple answer that will stand up.

For one thing, there are no complete and accurate data on just how many Negroes are registered. Some states don't keep registration records by race. In others there is no centralized collection of information.

But there are some basic facts few would care to challenge.

The Negro does not vote in anything like the same ratio as the white man. Just how wide this difference is is a matter for dispute—but it's there.

The Negro has almost no direct representation in government at city, county or state level. He rarely even seeks election to public office.

THERE CAN BE no reasonable doubt that, in most areas of the South, the Negro is much more submerged politically than he is economically.

Why is this so?

Is it due to the Negroes' own indifference to or ignorance of their rights?

Are white officials, acting with or without the sanction of law, barring the Negro's way to registration by various inequitable devices?

Or, is intimidation, overt or otherwise, keeping Negroes from even trying to register?

The answer to each of these questions must be "yes"—but, as always, with qualifications and explanations.

The situation varies widely from state to state—Virginia, for example, with almost no restrictions, in contrast with Mississippi where only a handful of Negroes can vote. And it varies widely within single states—Georgia, for example, where Negroes register and vote freely in some cities, but are virtually disenfranchised in many rural areas.

BUT WHILE IT'S true that Negro voting generally is much lighter in rural counties, it can't be safely assumed that the pattern is a simple rural-vs. Urban one.

The Southern Regional Council, a big-racial organization, recently released a report on a survey of Negro voter registration in 12 Southern states.

The council admits that because of the lack of complete data on registrations, its figures leave something to be desired. But they are the available, and were not seriously challenged in a spot check in the various states made by The Associated Press.

THE COUNCIL'S FIGURES show a total of 1,238,038 Negroes registered in the 12 states, a gain of nearly 230,000 since 1952.

However, the report said the current figure represents only 25 per cent of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the region, as compared to a 60 per cent registration among eligible white voters.

Social scientists who served as consultants for the survey expressed belief that the growth of Negro registration will continue. But they drew the obvious conclusion that unless the pace is accelerated, "it still will be many years before the registration record of Negroes approaches that of the white South."

AND THE SRC reported that many means of discouraging Negro registration still are practiced.

"Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the Citizens Council," the report said, "so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro Southerner changed in recent years.

"In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. . . . Today, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by violent means.

WHILE THE COUNCIL'S figures on Negro registration were not seriously challenged, its state-by-state summary on varying degrees of discrimination against Negro registration and voting drew some sharp retorts.

The council reported no Negroes registered in Calhoun County, South Carolina, although they outnumber whites 10,449 to 4304.

But J. B. Norris of the Calhoun County voter registration board, said about 50 Negroes are registered in the county and that nothing is done to discourage them from registering so long as they meet requirements.

In another South Carolina county, McCormick, the council said all Negroes registered in 1948 were purged from the list. But Mrs. Mamie Crawford, member of the McCormick board since 1949, said no Negroes have tried to register since she has been on the board and that she had heard her father say none had ever tried to register.

South Carolina has kept no race record of registrants, and Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton said "it is impossible to tell how many Negroes are registered." But a new registration period will require race designation.

IN MISSISSIPPI, said the council, while Negroes make up 41 per cent of the population of voting age, only 4 per cent are on the qualified voter list.

While no accurate figures are available, the State Sovereignty Commission said it is the general assumption that Negro registration has increased above 22,000, or 2000 more than the figure the council report used for 1955. The commission said the increase possibly could be attributed to the trend of whites and Negroes away from rural areas and into cities "where public transportation to the polls is available and interest in voting is at a much higher peak."

THE MOST ACTIVE efforts to keep Negroes off registration rolls was reported in Louisiana where Citizens Councils challenged Negroes in a number of parishes (counties). Louisiana applicants are given a complicated form, and the SRC report said the practice of helping applicants varies widely. It also said in a number of parishes with Negro popula[illegible] of more than 50 per c[illegible] th[illegible] are no registered N[illegible]es.

Total Negro reg[illegible]ati[illegible] Louisiana as of last Oc[illegible] reported almost 90[illegible] than the figure re[illegible] SRC, due to [illegible] Citizens Counc[illegible] rural parishes [illegible] about 30 per c[illegible] total vote, ar[illegible] tering.

Citizens Counc[illegible] they are not n[illegible] Negroes, but [illegible] make re-registration more difficult.

In Grant Parish, where 864 Negro voters were challenged last year, the registrar, Mrs. Maxine Mosely, said "there presently is no effort to prevent registration. We require only that they be able to fill out their cards correctly."

FLORIDA has only two counties with no registered Negroes, but the SRC report said the number of counties gives an exaggerated picture of Negro registration.

In the Associated Press spot check, both whites and Negroes said Negroes have difficulty in registering in at least five North Florida counties—Gadsden, Lafayette, Liberty, Taylor and Union—but no special difficulty in others.

THE SRC said various means of intimidation are used in Georgia, and that Alabama also makes it very difficult for Negroes to register.

The SRC reported that in North Carolina, as in other states with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. And it said some use it to bar Negroes. On the other hand, the report said in some counties literacy requirements are ignored for everyone and in others, particularly rural counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Atty. Gen. George B. Patton took issue with the report. North Carolina has passed an amended registration law permitting appeals to county election boards and thence to the courts.

Patton said the SRC report "must have been written with the old law in mind." He added "under the old law there may have been some of these things, but I think the whole thing is magnified."

Independent
Cities

insert pag 2A

STATE OF ALABAMA	1957 MID-YEAR POP	WHITE	NEGRO		
Autauga	18186	9836	8350	4716	100
Baldwin	47282	31249	10033	16000	480
Barbour	28892	13465	15427	6739	450
Bibb	17987	12157	5830	5900	200
Blount	28975	28151	824	11000	100
Bullock	16054	4239	11815	2205	5
Butler	29228	16119	13109	8809	629
Calhoun	91300	74564	16736	23334	1943
Chambers	39528	25040	14488	13065	650
Cherokee	17634	15982	1652	8000	400
Chilton	26922	22606	4316	12003	342
Choctaw	19152	9090	10062	5400	172
Clarke	26548	13345	13203	17650	450
Clay	13929	11719	2210	7000	200
Cleburne	11904	11116	788	5800	58
Coffee	30720	24244	6476	12732	1375
Colbert	43528	35205	8323	16000	3200
Conecuh	21776	11906	9870	6200	650
Coosa	11766	7844	3922	4963	550
Covington	40373	34285	6088	17000	500
Crenshaw	18981	12916	6065	7447	500
Cullman	50276	49797	479	17925	100
Dale	20828	15989	4839	3200	150
Dallas	57008	20452	36556	8000	- 520
DeKalb	46474	45621	853	19600	300
Elmore	31649	20250	11390	11600	300
Escambia	32076	21212	10864	12000	1000
Etowah	109341	93636	15705	32105	2100
Fayette	19388	16523	2865	9109	750
Franklyn	25705	24369	1336	11500	350
Geneva	25899	22490	3409	7572	82
Greene	16482	2801	13681	1740	174

Omit Alabama

go to page 5

45.9	2.1
21.2	3.
53.4	6.7
32.4	3.4
2.8	.91
73.6	.22
44.9	7.1
18.3	8.3
36.7	5.
9.4	5.
16.	2.8
52.5	3.2
49.7	5.9
15.9	2.9
6.6	1.
21.1	11.7
19.1	20.
45.3	10.5
33.3	11.1
15.1	2.9
32.	6.7
1.	.6
23.2	4.7
64.1	6.5
1.8	1.5
36	2.6
33.9	8.
14.4	6.5
14.8	8.2
5.1	3.
13.2	1.1
83.	10.

4.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
STATE OF ALABAMA	1957 MID-YEAR POP	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL # REGISTERED VOTERS (1958)	WHITE	NEGRO
Hale	20832	6184	14648	3200		150
Henry	18674	9572	9102	5144		393
Houston	47146	33508	13638	13949		700
Jackson	38998	36697	2301	13594		675
Jefferson	630704	400591	230113	130000		11000
Lamar	16441	14004	2437	8100		175
Lauderdale	59944	52687	7257	17000		3400
Lawrence	27128	21192	5936	10000		800
Lee	51325	33214	18111	9000		625
Limestone	35851	27701	8150	10085		500
Lowndes	18018	3220	14798	2306		0
Macon	32673	4671	28002	4320		1218
Madison	77683	56828	20855	21976		3285
Marengo	29494	9016	20478	5524		132
Marion	27264	26593	725	12293		219
Marshall	41051	46002	1049	19331		37
Mobile	295723	198591	97132	58000		10400
Monroe	25732	12571	13161	5975		160
Montgomery	156755	93743	63012	29000		3480
Morgan	56593	48671	7922	16500		2475
Perry	20439	6651	13788	4300		250
Pickens	24349	12690	11659	6300		550
Pike	30608	17088	13520	3600		750
Randolph	22513	16696	5817	10300		306
Russell	43693	22683	21010	8506		500
St. Clair	26687	21832	4855	8750		696
Shelby	31377	24767	6610	10500		875
Sumter	23610	5664	17946	3300		425
Talladega	72190	50774	21416	13000		3500
Tallapoosa	35074	25028	10046	14000		600
Tuscaloosa	107189	80073	27116	26831		2680
Walker	63769	56922	6847	25820		2580
Washington	15612	9467	6145	5600		750
Wilcox	23476	4910	18566	3040		0
Winston	18250	18148	102	8219		11

C/A	F/D
% NEGRO IN POP	% OF REGISTERED NEGRO
70.3	4.7
48.7	7.6
28.9	5.
5.9	5
36.5	8.5
14.8	2.2
12.1	20.
21.9	8.
35.3	1.6
22.7	5.
82.1	-0.-
85.7	28.2
26.8	14.9
69.4	2.4
2.7	1.8
2.2	.19
32.8	17.9
51.1	2.7
40.2	12.
14.	15
67.5	5.8
47.9	8.7
44.2	20.8
25.8	3.
48.1	5.9
18.2	8
21.1	8.3
76.	12.9
29.7	26.9
28.6	4.3
25.3	10.
10.7	10.
39.4	13.4
79.1	-0.-
.56	.13

Sent to Justice Dept
4/11/58

ALABAMA

County	1956 White Registration
Autauga	4,405
Baldwin	12,687
Barbour	2,176
Bibb	6,003
Blount*	11,815
Bullock	2,350
Butler	9,983
Calhoun	23,365
Chambers	11,362
Cherokee	7,350
Chilton	11,850
Choctaw	4,927
Clarke	7,827
Clay	7,158
Cleburne	5,140
Coffee	9,988
Colbert	16,685
Conecuh	5,484
Coosa	4,387
Covington	15,753
Crenshaw	6,306
Cullman	22,019
Dale	7,281
Dallas	7,213
DeKalb*	20,097
Elmore	12,270
Escambia	9,296
Etowah	33,362
Fayette	8,234
Franklin	10,955
Geneva	9,[illegible]
Greene	1,637
Hale	3,174
Henry	4,341
Houston	10,840
Jackson	13,180
Jefferson	108,742
Lamar	8,040
Lauderdale	23,413
Lawrence	8,463
Lee	8,950
Limestone	7,302
Lowndes*	2,252
Macon	2,792
Madison	17,800
Marengo	5,691
Marion	14,194
Marshall	15,938
Mobile	44,111
Monroe	6,360
Montgomery	27,359
Morgan	17,563
Perry	4,082
Pickens	4,403
Pike	7,957
Randolph	7,615
Russell	7,818
Shelby	8,887
St. Clair	7,750
Sumter	3,259
Talladega	23,557
Tallapoosa	12,697
Tuscaloosa	20,721
Walker	14,763
Washington	5,245
Wilcox*	2,877
Winston	7,192

ALABAMA

TABLE [illegible]

NEGRO REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES IN 1956, NUMBER OF VOTING AGE AND THE PERCENT OF THOSE REGISTERED

	County	Negroes 21 years of age and over	what year? Non-white 21 and over 1950 Census	Negro Registered Voters, 1956	Per Cent Registered	
	Autauga	4,036	4042 ✓	73	1.8	
	Baldwin	4,473	4493	625	? ~~14.0~~	13.9 ✓
53.4	Barbour	7,250	7158	220	3.1 ✓	
32.4	Bibb	2,797	2801	235	~~8.1~~	8.4
	Blount	425	429			
73.2	Bullock	5,423	5425	~~6~~	~~0.11~~ ✓	
44.8	Butler	6,119	6024	805	~~13.2~~	13.4
	Calhoun	8,270	8304	1,800	~~21.6~~	21.7
36.7	Chambers	7,170	7175 ✓	649	9.0 ✓	
	Cherokee	734	736	250	34.0 ✓	
	Chilton	2,029	2027	350	~~17.2~~ ✓	17.3 ✓
53.5	Choctaw	4,819	4822 ✓	112	2.3	
49.7	Clarke	6,422	6434	700	10.9	
	Clay	1,010	1010			
	Cleburne	375	380	~~60~~	~~16.0~~	15.8
	Coffee	3,111	3114	600	19.3	
	Colbert	4,512	4519	921	20.4	
45.3	Conecuh	4,427	4435	960	~~21.7~~	21.6
33.4	Coosa	1,828	1828	450	24.6 ✓	
	Covington	3,152	3157	175	5.5	
32.0	Crenshaw	2,799	2801	600	21.4	
	Cullman	246	249	81	? ~~32.9~~	32.5 ✓
	Dale	2,454	2454	380	~~15.8~~	15.5 ✓
65.0	Dallas	18,132	18145	275	1.5	
	De Kalb	438	443			
36.0	Elmore	5,542	5543	~~225~~	~~4.07~~	4.1
33.6	Escambia	5,072	5425	1606	~~31.1~~	29.6
	Etowah	7,653	7672	2,000	~~27.3~~	26.1
	Fayette	1,487	1497	326	21.9	
	Franklin	695	700	200	~~28.7~~	28.6
	Geneva	1,685	1686	300	17.8	17.8 ✓
83.0	Greene	6,624	6628	157	~~2.5~~	2.4
70.3	Hale	7,036	7041	130	1.8	
48.7	Henry	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~ 4029	600	~~[illegible]~~	14.9
29.4	Houston	7,200	7211	1,700	23.6	
	Jackson	1,232	1242			
37.3	Jefferson	121,510 [illegible]	121,667	~~7,[illegible]~~	? ~~5.[illegible]~~	5.8 ✓
	Lamar	1,191	1204	100	~~8.4~~	8.3
	Lauderdale	3,985	4022	495	~~12.4~~	12.3
	Lawrence	3,004	3010	400	~~13.3~~	13.5
40.2	Lee	8,948	8954	500	5.58	
	Limestone	4,007	4013	800	19.9	

Table V Continued

	County	Negroes 21 years of age and over		Negroes Registered Voters, 1956	Per Cent Registered
87.2	Lowndes	6,514	6512	00	00 ✓
84.4	Macon	14,526	14539	1,100	? ~~7.5~~ 7.6
27.2	Madison	10,223	10333	1,500	~~14.6~~ 14.5 ✓
69.4	Marengo	10,223	10276	170	1.66 1.7 ✓
	Marion	378	384	200	52.1 52.1 ✓
	Marshall	596	604	—	—
33.8	Mobile	45,085	45,493	6,400	~~13.5~~ 14.1
51.1	Monroe	5,914	5914	140	2.36 2.4
43.6	Montgomery	34,065	34079	2,176	6.38 6.4
	Morgan	4,635	4641	—	—
67.5	Perry	6,349	6351	300	4.7
47.9	Pickens	5,544	5547	600	10.8 ✓
44.2	Pike	6,863	6866	720	~~10.4~~ 10.5
25.8	Randolph	2,727	2728	1,171	~~[illegible]~~ 42.9 ✓
52.0	Russell	10,129	10135	560	~~3.5~~ 5.5
	Shelby	3,362	3356	375	~~[illegible]~~ 11.2 ✓
	St. Clair	2,354	2363	750	~~[illegible]~~ 31.7 ✓
76.1	Sumter	8,598	8700	295	3.4
31.5	Talladega	9,310	9318	1,134	12.1 12.2 ✓
26.6	Tallapoosa	5,073	5083	—	0
27.5	Tuscaloosa	14,145	14,157	5,500	~~38.8~~ 38.9
	Walker	3,840	3852	2,800	72.7 72.7 ✓
39.0	Washington	1,677	2835	600	~~35.1~~ 21.2 ✓
79.1	Wilcox	8,213	8218	0	0
	Winston	63	63	0	0

order rev

Clips -
Suffrage

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The Birmingham News

50TH YEAR—NO. 34 154 Pages—9 Sections BIRMINGHAM, ALA., SUNDAY, APRIL 20, 1958 Section A ★ PRICE: 20 CENTS

CLOUDY, WARM

FOR BIRMINGHAM AND VICINITY: Considerable cloudiness and warm Sunday with a few scattered showers. Partly cloudy and mild Sunday night. Southwesterly winds blowing eight to 15 miles an hour.
(Furnished by U. S. Weather Bureau)

More than 50,000 Negroes—

Eligible voter list may soar to 900,000

BY HUGH SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 19—All won't vote, of course, but, just the same, between 875,000 and 900,000 Alabamians—an all time high—will be eligible to cast their ballots in the forthcoming May 6 primary.

As of April 15, the registered voter total was about 875,000. Between now and April 30, when registration books will close so far as the May 6 primary is concerned, names of several thousand additional men and women will be added to the voting lists.

The eleventh hour qualifiers should bring the total to close to 900,000, if not in excess of that number.

Of the 875,000 already qualified to vote, between 50,000 and 60,000 are Negroes, most of them qualifying during the last year or two. The number of Negroes eligible to vote, moreover, is reported to be about five times the total just four years ago when Alabama last elected a governor.

The record 875,000 total, as of April 15, would have been much higher if several counties, Cullman and Geneva in particular, had not conducted voter reidentifications. As a result, names of several thousand erstwhile voters were eleminated from the lists.

Exhaustive study

FIGURES INCLUDED in this list were compiled by this reporter after an exhaustive study of the voting lists of Alabama's 67 counties which recently appeared in daily and weekly newspapers in the respective counties.

According to the official

Turn to Page 10, Column 7

County-by-county report

County	1950 Census in thousands	White Over 21	1958 Total Voters	1958 Negro Voters	1956 Total Voters	1956 Negro Voters
Autauga	18.2	5,717	5,107	68	4,478	55
Baldwin	40.9	19,028	16,312	480	13,312	.....
Barbour	28.6	8,012	6,721	200	6,500	185
Bibb	17.9	6,681	5,825	100	6,238	.....
Blount	28.9	15,399	11,300	35	11,815	.....
Bullock	16.1	2,633	2,404	4	2,365	.....
Butler	29.2	9,464	9,286	392	10,788	387
Calhoun	79.5	37,397	24,386	1,948	23,497	1,732
Cherokee	17.6	8,821	8,413	212	7,600	230
Chambers	39.5	15,710	13,200	.....	12,011	.....
Chilton	26.9	12,888	12,008	400	12,200	.....
Choctaw	19.1	4,914	5,284	51	5,093	.....
Clarke	26.5	7,832	8,414	333	8,527	339
Clay	13.9	6,934	7,448	122	7,298	88
Cleburne	11.9	6,051	5,700	60	5,200	.....
Coffee	30.7	13,561	12,732	495	10,588	.....
Colbert	39.5	18,063	15,342	700	17,606	717
Conecuh	21.7	6,734	6,216	900	6,444	.....
Covington	40.3	19,988	16,800	500	15,928	.....
Coosa	11.7	5,262	5,401	316	4,837	296
Crenshaw	18.9	7,604	7,441	500	6,909	459
Cullman	49.1	26,268	16,000	100	25,268	50
Dale	20.8	9,418	8,277	200	7,665	.....
Dallas	56.2	12,597	8,960	128	7,488	106
DeKalb	45.1	24,601	20,500	35	20,097	.....
Elmore	31.6	12,247	9,649	200	12,496	136
Escambia	31.4	11,276	12,205	1,000	10,902	.....
Etowah	93.8	47,214	35,200	1,900	35,362	1,500
Fayette	19.3	9,279	8,600	300	8,560	236
Franklin	25.7	13,460	11,313	400	11,155	.....
Geneva	25.8	12,660	6,268	89	10,151	72
Hale	20.8	3,680	3,600	155	3,304	190
Greene	16.4	1,820	1,901	118	1,791	98
Henry	18.4	5.646	5,343	384	4,941	335
Houston	46.5	19,698	13,728	700	12,540	.....
Jackson	38.9	19,381	12,558	22	13,805	.....
JEFFERSON	558.9	226,280	127,500	11,000	115,742	7,000
Lamar	16.4	8,141	8,361	250	8,140	.....
Lauderdale	54.1	23,831	16,100	697	23,908	618
Lawrence	27.1	10,905	9.885	500	8,871	372
Lee	45.1	16,207	10,308	300	9,450	.....
Limestone	35.7	14,737	10,562	53	8,102	.....
Lowndes	18.1	2,057	2,306	.....	2,252	.....
Macon	30.5	3,081	3,350	1,044	2,892	968
Madison	72.6	30,662	20,000	1,800	19,300	.....
Marengo	29.4	5,456	6,375	108	5,881	117
Marion	27.2	14,271	12,293	100	14,394	.....
Marshall	45.0	24,740	19,150	35	15,958	.....
Mobile	231.1	93,506	57,860	5,152	50,511	3,136
Monroe	25.7	7,184	6,000	25	6,500	21
Montgomery	138.9	51,869	31,835	3,017	29,535	2,107
Morgan	52.9	26,602	18,000	1,000	17,563	.....
Perry	20.4	3,757	4,090	255	4,382	238
Pickens	24.3	7,324	6,498	800	5,003	763
Pike	30.6	10,062	6,500	350	8,667	.....
Randolph	22.5	9,860	11,011	.....	8,786	.....
Russell	40.3	11,800	8,228	850	8,378	.....
Shelby	30.3	13,250	10,000	350	9,262	.....
St. Clair	26.2	12,123	8,700	375	8,500	.....
*TALLAPOOSA 15,015		15,016				
Sumter	23.8	3,600	3,033	175	3,554	.....
Talladega	65.3	23,317	18,000	2,500	24,691	.....
Tuscaloosa	94.0	42,200	28,692	4,000	26,221	.....
*Walker	63.7	30,882	24,000	900	17,563	459
Washington	15.6	4,929	6,478	100	5,845	.....
Wilcox	23.4	3,056	3,183	.....	2,877	.....
Winston	18.2	9,484	8,008	.....	7,199	.....

Negro vote may double over 1954

Continued from Page 1

Jefferson County list, made public the past week, the county's registered voter total is approximately 127,500. When names of the April qualifiers are added, the number by April 30 should be about 130,000.

Of the 127,500 voters, 11,000 are Negroes.

In 1956, just before the May primary, Jefferson had 115,000 voters, of which 7000 were Negroes.

Mobile's registered vote total increased from 50,000 for the entire county in 1956 to 57,860 on April 15, 1958. The number of Negro registrants increased from 3136 to 5152.

Montgomery's registered voters as of April 15 totaled 31,835, representing a gain of about 2000 since 1956. Montgomery County had 2107 Negro registrants in 1956. Today the number is 3017.

Tuscaloosa County, it appears, has an even larger number of Negro voters than Montgomery. The total stands at 4000.

UNTIL NOW Alabama has not had a total list of Negro registered voters. In the past the number has been largely a mystery. In fact, many counties even now do not identify Negro voters in the official poll list.

In making the check it was necessary to count the number of Negroes in those county voting lists which identified Negro voters.

In counties not identifying Negroes it was necessary to check with county voting authorities to get the figures.

IT APPEARS from the voting lists which this reporter closely checked that Boards of Registrars abandoned an old custom in allocating Negro voters to polling places.

Just two years ago, for instance, Box 3 in Precinct 9, Jefferson County, was almost a 100 per cent Negro box. After the May, 1956, primary, the official tally, for example, showed Gov. Folsom received 582 votes for Deocratic National Committeeman and his two opponents received one vote apiece.

That indicated Negroes were inclined to vote as a bloc.

In the present race for governor, some have been saying as soon as the votes in the May 6 race are counted it will be known whether or not Negroes voted bloc fashion and also just which of the gubernatorial candidates was the recipient of the Negro bloc vote.

It appears new arrangements have been made by most of Alabama's registrars this year, which will make conclusions more difficult if not well nigh impossible to reach.

No longer is Box 3, Precinct 9, an all Negro box.

Instead, there appears to be just one big voting place—Box 1, Precinct 9. The poll list shows that about 2000 voters have been assigned to that box. Of that total, by actual count, about 55 per cent of the voters are Negroes.

The mixing of Negro and white voters to form a much larger box may have been occasioned by the expanded use of voting machines. But, just the same, the proportion is so nearly even that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to draw any clear cut conclusions when the votes are counted.

The same procedure was resorted to in Macon County.

That conuty has about 1000 Negro registered voters. Most of them are concentrated in the area near Tuskegee Institute.

The voters in that area have been assigned to one big box or voting machine station in which the proportion is about three times as many white voters as Negroes.

Again, very little conclusion can be drawn from what may be the voting result.

THE LARGEST concentration of Negro voters in Montgomery County, too, appears to be in a voting box or station in which about three times as many white voters also cast their ballots.

In Mobile County, 321 Negro voters, in one instance, are assigned to the same voting place which has a voter total of 1476. In Ward 22 there are 783 Negro voters out of 1476, and in Ward 2-P 880 out of 2504 are Negroes.

In Precinct 15, however, 304 out of 330 are Negroes, and in Precinct 16 the ratio is 248 Negroes to 69 white.

IN OTHER WORDS, the situation appears to be this:

Not only is the Negro vote almost double what it was in 1956 and sufficiently large to be used as a coercive weapon if voted in a bloc, but there is now less chance than ever that the voting ways of Negroes will become generally known.

In the table which accompanies this story, the voter total for 1958 is given for each county, along with the number of Negro voters. Where no Negro voters are shown it could mean there are no Negro voters or it could also mean that identification of Negro voters could not be made.

Given also is the county population according to the 1950 census, the number of white people 21 and over in each county and the number of registered voters, white and Negro, in each county in 1956.

(3)

Bm News 1/17/57

Total still small—

Negro vote on increase over Alabama

BY HUGH W. SPARROW, News staff writer

(Copyright by The Birmingham News)

Alabama, according to latest registration totals, has more than 900,000 voters, of which slightly more than 8 per cent are Negroes.

Birmingham News reporters, checking the registration problem in all Alabama counties, recorded totals from each county. Some were official estimates, but most represent actual counts.

(Third in a series)

The total of white and Negro voters apparently stood at 902.218. Of that amount 828.767 were white, and 73,272 Negroes.

Estimates are that since last April registrations have added about 20.000 to the official voting lists. Almost half the increase, it appeared, are newly registered Negroes.

The increase in the number of Negro voters, reporters said, is further indication that most of Alabama registrars are dealing reasonably in most counties with Negro applicants.

Total Negro registration since April, 1956, apparently has about doubled.

The number of white and Negro voters, according to counties in the congressional districts, follows:

First District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Mobile	58.000	10.440
Monroe	5.975	160
Washington	5.600	750
Wilcox	3.040	0
Clarke	7.650	450
Marengo	5.524	132
Choctaw	5.400	172
TOTAL	91.189	12,104

Second District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Montgomery	29.000	3.480
Lowndes	2.306	0
Pike	3.600	750
Crenshaw	7.447	500
Covington	17.000	500
Escambia	12.000	1.000
Baldwin	16.000	480
Conecuh	6.200	650
Butler	8.800	629
TOTAL	107.353	7.989

Third District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Lee	9.000	625
Macon	4.320	1.218
Barbour	6.739	450
Bullock	2.205	5
Coffee	12.732	1,375
Dale	8.750	300
Geneva	7.572	82
Henry	5.144	393
Houston	13.949	700
Russell	8.506	500
TOTAL	78,917	5,648

Fourth District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Dallas	8,000	520
Autauga	4,756	100
Elmore	11,600	300
Coosa	4,963	550
Clay	7,000	200
Calhoun	23,334	1,948
Talladega	13,000	3,500
St. Clair	8,750	696
TOTAL	86,363	7,814

Fifth District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Chambers	13,065	650
Randolph	10,300	306
Tallapoosa	14,000	600
Marshall	19.331	37
DeKalb	19.600	300
Etowah	35.105	2.100
Cherokee	8,000	400
Cleburne	5,800	58
TOTAL	125,201	4,451

Sixth District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Tuscaloosa	26.831	2,680
Hale	3.200	150
Greene	1.740	174
Shelby	10.500	875
Perry	4.300	250
Chilton	12.003	342
Sumter	3.300	425
Bibb	5.900	200
TOTAL	67.774	5,096

Seventh District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Cullman	17,925	100
Blount	11.000	100
Marion	12.293	219
Fayette	9,109	750
Lamar	8.100	175
Pickens	6.300	550
Franklin	11.500	350
Winston	8.219	11
Walker	25.820	2,580
TOTAL	110.266	4.835

Eighth District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Limestone	10,085	500
Colbert	16.000	3,200
Lauderdale	17.000	3.400
Morgan	16.500	2.475
Lawrence	10.000	800
Jackson	13.594	675
Madison	21,976	3.285
TOTAL	105,155	14,335

Ninth District

County	Tot. Reg. Vot.	Tot. Negro Vot.
Jefferson	130,000	11,000

MM – pl. file Ala.-spec 1956

: Special Suffrage
Ala.
1956

April 26, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: IWD

I have reviewed the Alabama field reports for the 1956 survey, and have below indicated the replies for every county where use of vouchers was reported.

We have no field reports on the following counties: Blount, Clay, Cullman, Lauderdale, Lowndes, Marion, Marshall, Montgomery, Washington, Wilcox, Winston.

Besides these, any counties not listed below are ones in which it was reported that vouchers were not used.

This raises the obvious question of Bulloch County. Our investigator was explicit, that no vouchers were required. Either he was in error, or the practice was adopted after 1956.

The replies for Madison, Macon, and Lawrence Counties (last on the list) seem wrong on their faces; which part of each answer is wrong is, however, only to be guessed at.

It should be emphasized (a) that these reports are as of 1956 and, (b) were not verified. Where towns are noted in parentheses, the data applies to the town, and not necessarily to the whole county.

* * *

Questions:

a. Does the board require white character witness or vouchers?
b. Must these witnesses actually sign the blank?
c. Is this required of white applicants?

County	a.	b.	c.
Mobile	*	yes	yes
Geneva (Slocomb)	yes	yes (1 signer)	n. a.
Conecuh (Evergreen)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
Clarke (Thomasville)	yes (3 witnesses)	n. a.	n. a.
(Grove Hill)	yes (2)	n. a.	n. a.
Perry (Marion)	yes	yes	no
Houston	yes	yes (1)	yes
Marengo (Linden)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
(Demopolis)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Chambers (Lafayette)	yes	yes	yes
(Lanett)	yes	yes	yes
Henry (Abbeville)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Choctaw	yes	yes	yes
Dallas (Selma)	yes	no	n. a.
Covington (Andalusia)	yes	yes (1)	n. a.
Sumter (Livingston)	yes	yes (1)	yes
(York)	yes	yes (1)	no
Elmore	yes	yes	d. k.
Hale	*	yes	no
Greene	yes	yes	no
Baldwin	*	yes	yes
Etowah	yes	no	* *
Franklin	yes	no	yes
Autauga	yes	no	d. k.

County	a.	b.	c.
St. Clair	yes	no	no
Madison	no (?)	no	yes
Macon	no (?)	yes	d. k.
Lawrence	no (?)	no	yes

* Requires character witnesses, but may be white or Negro

* * In some cases

NEGRO SUFFRAGE

In the Central and West Central Portions of the State of Alabama

The area referred to in the above caption might advantageously be called the "fringe" area of Alabama since it, in fact, is located on the northern border of the "Black Belt" and on the southern border of the so-called "white counties".

Enmeshed in this, particularly interesting section, is the State's most highly industrialized and in some ways, its most "difficult" county-Jefferson for Negroes to qualify as an elector.

Due to these facts, it is utterly impossible to make one blanket statement purporting to be discriptive of the entire area, for indeed, one finds almost every possible condition of suffrage (for Negroes and others) th t has been identified in the State of Alabama.

Thus, to discribe the Negro suffrage conditions, three categories of places and conditions appear prominent.

1. The Black Belt Counties (strictly "Black Belt" for all practical purposes, since they (1) are predominantly agricultural, (2) have more than 50 per cent Negro populations, and (3) have very low percentages of Negro voters.
2. The Central Industrial Counties, including Jefferson (Birmingham) and other principal coal, cement, lime, paper, and other mineral producing counties.
3. The South-Central and Southwest Centaal "White" counties, where white people out number Negroes as much as 15 to 1.

Northern Black Belt Counties
(Autauga, Greene, Hale & Pickens)

In these counties the number of Negro registered voters is practically negligible, with Pickens having the largest number even though "white control" is more strongly pronounced here than in the other Black Belt counties listed. Autauga County has the smallest number of Negroes registered, even though chances for Negroes becoming registered are allegedly least diffcult than in the other counties of the group as long as white character witnesses are available.

Central Industrial Counties
(Bibb, Jefferson, Shelby, St. Clair, Tallagdega, Tuscaloosa, Walker)

There are reasonably significant numbers of registered Negroes in each of these counties, but far less than there could be under the prevailing consitions, with the possible exception of Jefferson County.

Though listed as industrial counties Bibb and Shelby might more accurately be classified as agricultural since as mining districts, they have become less significant during the last decade.

Since the voiding of the Boswell Ammendment, registration of Negroes in these counties has increased significantly. The factors, or the most important factors, influencing this increase have been (1) the unions of organized labor, (2) the raising of educational standards, thus increasing the civic awareness of Negroes, (3) more recently, the organization of Negro voters leagues which have been extremely active. Yet we must add that reduction of the cummulative phase of the poll tax has influenced in a large measure registration.

The South Central and Southwest Central "White" Counties
(Fayette and Lamar)

In these counties, which might be considered typical of the "Northern White Counties", the few Negroes present find little or no problem in obtaining the ballot, which for really practical purposes, is recognized by white people as insignificant since there are so few Negroes.

Almost all Negroes who are past the age of 21 have little difficulty in registering and voting.

SUMMARY

In each of the counties studied, some Negroes were found registered and voting. About the most important observable factor involved in Negro enfranchisement in the area studied is population distribution.

Finally, it might be said that the Negro voters found in this area are proportional (inversely) to the Negro population and directly proportional to the white population. In other words, as the Negro population increases, in proportion to the whites, the Negroes' chances of becoming registered voters decreases and conversely as the white population increases in proportion to the Negroes, the latter's chances of voting increases.

With the possible exception of Jefferson County, where it is extremely difficult to register, many more Negroes could possibly be registered under the prevailing conditions of the present Boards. The major shortcomings among the Negroes are complacency and lack of awareness of the importance of the ballot. Only a very few instances of overt violence or intimidation were found.

IMPRESSIONS FROM A TEN - COUNTY SURVEY
by
L. D. Draper

There appears to be a lack of organized resistance on the part of whites to voting by Negroes in eight of the ten counties which I surveyed. Apathy on the part of Negroes, rather than intimidation, appears to be the main reason such a few are registered voters.

In each county I found some means being used for the dissemination of information regarding registration and voting. This information is made available to Negroes, and they are urged to exercise the privilege of voting. Members of the teaching profession were taking the lead in encouraging Negroes to vote in only two of the counties surveyed.

Surprisingly, the White Citizens' Council has been a negative force. Its influence on voting among Negroes has been almost totally nil.

In each county one or two individuals have taken the initiative in encouraging voting among Negroes. There is a strong organization which stresses registration and voting in one of the surveyed counties.

The attitude of the average whites toward voting by Negroes is generally Unconcern. However, in one county I found Negroes are urged to vote by the big land owners, the Probate Judge, and other elected officials. This county has the largest percentage of Negro voters in the state.

Most newspapers seem to have adopted a hands-off policy regarding Negro voting. However, they appear to be the unanimous in condemning the NAACP.

I found a type of fear among school employees in several counties as to how far they can go in encouraging other Negroes to become registered voters. The specific basis for this fear was never stated. However, in some cases the implication was made that jobs would or could be jeopardized by their participation in activities for increasing Negro voting strength.

I further observed that those Negrores were employed as maids, cooks, and yard men had less difficulty in getting registered than those in professional work. There were instances, however, of Negroes in the profession being registered and told to use their influence in keeping other Negroes from attempting to register. This place was most successful in keeping Negro voting down.

COMMENTS

Probatge Judge - "The only Negro we failed to register when he applied was one who was too drunk to stand up. We took him from the registration room to jail."

Porbate Judge - (In answer to the question as to how many Negro voters are in Your county) "Too damn many."

A Negro living across the street from the high school - "I ought to go down and and register, but I just have not."

A Negro - (On being asked if the White Citizens' Council prevented them from voting) "They had us under control before there was a White Citizens' Council."

A Negro in a cotton field - "Voting is none of my business. It's white folks business."

A Negro - " I don't vote, and don't want to vote."

A white man in the street - "If the Negroes voted, they would vote like the NAACP told them."

A white man in the street - "The Negroes would not know what they were doing if they were allowed to vote."

The tables are the result of my tabulation and use. You can get my explanation and comment from the report sent you earlier. If you do not have it I have several copies which I can supply you any amount needed.

There is little from the report as indicated by the reaction from the investigators which necessitate very much change from my comments.

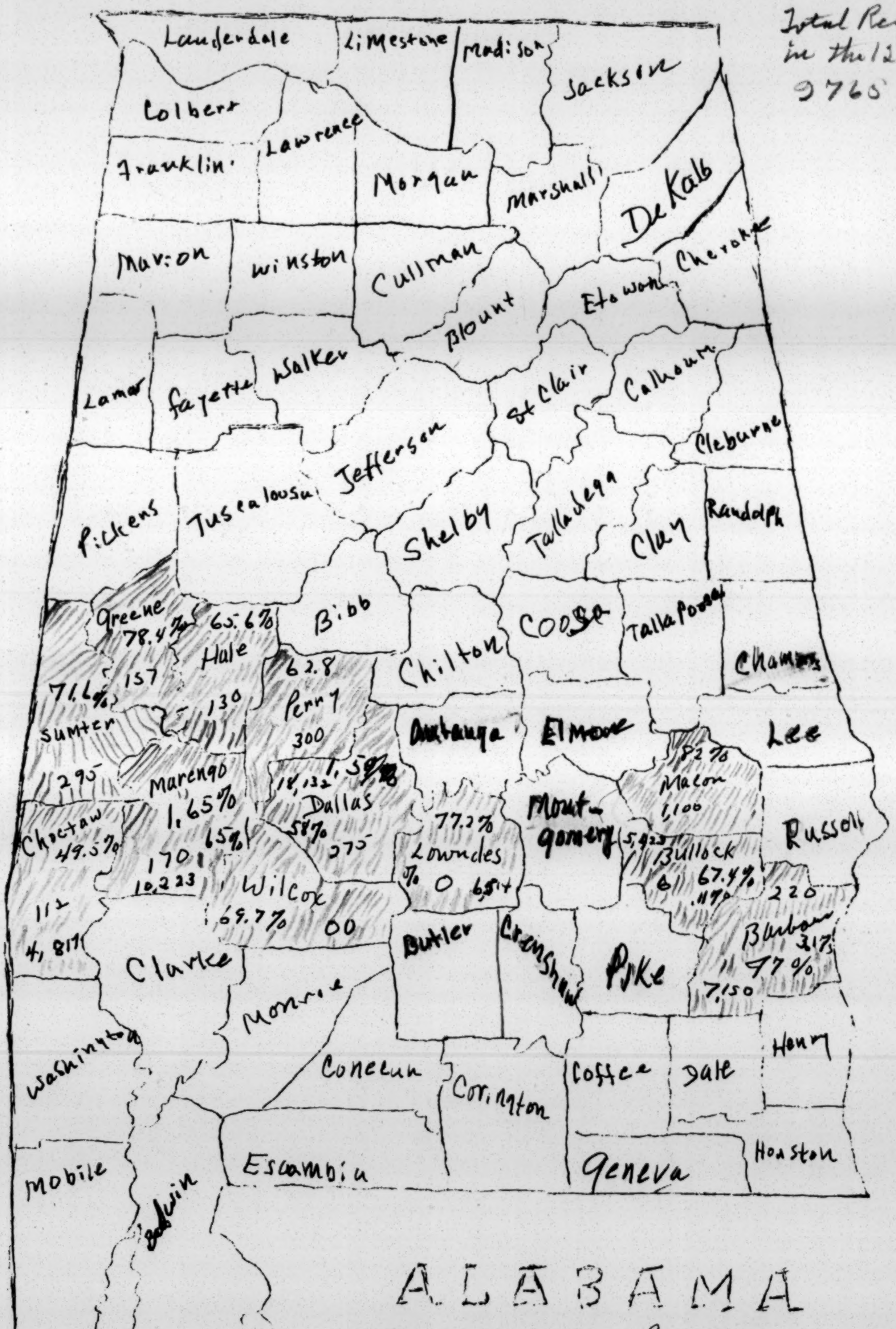
I also included some maps which I felt would locate the places or counties in the balack belt as well as those with less than 10 percent of the eligible Negro voters.

Fot the constitutional provision and statute relative to ~~Negro~~ Suggrage, I feel that Dr. Strong has included all neeeded in his book: *Rggistration of Voters in Alabama.* His comment and interpretationis much better than ~~I~~ anything that I might attempt.

I do hope this will give you what you need to treat Negro voting in Alabama.

This is the only comment need here, name;ly, The Board of Registrar has wide discretionary powers in deciding eleigibility for the Ballot. You may glean from reading Dr Strong citation that the questionaire does not bar the Board from using other menas indetermining the fitness of an applicant for certification.

Total Registered
in the 12 Counties
9765


Lauderdale
Limestone
Madison
Jackson
Colbert
Lawrence
Franklin
Morgan
Marshall
DeKalb
Marion
Winston
Cullman
Cherokee
Etowah
Blount
Lamar
Fayette
Walker
St Clair
Calhoun
Jefferson
Cleburne
Pickens
Tuscaloosa
Shelby
Talladega
Clay
Randolph
Greene
78.4%
157
65.6%
Hale
130
Bibb
Chilton
Coosa
Tallapoosa
Chambers
71.6%
Sumter
295
62.8
Perry
300
Autauga
Elmore
Lee
82%
Macon
1,100
Marengo
1.65%
1701
10,223
65%
18,132
1,50%
Dallas
58%
275
77.2%
Lowndes
% 0
6,514
Montgomery
5,925
Bullock
6
67.4%
.11%
Russell
Choctaw
49.5%
112
4,817
Wilcox
69.7%
00
220
Barbour
317
77%
7,150
Clarke
Butler
Crenshaw
Pike
Monroe
Washington
Conecuh
Covington
Coffee
Dale
Henry
Mobile
Escambia
Geneva
Houston
Baldwin

ALABAMA

12 Select Counties. Percent of Negroes 21 years of age + Number Registered, total 21 years of age negro + percent registered

TABLE I

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 12 SELECTED COUNTIES IN THE BLACK BELT

Counties	White Population 21 years and over	Negro Population 21 years and over	Negro Registered voters 1952	Per Cent of Negro Registered 1952	Negro Voters Registered 1954	Negro Voters Registered 1956
Barbour*	8,012	7,150	63	.88	250	220
Bullock	2,633	5,425	7	.129	6	6
Choctaw*	4,912	4,822	12	.24	67	112
Dallas	12,597	18,145	112	.617	175	275
Green	1,820	6,628	12	.31	165	157
Hale	3,680	7,041	300**	4.2	126	130
Lowndes	2,057	6,514	None	None	None	0
Macon	3,081	14,539	700	4.8	855	1,100
Marengo	5,456	10,266	27	.26	110	170
Perry	3,757	6,351	83	1.3	234	300
Sumter	3,600	8,700	None	None	256	295
Wilcox	3,560	8,218	None	None	None	00
TOTAL	54,661	103,757	1,316	1.24	2,244	2,545

*These counties have more whites twenty-one years of age than Negroes, but there are more Negroes of all ages than whites.

**The reported number from this county was excessive in 1952. A check of the list of qualified voters from the weekly issue of the Greensboro Watchman reveals only the number in the last column which is 126.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County______________ Investigator___________
2. The Number of registered Negro voters___________
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants__________________________________ Give some evidence of this____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting______ ____________________________ Give some evidence_______ ____ ____

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers_____________
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank_____
   (c) Is this required of white applicants_____________
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials________________
   (e) Give the nature of the threat____________________
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   ____

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy____________________________ ______

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?_________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&________

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?____________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?_______

What reason?_______________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

____

Give some evidence__________________________________

____

9. Attitude of the press________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available___________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________________

Campaign______________________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?_______

____________to what extent?__________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ____________
reasons for denials __________ ______________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? ______
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes ______
In what ways have they affected registration ________
____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ______________
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
____________________ To what extent ___________
How do you account for this? ______________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________________.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance?______________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?_________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Dear Mr. Fleming

Sorry that I could not get this material before now. I am enclosing the information instrument used to solicit the information asked for. I am also including the reaction of the consultant in addition to their answer placed on the questionaire.

not enc??

Along with this material I am sending a letter received(copy) from Dr. Strong. I think his criticism is timely both on the questionaire and the Monograph I did earlier. While I cannot agree with him on Montgomery County and his criticism of the Boards failure to qualify Negores under the"pretense of failing to fill out the questionaire properly.

I do hope that this report will enable you to do what you want. Remamber that contacts were requested from all level. We were all agreed that leadership is needed to get a better picture of the attitude of the Board.

I am enclosing some maps. Especially of those counties with less than 10 percent of the Negroes of voting age registered. I , also felt that the ten black belt counties should be located so that any one reading the comment would be able to locate these counties.

enc?

I am enclosing a map showing the number and percentage of Negro voters for each county.

Should you find it necessary that I furnish additional information I shalll be glad to do so,

Respectfully yours

J.E.Pierce
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

~~What~~ the effect of the late campaign on Negro Registration is ~~will be~~ difficukt to forecast. ~~During this~~ In the 1956 Spring primary ~~the~~ White Citizens Council influence was much in evidence. All local candidates and a majority of the State candidates as well as delegates to the Democratic Convention stated ~~made public statements over the~~ on radio and ~~on~~ Television that they did not want Negro votes. Paid political advertisements carried the same statemants. However, there was some backdoor campaigning by some of the candidates for Negro votes.

~~The~~ Negro voters will hardly vary from that of the white. It would be safe to say that not more than 60 per cent of them take the time to vote ~~go to the polls and cast their ballot~~. In one county, ~~the~~ leaders complain that more will come out for a referendum on liquor than at any other time.

The Negro has on the whole used his ballot wisely. A leading political figure commented on Negro voting thus. " The Negro has shown intelligent use of the vote. He has cast his vote for those candidates who stand for human development and human welfare. They have supported liberal legislation which would benefit all people and not for those with narrow selfish policies."

There is a state organization— The Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting. There is a similiar organization in each Congressional District and in some Counties ~~, not all~~. Besides urging registration and voting they ~~it~~ also formulate a yardstick for measuring candidates ~~which may be~~ for use ~~by~~ in each electoral district and help voters decide upon candidates for state office. It has been very effective and ~~can be truthfully stated that it~~ has done much to ehcourgge registration in Alabama

There is little doubt in the mind of those who have studied the effort of the Negro to register that ~~the~~ Boards are ~~is~~ unfair in registering Negroes in many counties. However, (there is) ~~one studying registration of the Negro will find~~ a favorable change in many counties. ~~The investigation of~~ In the Northern counties ~~find~~ few or no complaints against the Boards were found ~~of registrar. In fact their only~~ There the complaint was ~~is~~ against ~~the~~ Negro indifference. In one county, ~~the Board of~~ registrars ~~will actually break~~ ignore the law~~s~~ in qualifying voters. Those who cannot read and write ~~are~~ were registered if they could show ~~that~~ they own $300.00 worth of property, ~~was reported.~~ ~~No separation of~~ voters are not separated in filling out ~~the~~ blanks for their certificate, and ~~there has been observed mutal mutual aid of one~~ the two races aid ~~by the~~ each other. All are given the same assistance. In all of these counties the pereentage of Negroes is very low. In the more densely poplated counties a different story is told. ~~Separation of~~ applicants are separated ~~is followed~~ and many have reported that ~~the~~ Boards ~~actually give~~ give assistance to the whites but guard ~~the~~ Negroes strictly to see that no aid is given.

No one has claimed perfection for ~~the~~ negroes in filling out ~~the~~ questionaires but ~~many~~ cases (of discrimination) ~~giving rise to doubt~~ are known. For example, in one of the blackbelt counties, a college graduate with a master's degree was denied registration while a white with only grade school educationpassed and received her certificate at the time of registering.

Motivation (TO REGISTER) is rather difficult (TO MAINTAIN) in the light of these discrimantory practices. Also, many ~~In addition the~~ negroes have little concrete evidence of ~~deriving any~~ benefit~~s~~ for ~~from~~ the trouble ~~he~~ experienced in qualifying for the ballot. Not only do ~~es he~~ they not hold any public office, but ~~is~~ they are threatened when they file~~s~~ for office according to the Montgomery Advertiser (September 17,1956), There is little evidence of ~~the~~ White Citizens Council influenc~~ing~~e of the Board of Registrars. A leader ~~from~~ in one of the counties ~~in which~~ where the Council held a meeting and proposed to educate the members of the Board of registrars relates ~~the interesting story of~~ that a top official of one of the local communities urged the Negroes to ~~come and get~~ register~~ed~~.

X In another county where the Board had registered quite a few Negroes court action was brought against the Board ~~for~~ accusing it of qualifying Negroes illegally.

? It is evidence that the repeal of the poll taxes in 1951 had a decided effect on Negro voting. However, the Boswell Amendment, now unconstitutional, ~~still~~ frightened ~~a many~~ Many Negroes from the Registration office. ~~There is~~ many still ~~the~~ fear ~~of being quizzed~~ questioning by the Board. ~~Then there is that abhorrence to being tested in spite of~~ despite ~~the fact that many counties are giving instruction. It is the same fear students have for academic examination.~~

~~Then there is the~~ Some fear that the boss ~~will~~ would not ~~like it~~ want them to register. In one county a group of tenant~~s~~ farmers ~~that~~ was called together and given instructions but none would ~~go down and~~ register. Eventually, one consented to go ~~on condition that~~ if the others would not be told of his action.

~~The~~ Boards in some counties ask~~s~~ question in addition to the ones on the questionnaire. An ~~very~~ intelligent citizen in one of the Black belt Counties ~~failed to return after he~~ was disqualified for not being able to define Bona fide.

In Macon County ~~[illegible]~~ ~~is still without a Board of Registrars.~~ One of the two registrars was alleged to have resigned after economic pressure had been threatened if he stayed on the Board. To day it is difficult to find a person to fill the position. Recently, Only ~~last week one~~ was appointed, but ~~the third~~ another Position is still Vacant

In the counties with leadership and organization, the Board of Registrars in many instances became the barriers to registration of Negroes. ~~The~~ Negroes are required to return as many as seven or eight times before finally qualifying for the ballot. ~~The necessity of repeatedly coming back~~ This discourages not only those who have tried but those who are inclined to ~~go up for~~ register, ~~tration. The~~ failure of the Board to notify those failing to fill out ~~properly~~ the blanks properly ~~or who~~ have been refused confuses many of the prospective voters.

Interviews with many Negroes revealed ~~that he has~~ they never have been encouraged to register. ~~There are~~ In some cases ~~[illegible] known where~~ the board has told interested citizens not to urge Negroes to ~~come down for~~ register. ~~The~~ claiming ~~of the board is~~ that voter should come down of his own initiative. Many who have gone ~~down~~ with Negroes have been told to stay away, or ~~inquiries~~ have been ~~made as to~~ asked why a certain person always ~~come down~~ appears with applicant.

~~The discrimination observed by those applying revealed that~~ in many cases some member of the Board of Registrars will fill out blanks for whites but will not ~~give any~~ assist ~~ance to~~ Negroes. This discourages many in their attempt to qualify.

~~The~~ reports from counties claiming no difficulties are refuted by those who have faced the Boards. In one such county the reply is [illegible] ~~others report that~~ ~~the~~ Negroes have no trouble only when no one attempts to qualify, but the moment ~~they~~ Several applicants make their appearance the Board tightens up and none or a very few can get by the Board. The main difficulty is ~~to~~ properly filling out the blank of 21 questions. The blank does not appear too difficult to the trained person, ~~but a casual~~ ~~scan of the~~ glance ~~blank~~ ~~will reveal that~~ but persons with limited schooling ~~will hardly be able to~~ would find it difficult answer these questions accurately. (1)

Donald S, Strong, Registration and Voting in Alabama, P

Observation Regarding Registration and Voting in Alabama by Negroes

There has been a steady increase in the Number of registered Negroes since 1940. In the last four years the increses have been somewhat gratifying but not satisfactory. At present the number of registered voters will excedd 52,000. This is not a number to become excited over, but it does show progress however slight numerically.

The material selected was secured from Negro leaders, Judge of Probate Office and at times from the judge and registration officials and from the official list printed in the Newspapers of the County. We claim no accuracy for these totals. In many instances the official estimates varies from the printed list appearing in the local weekly or dailies. At other times the estimates given by local leaders and citizens varied . In some instances the variation was very great while in others they tallied.

In a few cases we were unable to get any type of estimate . There are some counties which ~~was~~ were not contacted personally, ~~but~~ where we relied on correspondence with a ~~some known~~ person ~~which~~ we felt would give some reliable estimates of the number of Negroes registered. Some ~~16~~ 60 counties were personally contacted by four persons.

There are four counties ~~which~~ from which we must yet receive a report. The investigators had varied experiences which might be summarized as follows: In the first place, most of the persons contacted who had assumed a role of leadership complained of apathy on the part of large number of Negroes. We are inclined to designate the attitude as discouragement rather than apathy and indifference. The second reason for the lack of interest which we encountered is due to leadership. Whereever there was organized effort the result was more encouraging than in those counties without organization and top-level leadership.

Table III Continued

Congressional District	Total Number of Negroes 21 Years of Age	Number of Negroes Registered [illegible]	Per cent of Negroes Registered	Total Number Registered of all People
III				
Counties:				
Macon	14,526	855	5.8	3,500
Russell	10,129	200	1.9	8,259
IV	50,482	5,233	10.3	83,000
Counties				
Autauga	4,036	46	1.13	4,120
Calhoun	8,270	1,545	18.6	23,756
Clay	1,010	84	8.4	7,400
Coosa	1,828	431	23.5	4,536
Dallas	18,132	175	.96	8,100
Elmore	5,542	200	3.6	10,500
St. Clair	2,354	710	30.0	7,463
Talladega	9,310	1,726	18.5	17,374
V	24,766	3,733	15.0	116,000
Counties:				
Chambers	7,170	625	8.7	12,000
Cherokee	734	165	22.4	6,767
Cleburne	375	51	13.6	5,400
DeKalb	438			21,000
Etowah	7,653	1,445	18.8	32,561
Marshall	596	2	.33	16,532
Randolph	2,727	945	34.6	9,532
Tallapoosa	5,073	500	9.8	12,000
VI	51,042	7,696	15.0	61,500
Counties:				
Bibb	2,797	295	10.5	4,600
Chilton	2,029	875	43.1	12,000
Green	6,624	165	2.5	1,796
Hale	7,036	126	1.79	3,500
Perry	6,349	234	10.4	7,700

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table III Continued

Congressional District	Total Number of Negroes 21 Years of Age	Number of Negroes Registered 1954	Per cent of Negroes Registered	Total Number Regi tered of all People
VI				
Counties:				
Shelby	3,362	351	10.4	7,700
Sumter	8,598	250	2.87	3,000
Tuscaloosa	14,145	5,400	31.1	24,751
VII	13,983	3,880	27.3	101,500
Counties:				
Blount	425	87	20.4	10,500
Cullman	246	81	32.9	16,500
Fayette	1,487	243	16.2	7,800
Franklin	695	325	43.8	10,694
Marion	378	202	53.4**	10,000
Pickens	5,544	517	9.3	6,269
Walker	3,840	2,400	62.5	24,500
Winston	63	25	39.6	6,850
Lamar	1,199	100	8.3	8,000
VIII	31,651	6,556	20.7	94,000
Counties:				
Colbert	4,512	756	16.7	13,500
Jackson	1,231	608	41.2	12,000
Lauderdale	3,985	970	24.3	16,500
Lawrence	3,004	412	13.3	8,300
Limestone	4,007	1,200	29.9	18,400
Madison	10,223	1,120	10.9	18,066
Morgan	4,635	1,500	32.3	17,263
Jefferson	121,510	5,250	4.3	102,000
TOTAL	513,768	51,168	9.95	810,000

---

* Figures in this column is taken from the AP release, Birmingham News, April 16, 1954.

Jack
Winst
Marsh
Clay
Talla

Wilcox
Lowndes

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

In response to your further inquiry, I should like to point out that included in the materials was a clipping from the Birmingham News which gave the latest figure of the White voters and a partial listing of the Negro voters. The returns from elections and the compilation in the Secretary of State's Office does not list voters according to race. This will also give you the comparable registration record for the white if you will compare the 1954 listing with the total give by the Birmingham News.

The source of the figures for Negro 21 years of age and over were taken fromthe United States Cnesus of 1950. However, I must admit that there may be a slight error which is due to a challenge made by a colleague of mine. While my first tabulation was for the non-white. He prodded ma on this and said that I should make it for Negroes only. I have had some difficulty finding the source for other groups which I used to subtract from the total I had for non-white. In looking over the table I found a discrepancy of from 6 to 10 or more when adding the male and female in the columns for the non-white. I am led to believe that this can be accounted for in a small way for the differences we may have. However, if you find a different figure from the figures you collected from the Census then I would stand for this correction.

The interest of the Negro in the elction will depend largely upon the issues. The Primary election for governor and the local city election arouse the greater interest. Local referendum also call for increase interest. I would not venture to say just which would arouse the greater interest with any certainty.However the last two gubernatoral election seemsto havearoused a great deal of interest. To measure the trend would be rather difficult because of the small per cent of Negroes voting in the several precincts of the state.

There has been several suits instituted against the Boards of Registrar.

In 1944, there was a suit instituted against the Montgomery County Board of Registrar in which the Plaintiff attorney was accused of representing litigants against their consent or for not being retained by them. However, some remian on the Complaint and the court ruled against them but the Board became more liberal and several hundreds voters were added to the list. One thing came out it in registering and that was they stopped requiring white elector to vouch for the caharacter of the registrant

A case was brought against the Macon County Board of Resgitrar in 1947. This case was challenge by the Board on the Ground that the Federal District court lacked jurisdiction but on appeal was ~~upheld~~ denied by the Court of Appeal, Fifth Judicial Circuit. The trial which followed the district court ruled against the complainant and again the plaintiff appealed and it was suddenly disclosed that the litigant was already registered but hsi certificate had not been mailed.

Two suits were filed against the Board of Registrar in Jefferson County and against the Board of Registrar of Mobile County. Both were attacking the Bos well Amend ment. The Mobile Case was decided and declared unconstitutional.

In 1951 or 1950 the Henry County Board of Regsitrar was sued but the case never went to decision in that the Circuit Solicitor demanded the Board to register Negroes. This county has one of the finest record in the State. It was revealed in one registration period not a single Negro was refused but 23 whites were.

Macon County again in the Court, but dropped it suit after a preliminary hearing in which deputation was taken.

In 1953, the Board of Registrars of Bullock County was sued. The court ordered the Board to register the plaintiff and they promised that they would at the hearing but upon their return and prior to the day of registration all resigned. There was no new Board appointed for over two years. For two years no regsitration has been possible under the new Board, but only last week, I was informed that the board was accepting Negro applican and was treating the Negro applicants with courtesy and consideration.

Every suit instituted has been followed with an increase in registration except Bullock County. Th situation there is still undecided for at this time I have no knoweledge of any having received their certificate.

The future of the Negro voting look brighter now that for a long time. Early October the FBI Agents were here doing an investigation. Not only did we have more Negroes appearing but a sizeable number receive their certificate in Montgomery. The difficult problem is still the Negro. It is difficult to overcome the lethargy of the Negro in voting. Two counties are still in the non-voting stage- note Lowndes and Wilcox Counties. Lowndes county revealed more registered voter than white population 21 years of age and over. It is interesting to note that the Black belt counties has an unusually high number of white per centage wise and fewwer Negroes.

The last week General election shows a switch to the Republican by a sizeable number of Negroes. There was also more Voting than before. To what extent I am not able to say, but I would surmise that the Negro Vote was about the same in Percentage as the White. Roughly I would say nearly sixty per cent of the qualified Voters voted.

I trust that this has cleared up the points asked for.

I can document those cases if you want that. In fact I should have done that in the first place.

Respectfully yours

J. E. Pierce
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Please note the attacheed clipping:

The counties with a large number of Negroes a higher per c ent of the whites are registered than in other counties. In six counties there are more white registered than there are twanty one year old whites according to the United States Census of 1950. In fact Macon county has 811 more white registered than white citizen 21 years of age and over.

The counties involved areChoctaw, Clarke, Elmore, Lowndes, Macon, and Marengo.

With one exception all are difficult for Negroes to register except perhaps one-Clarke, which has less than ten percent of their number of voting age registered

I did not bring this table up to fate because I was not sure that you wanted to use it. However, the recenct figures for this table can be taken from table IV

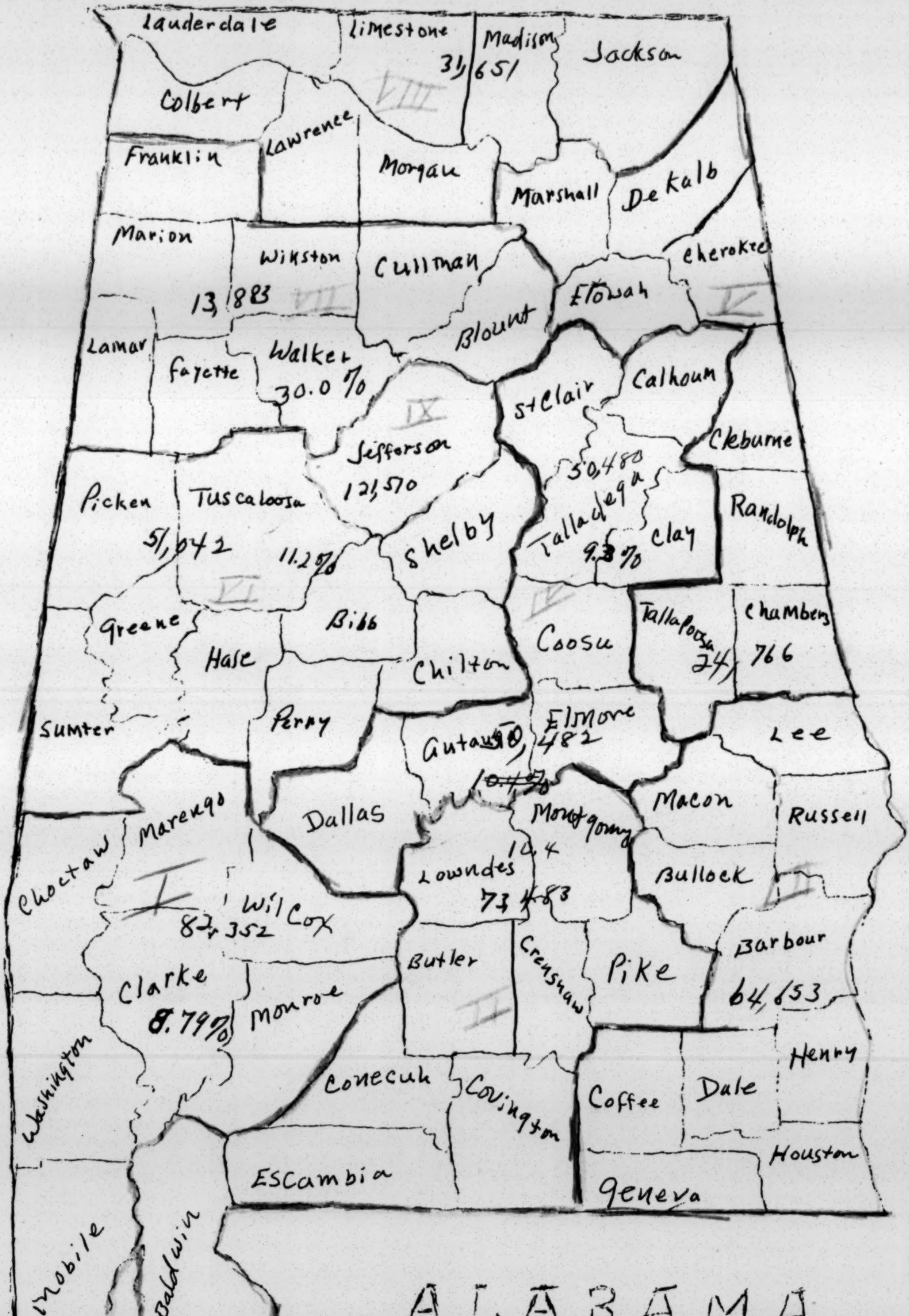
TABLE II

VOTING-AGE OF NEGROES REGISTERED IN 1952 AND 1954 BY: CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Congressional District	Negro Population 25 years and over	Number of Negroes registered in 1952	Number of Negroes registered in 1954	Per Cent Negroes Registered	Per Cent increase in registration
I	82,352	3,726	6,277	7.6	91
II	73,483	1,932	6,261	8.5	224
III	64,653	2,286	4,482	6.6	91
IV	50,482	2,443	4,917	10.3	144
V	24,766	1,224	3,733	15.0	205
VI	50,940	3,289	7,696	15.0	137
VII	13,877	842	3,980	27.3	360
VIII	31,597	2,282	6,566	20.7	187
IX	121,510	7,200	5,250	4.3	28.5
TOTAL	513,660	25,224	49,162	9.76	98.7

It will be noted from Table II that the percentage of those voting tends to reflect the weakness of the potential Negro vote. The central and southern congressional districts invariably have a lower percentage of Negro voters than the Northern district. The total number of Negroes of voting age is invariably higher in the southern half of the state, but the percentage of Negroes voting is invariably lower.

Of the four Southern district-namely, I, II, III, and IV there are 260,976 Negroes of voting age, but only 22,053 are registered voters which is 8.4 per cent of the number of Negroes of voting age. Contrasting this situation with the northern districts, we have 121,342 Negroes of voting age with 21,965 registered voters.


Lauderdale
Limestone
Madison
Jackson
31,651
VIII
Colbert
Lawrence
Franklin
Morgan
Marshall
De Kalb
Marion
Wikston
Cullman
Cherokee
13,883
VII
Etowah
V
Blount
Lamar
Fayette
Walker
30.0 %
St Clair
Calhoun
IX
Jefferson
121,570
Cleburne
50,480
Picken
Tuscaloosa
51,642
11.2%
Talladega
9.3%
Clay
Randolph
Shelby
VI
IV
Greene
Bibb
Coosa
Tallapoosa
Chambers
24,766
Hale
Chilton
Sumter
Perry
Autauga
~~10.4%~~
Elmore
10,482
Lee
Dallas
Macon
Russell
Marengo
Choctaw
Montgomery
10.4
Lowndes
73,483
Bullock
I
III
Wilcox
82,352
Butler
Crenshaw
Barbour
Pike
Clarke
8.79%
Monroe
II
64,653
Henry
Washington
Conecuh
Covington
Coffee
Dale
Houston
Escambia
Geneva
Mobile
Baldwin

ALABAMA

Number of Negroes 21 years of age and over, number registered and Percentage registered

BE SURE TO
Register and Vote!

ON SEPTEMBER 17TH THE VOTERS OF HUNTSVILLE WILL ELECT A MAYOR AND 5 ALDERMEN TO "RUN" HUNTSVILLE FOR THE NEXT 4 YEARS

Can You Vote In This Election?

IF YOU CAN'T, YOU CAN REGISTER MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY OF NEXT WEEK—AUGUST 13-14-15-16—FROM 11:00 A.M. TO 6:00 P.M.

If you are a *veteran,* or have just *become 21 years old,* or if you were *45 years old on or before October 1, 1954,* and have never paid a poll tax, you *can register & vote* in this election!!

The Board of Registrars meet in the Elks Building on the first floor. It will be necessary for you to carry a *registered voter* with you to witness for you. The following will be glad to witness for you: L. C. Jamar, Matt Ross, Charlie Ray, Sam Patton, R. L. Bradfield, Macon Bradford or any one of the city pastors

---

A SPECIAL VOTER REGISTRATION MEETING WILL BE HELD AT ST. JOHN A. M. E. CHURCH, CHURCH STREET, MONDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 13TH FOR THOSE DESIRING TO REGISTER AND WHO DON'T REGISTER MONDAY

Madison

L. C. Jamar
R. L. Bradfield, Committee Members

Special Suff.
Ala !!

A Study Of Voter Registration In Jefferson County, Alabama

By Grover S. McLeod

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Foreword

The writer wishes to especially thank the many local citizens who undertook the task of tabulating all of the voter information in exhibit ''A''. He understands so well the maxim, "That a house for all is not fit for any" He also understands so well that the downfall of almost every great civilization has been preceded by a decay in the genetic factor and a change in the stature of the race.

The apparent key is political strength and, of course, we all know the basis of such strength is votes. We watch, with amusement, Northern Politicians who prostrate themselves for the Negro vote, and then we see. with pathetic disdain, the same Negro slap the face of the same politician. Will they never learn? Yet, will we ever learn?

If this little booklet adds to the knowledge of the White people of this State, then it will have served its purpose. Let us focus our eyes on the problem at hand and conquer it.

GROVER S. McLEOD
Birmingham, Alabama

THE NEGRO VOTE IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

By checking the figures in Exhibit "A", one can see that in 1954, there were 91 voting districts in Jefferson County. The Negro outnumbered the Whites in only one district. This was 9-1, which is the old Legion Field box. The Whites had a commanding lead of the votes. The percentage was 94.6% White and nearly 5.4% Negro. There were 55[illegible]3 Negro votes from a total of 101,282. The Whites commanded a majority of 17.4 to each Negro.

By 1956 there were 99 districts. The Negro still controlled only the one district, 9-1. Yet, only 92.6 of the voters were White as compared with 7.3 Negro. There were now 8,386 Negro voters from a total of 114,225. The majority of the Whites had now dropped to 12.6 to each Negro.

In 1958, as you can imagine. there were more changes. There was an increase in the voting districts to the present 108. There are now four districts controlled by Negroes. These are 9-1, 9-4, 21-6 and 33-16. We now find that the Whites have 91% of the vote compared to the Negroes' 9%. Out of a total registered vote of 129,426, the Negroes have 11,578. The ratio of White to Negro votes has fallen to 10.1 to 1 Negro.

During the period from 1954-1958, which we may call the "Folsom Era," the Whites in this county lost 3.5% in voting power. White voters increased in 18 districts and decreased in 67 districts. In 14 districts there was no change.

All of these statistics point to just one fact, that the Negro registration is on the increase, and that as it increases, so will its influence. It may be pointed out that the Negro vote is largely concentrated in the City of Birmingham, and we may eventually face the proposition of either consolidating the south portion of the county with Birmignham, or else see Birmingham become a Negro-dominated city.

The Negro need not get a majority for influence. They need merely to have the balance of power. A balance of power is the ability to defeat a given candidate at a given time. So the figures given may not startle a naivete, they are significant because they show the approach to the balance of power. Negroes vote in blocs and support a single candidate. For instance, in New York City the Negro has only 10% of the total vote, but he holds the balance of power.

A CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION

The problem having been stated, then how is the solution to be had? The answer is simply this, that we must purge the polls All of us know that the Negro race has a propensity toward anti-social behavior in that he must break the laws of society. Why should a citizen be allowed to vote who is conducting a pattern of anti-social behavior? The Alabama constitution prohibits all persons convicted of certain crimes from being qualified electors. See Exhibit B). The list includes all of the felonies as well as a great number of the misdemeanors. This provision is constitutional, as it in no way discriminates against a colored person.

Of import to us all is the manner of carrying out this provision. We may assume that the Circuit Clerks of the several counties are notifying the registrars of the conviction of the felonies under this provision, but nowhere in the state is the law being fully obeyed.

One notices in the Appendix that (Exhibit C), Title 17, Section 15 (1) provides that Justices of the Peace, Ex officio justices of the peace which includes the various recorders courts, must report all convictions of the named crimes each month to the registrars of the county wherein the person convicted resides. This is to further carry out the provisions of the act which provide for the conviction of the nonidentified misdemeanors that come under crimes involving moral turpitude and infamous crimes. We know that petty larceny is a crime involving moral turpitude. (See Anderson v. State, 72 Ala 187.) We know, for example, that the U. S. Supreme Court has held that non-support is an infamous crime. See U. S. vs. Knowland, 258 U. S. 433.

In other words, the position of the Justices of the Peace is fuzzy. They are not, as a rule, legally trained and cannot research the law so as to ascertain what are the various crimes involving moral turpitude or infamous crimes. The justices of the peace can readily see that all convictions for vagrancy must be reported. This is also true for convictions for assault and battery on one's wife, but there needs to be a further clarification of what are crimes involving moral turpitude and what are infamous crimes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD DEFINE CRIMES

The Attorney General should search the law and issue an opinion as to what are the crimes that involve moral turpitude and what are the infamous crimes. The Justices of the Peace should be notified by the Attorney General to begin the immediate reporting of said crimes each month to the registrars, or thereafter suffer the consequences as provided for under Title 17, Section 15 (1).

CRIMES SHOULD BE REPORTED

One notices in this section that there is a penalty of $100 for each failure to report. One-half goes to the person bringing the suit and one-half goes to the State. The various Justices of the Peace and Recorders will have to carry out the provisions of this act. For, if a Justice of the Peace failed to report for twelve months. he would owe the State and the plaintiff bringing the suti, $1200.00.

Any of the convictions for crimes heretofore set out bar a person from becoming an elector all the way back to 1901. In other words, if a person were convicted of a crime, which is defined, in the year 1938 and has not received a pardon therefor, then his name should be purged from the poll. This can be done in several ways. The law says that the registrars must purge the polls. One sees that they may do so on any day they meet. And they may meet thirty days additionally each year for the purpose of purging the polls.

INVESTIGATORS SHOULD BE HIRED

The several Registrars have the right to employ investigators to help them purge the polls. Exhibit 1 shows us that investigators are to be employed, so the registrars of Jefferson County should employ investigators to check the records of the various courts trying cases involving misdemeanors. The check should go back for a period of thirty years and a list should be made of all convictions for said period and a check should be taken against the present electors and the list of convictions. This preject is a must and needs prompt attention without further delay.

APPOINTING OF THE REGISTRARS

Contrary to a lot of popular thought, the registrars serve at the will of the majority of the appointing body. (See Exhibits D and

E, Title 17, Sections 22-22). The appointing body is a majority of the board which consists of the Governor, Auditor and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries. This is one of the most important jobs that these three officials perform. If they were so minded, they could recklessly register every person of low repute in this state. But we fear not from this new administration. It is felt that they will appoint three members who will zealously do their duty.

CONSOLIDATION OF BOXES

Prior to the Primary election of 1958, Precinct 9-1, which was the Legion Field box, had been a Negro box. The people of Jefferson County had used it as a weather vane to denote the candidates that the Negro supported. Sometime prior to the 1958 election, the registrars of Jefferson County added 955 Whites to this box so as to take away the Negro vote aspect to this box. In other words, it became an integrated box and one had to check very hard to ascertain the Negro's candidate.

One notices that Exhibit G, Title 17, Section 330, (249E) gives the registrars the right to alter and change the electors in the various districts or precincts. The new registrars should with posthaste rearrange this box as it existed heretofore. All of the White voters should be removed therefrom. It should again be a weather vane so that not even the most unscrupulous candidate will pursue the Negro vote in this county.

AN ACT TO RE-IDENTIFY ELECTORS

There is a need for an act of the legislature to give the registrars of the several counties the authority to identify electors. It needs to be somewhat different from the past re-identification act.

The registrars need the right to examine the electors on the basis of whether they have been convicted of any of the enumerated crimes. There should be a specific time for the electors to appear in person or his name be removed from the polls. In other words, if the elector fails to appear in person in a period of, say thirty days, one can assume that he no longer resides in the county or else lacks the necessary elector's interest.

VAGRANCY

There should be a legislative act passed for the purpose of adding to those acts that constitute vagrancy (See Exhibit "K"). Obviously, the criminal act of gaming should be classified as vagrancy. Possibly there should be thought given to some similar legislation relating to bastardy and its effect on the community. It is recommended that those persons who have given birth to two illegitimate children be classified as vagrants.

Of great importance to the proper enforcement of the election machinery, is the dissimenation of knowledge of the various laws heretofore mentioned. The various police officials must be informed as to Title 14, Section 437-444. (See Exhibit "K"), which lists those acts that constitute vagrancy. The defendant should be specifically charged with vagrancy whenever the facts support the same.

EXHIBIT "A"

Precinct 9, District 1, 240 Graymont Ave, West (Armory)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1438	793	55.1	645	44.9
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
868	6	.69	862	99.31
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2270	961	42.34	1309	57.66

Precinct 9, District 2, 535 - 8th Ave., West (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1252	1163	92.81	89	7.11
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
964	962	99.79	2	.21
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1019	1015	99.6	4	.4

District 9, Precinct 9, District 3, 1030 - 4th Ter., W, (W. Wilson School,

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1722	1678	97.44	44	2.56
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1886	1812	97.13	74	2.87
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2006	1913	96.2	93	3.8

Precinct 9, District 4, 57 So. Center St., (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1585	991	62.52	594	37.48
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1879	964	51.3	915	48.7
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1650	814	49.33	836	50.67

Precinct 9, District 5, West End (Harrison Park Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2648	2599	98.15	49	1.85
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2991	2896	96.82	95	3.18
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2484	2308	95.59	116	4.41

Precinct 9, District 6, 1345 Steiner Bldg. (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1305	1298	99.46	7	.54
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1340	1311	97.83	29	2.17
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
873	873	100	0	0

Precinct 9, District 7, Central Park (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2292	2245	97.94	47	2.06
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
3108	3021	97.67	87	2.83
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
4000	3903	97.57	97	2.43

Precinct 9, District 8, Powderly (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1448	1341	92.61	107	7.39
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1244	1023	82.23	221	17.77
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1514	1154	76.22	360	23.78

Precinct 9, District 9, Central Park (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1629	1629	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1747	1746	99.95	1	.05
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1274	1274	100	0	0

Precinct 9, District 10, 630 - 18th St., S.W. (Lee School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
995	995	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1069	1069	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2082	2077	99.75	5	.25

Precinct 9, District 11, 100 Tuscaloosa Ave., (Elyton School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1114	957	85	157	15
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1175	739	62.9	436	37.1

Precinct 10, District 1, 6815 - 2nd Ave. So. (Cascade Plunge)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1189	1161	97.64	28	2.36
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1226	1174	95.75	52	4.25
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1398	1315	94	83	6

Precinct 10, District 2, 7601 Division Avenue (Barrett School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2009	1984	98.75	25	1.25
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2242	2209	98.53	33	1.47
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2448	2398	97.91	50	2.09

Precinct 10, District 3, 8400 - 1st Ave., So. (Robinson School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1960	1960	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2278	2278	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2471	2471	100	0	0

Precinct 10, District 4, 7900 - 8th Avenue No. (Curry School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1076	1076	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1085	1084	99.9	1	.1
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1320	1315	99.6	5	.4

Precinct 10, District 5, Roebuck (Roebuck Club)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
871	839	96.32	32	3.68
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
910	869	95.5	41	4.5
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1268	1211	95.5	57	4.5

Precinct 10, District 6, Old 78 Highway (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
408	408	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
685	683	97.7	2	.3
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1093	1091	99.8	2	.2

Precinct 10, District 7, 115 So. 57th St. (Woodlawn Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1774	1657	93.46	117	6.54
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2086	1920	92	166	8
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1339	1329	98.5	10	1.5

Precinct 10, District 8, 5620-1st Ave No. (Woodlawn High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
590	527	89.32	63	10.68
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
640	537	83.9	103	16.1
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1506	1161	77	345	23

Precinct 10, District 9, 956 No. 50th St. (Gibson School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1578	1566	99.24	12	.76
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1711	1688	98.65	23	1.35
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1847	1828	99.1	19	.9

Precinct 10, District 10, 5130 - 8th Ct., So. (Holman School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1077	1072	99.43	5	.57
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1159	1142	98.53	17	1.47
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1776	1746	98.31	30	1.69

Precinct 10, District 11, 4120 - 2nd Ave., So. (Avondale Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
663	642	96.83	21	3.17
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
693	655	94.51	38	5.49
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
725	665	91.72	60	8.28

Precinct 10, District 12, 4100 - 10th Ave., No. (East B'ham Fire Sta.)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
859	687	79.97	172	20.03
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
961	702	73.05	259	26.95
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1075	725	67.4	350	32.6

Precinct 10, District 13, 4120 Inglenook St. (Inglencok School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1678	1630	97.14	48	2.86
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1853	1779	96.6	74	3.4
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2081	1969	94.13	112	5.87

Precinct 10, District 14, Huffman (Huffman Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1511	1474	97.42	39	2.58
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2153	2093	97.2	60	2.8

Precinct 11, District 1, 1318 Alabama St. (Jefferson Co. Voc. Schoo

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
473	459	97.04	14	2.96
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
537	518	96.46	19	3.54
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
555	533	96.03	22	3.97

Precinct 11, District 2, Tarrant (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1205	1204	99.91	1	.09
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1333	1315	98.65	18	1.35
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1332	1289	96.77	43	3.23

Precinct 12, District 1, Leeds (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
977	977	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1065	1035	97.18	30	2.82
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1126	1077	95.64	49	4.36

Precinct 13, District 1, Trussville (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
978	976	99.79	2	.21
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
885	879	99.37	6	.63
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
993	986	99.19	7	.81

Precinct 13, District 2, Chalkville (Grammar School

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
381	381	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
271	271	100	0	0

Precinct 13, District 3, Clay (Ware's Store)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
157	157	100	0	0

Precinct 15, District 1, Pinson (Pinson School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1084	1070	98.7	14	1.3
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
802	794	99	8	1
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
839	830	98.8	9	1.2

Precinct 15, District 2, Bradford (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
252	235	93.25	17	6.75
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
272	253	93	19	7

Precinct 15, District 3, Trafford (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
242	242	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
250	250	100	0	0

Precinct 16, District 1, Morris (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
470	469	99.08	1	.92
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
499	498	99.8	1	.2
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
392	391	99.71	1	.29

Precinct 16, District 2, Warrior (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
783	775	98.97	8	1.03
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
599	589	98.3	10	1.7
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
627	616	98.25	11	1.75

Precinct 16, District 3, Gardendale (Community Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
688	686	99.72	2	.28
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
935	933	99.78	2	.22
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1108	1103	97.5	5	2.5

Precinct 16, District 4, Kimberly (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
150	150	100	0	0

Precinct 19, District 1, West Jefferson (High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
371	369	99.46	2	.54
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
397	392	98.7	5	1.3
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
412	411	99.75	1	.25

Precinct 19, District 2, West Sayre (Frank Wright's Store)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
571	571	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
616	616	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
532	532	100	0	0

Precinct 19, District 3, Corner (Corner School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
158	158	100	0	0

Precinct 20, District 1, Irondale (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
690	676	96.52	14	3.48
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
806	776	96.27	30	3.73
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
924	883	95.56	41	4.44

Precinct 20, District 2, Roebuck Plaza (Lions Club)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
238	238	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
287	287	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
216	215	99.5	1	.5

Precinct 21, District 1, 2030 Magnolia Ave. (So. H'lands School Gym)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1615	1575	97.52	40	2.48
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1659	1617	97.48	42	2.52
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1753	1707	97.37	46	2.63

Precinct 21, District 2, 2210 Highland Avenue (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1854	1854	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1822	1820	99.89	2	.11
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1918	1915	99.84	3	.16

Precinct 21, District 3, 4000 - 8th Ct. So. (Avondale School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1164	1163	99.91	1	.09
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1221	1218	99.75	3	.25
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1245	1243	99.84	2	.16

Precinct 21, District 4, 2909 H'land Ave. (Sheraton Apt. Basement)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1639	1638	99.93	1	.07
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1667	1661	99.64	6	.36
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1776	1769	99.64	7	.36

Precinct 21, District 5, 621 So. 27t St. (White Dairy)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
441	379	85.94	62	14.06
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
453	365	80.58	88	19.42
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
533	382	71.6	151	28.4

Precinct 21, District 6, 1250 - No. 13th St. (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
756	749	99.07	7	.93
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
769	757	98.44	12	1.56
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
645	316	49	329	51

Precinct 21, District 7, 3136 Norwood Blvd. (Norwood School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1054	1052	99.81	2	.19
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1103	1094	99.18	9	.82
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1934	1900	98.2	34	1.8

Precinct 21, District 8, 1428 - 11th Ave., So. (Peerless Laundry)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
784	696	91.32	88	8.68
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
789	685	86.5	104	13.5
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
814	702	86.2	112	13.8

Precinct 21, District 9, Birmingham (Court House Lobby)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1534	1382	90.09	152	9.91
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1620	1409	86.9	211	13.1
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1432	1170	81.7	262	18.3

Precinct 21, District 13, 1300 No. 19th St. (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1720	1458	84.76	262	15.24
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1830	1455	79.51	375	20.49
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1274	1150	90.27	124	9.73

Precinct 21, District 14, 1115 So. 11th St. (Glen Iris School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1907	1901	99.68	6	.32
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1994	1978	98.69	16	1.31
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2184	2158	98.8	26	1.2

Precinct 22, District 1, Fultondale (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
835	817	97.84	18	2.16
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
624	613	98.39	11	1.61
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
775	772	99.61	3	.39

Precinct 22, District 2, Ketona (Ketona Lumber Company)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No.	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
372	3.49	93.86	23	6.14
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
478	439	91.84	39	8.16

Precinct 25, District 1, 901 College Avenue (Edgewood School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2349	2349	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2731	2731	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
3025	3025	100	0	0

Precinct 25, District 2, Shades Crest Road (Masonic Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
642	641	99.84	1	.16
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
846	846	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1105	1104	99.92	1	.08

Precinct 25, District 3, 104 Hermosa Ave (Shades Valley High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1694	1646	97.11	48	2.89
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1203	1134	94.26	69	5.74
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1355	1268	93.53	87	6.47

Precinct 25, District 4, Vestavia (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
709	709	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1072	1072	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1660	1660	100	0	0

Precinct 25, District 5, Cahaba Heights (Community Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
702	701	99.85	1	.15
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
928	928	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1206	1206	100	0	0

Precinct 25, District 6, 307 Oxmoor Road (Edgemont Cleaners)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
405	401	99.01	4	.99
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
579	571	98.6	8	1.4
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
633	622	98.2	11	1.8

Precinct 25, District 7, Homewood Park (Recreation Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
858	844	98.37	14	1.63
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1656	1637	98.85	19	1.15
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1824	1808	99.11	16	.89

Precinct 29, District 1, Pratt City (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1053	896	85.09	157	14.91
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1212	931	76.81	281	23.19
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1365	911	66.7	454	33.3

Precinct 29, District 3, 930 - 21st Ave., West (Gorgas School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
445	315	70.79	130	29.21
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
559	348	62.25	211	37.75
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
681	384	56.4	297	43.6

Precinct 29, District 4, Sandusky (Sandusky School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
532	425	98.38	17	1.62
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
668	647	96.85	21	3.15
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
696	673	96.69	23	3.31

Precinct 33, District 1, Bessemer (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1327	1120	84.4	207	15.6
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1670	1347	80.51	323	19.49
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1818	1400	77	418	23

Precinct 33, District 2, 225 Owens Ave. (Jonesboro Elem. School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1569	1489	94.26	80	5.74
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1671	1538	92	133	8
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2258	2099	92.51	159	7.49

Precinct 33, District 3, 1901 Arlington Ave (Arlington School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1606	1516	94.39	96	5.61
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1664	1492	89.68	172	10.32
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1814	1588	87.5	226	12.5

Precinct 33, District 4, Pleasant Hill, McCalla (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
850	839	98.6	11	1.4
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
945	927	98	18	2
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1096	1066	97.3	30	2.7

Precinct 33, District 5, Hueytown (Hueytown High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1899	1885	99.23	14	.74
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2189	2149	98.1	40	1.9
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1957	1917	97.95	40	2.05

Precinct 33, District 6, Oakgrove (Oakgrove High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
479	479	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
490	489	99.8	1	.2
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
317	316	99.69	1	.31

Precinct 33, District 7, Fairfield Highlands (Communtiy House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
845	829	98.1	16	1.9
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1005	969	96.4	36	3.6
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1209	1138	94.1	71	5.9

Precinct 33, District 8, Mulga (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
846	829	97.99	17	2.01
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
978	928	94.76	50	5.24
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
920	864	93.91	56	6.09

Precinct 33, District 9, McNeill (McNeill Community Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1595	1523	95.48	72	4.52
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1826	1700	93.1	126	6.9
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1773	1600	90.24	173	9.76

Precinct 33, District 10, Greenwood (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
481	479	99.37	2	.63
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
544	538	98.89	6	1.11
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
668	662	99.08	6	.02

Precinct 33, District 11, Brighton (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
526	476	90.49	50	9.51
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
599	485	80.47	114	19.53
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
695	544	78.27	151	21.73

Precinct 33, District 12, Lipscomb (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1115	1033	92.64	82	7.36
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
734	691	94.14	43	5.86
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
850	779	91.64	71	8.36

Precinct 33, District 13, Wilkes (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
893	824	92.27	69	7.73
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1188	1063	89.47	125	10.53
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
549	382	69.53	167	30.42

Precinct 33, District 14, 591 Shades Crest Rd. (Sales Service Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
211	211	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
245	245	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
372	372	100	0	0

Precinct 33, District 15, Pleasant Grove (Community House)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
610	581	95.24	29	4.76
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
769	703	91.29	66	8.71
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
908	835	91.95	73	8.05

Precinct 33, District 16, Brownsville (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
365	213	58.38	152	41.62
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
386	155	40.26	231	59.74

Precinct 33, District 17, Shannon (Shannon School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
N.o Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
N.o Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
86	84	96.57	2	3.49

Precinct 33. District 18. Midfield (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
835	835	100	0	0

Precinct 33, District 19, Alliance (Alliance School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
212	212	100	0	0

Precinct 33, District 20, Concord (Concord School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
554	554	100	0	0

Precinct 33, District 21, Johns (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
134	128	95.52	6	4.48

Precinct 33, District 22, Minor (Minor High School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No	Box
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
350	339	96.86	11	3.14

Precinct 38, District 1, Graysville (Graysville School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
596	586	98.32	10	1.68
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
696	649	93.39	47	6.61
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
716	659	92.05	57	7.95

Precinct 38, District 2, Brookside (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
280	276	98.57	4	1.43
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
310	295	95.16	15	4.84
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
329	312	94.22	17	5.78

Precinct 39, District 1, Adamsville (Grammar School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
480	462	96.25	18	3.75
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
551	508	90.38	43	9.62
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
625	569	91.4	56	8.96

Precinct 39, District 2, Crumley Chapel(Westwood (Grammar School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
541	526	97.23	15	2.77
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
642	612	95.32	30	4.68
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
735	702	95.51	33	4.49

Precinct 42, District 1, Acipco (Eagan School Lunch Room)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
842	621	73.75	221	26.25
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1040	709	68.47	331	31.53
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1205	753	60	452	40

Precinct 42, District 2, ___ 2318 No. 17th St. (McArthur Cchool)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
796	743	93.34	53	6.66
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
903	808	89.47	95	10.53
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
945	825	87.24	120	12.76

Precinct 43. District 3, 3006 - 26th St., No. (Chamber of Commerce)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1634	1454	88.98	180	11.02
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1950	1559	79.43	391	20.57
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2197	1683	76.61	514	23.39

Precinct 44, District 1, Center Point (Grammar School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1434	1424	99.3	10	.7
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
739	738	99.85	1	.15
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1073	1071	99.81	2	.19

Precinct 45, District 1, Ensley (Fire Station)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
627	475	75.75	152	24.25
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
749	465	62.08	284	36.92
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
888	479	53.84	409	46.16

Precinct 45, District 2, 1553 Pike Road (Y.M.C.A.)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
742	665	89.6	77	10.38
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
854	686	80.3	168	19.7
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
979	761	77.73	218	22.27

Precinct 45, District 3, Ensley Park (Community Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2072	2036	98.28	36	1.72
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2100	2027	96.23	73	3.77
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2556	2445	95.04	111	4.96

Precinct 45, District 4, 2425 Ave S (New Minor School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1353	1328	98.15	25	1.85
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1412	1386	98.15	26	1.85
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1472	1436	97.53	36	2.47

Precinct 45, District 5, 2623 - 28th St., W. (Fairview Schoo

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1498	1498	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1582	1582	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1623	1623	100	0	0

Precinct 50, District 1, Hillview (Community Center)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
348	337	96.84	11	3.16
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
411	399	97.08	12	2.92
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
446	429	96.18	17	3.82

Precinct 50, District 2, Mt. Olive (Mt. Olive School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
382	382	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
462	462	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
557	557	100	0	0

Precinct 52, District 1, Wylam (Inferior Court Room)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1226	1203	98.12	23	1.88
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1304	1256	95.55	48	4.45
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1422	1349	94.86	73	5.14

Precinct 53, District 1, Fairfield (City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2341	1980	85.53	361	14.47
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2537	2069	81.55	468	18.45
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
3181	2274	71.48	907	28.52

Precinct 59, District 1, Mt. Brook (Mt. Brook School)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2225	2225	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2300	2300	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2675	2675	100	0	0

Precinct 59, District 2, 205 Overbrook Road (Mt. Brook Jr. High)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
2260	2260	100	0	0
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1151	1150	99.91	1	.09
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1322	1320	99.86	2	.14

Precinct 59, District 3, 51 Oak St. (Mt. Brook City Hall)

1954-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
No Box			No Box	
1956-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1385	1385	100	0	0
1958-TOTAL	White	Pct.	Negro	Pct.
1443	1443	100	0	0

EXHIBIT "B"

Code 1940. Title 1 ___ Constitution of 1901
Article 8. Section 182.

The following persons shall be disqualified both from registering, and from voting, namely:

All idiots and insane persons; those who shall by reason of conviction of crime be disqualified from voting at the time of the ratification of this constitution; those who shall be convicted of treason, murder, arson, embezzlement, malfeasance in office, larceny, receiving stolen property, obtaining property or money under false pretenses, perjury, subornation of perjury, robbery, assault with intent to rob, burglary, forgery, bribery, assault and battery on his wife, bigamy. living in adultery, sodomy, incest, rape, miscegenation, crime against nature, or any crime punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, or of any infamous crime or crime involving moral turpitude; also, any person who shall be convicted as a vagrant or tramp, or of selling or offering to buy the vote of another, or of making or offering to make a false return in any election by the people or in any primary election to procure the nomination or election of any person to any office, or of suborning any witness or registrar to secure the registration of any person as an elector.

EXHIBIT "C"

Code 1940, Title 17, Section 15 (1)

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, CLERKS, ETC., TO FURNSIH WITH NAMES OF CONVICTED PERSONS.

In addition to all other duties now required of them by law. all justices of the peace. notaries public, ex officio justices of the peace, and the clerks of all county courts or other courts of record, shall furnish, once each month, the names of all persons who have been convicted of any offense mentioned in section 182 of the Constitution of 1901 or Section 15 of Title 17 of the Code of Alabama 1940, to the board of registrars of the county in which such persons reside.

Any justice of the peace, notary public ex officio justice of the peace, or clerk of a county court or other court of record who wilfully fails to perform the duties imposed upon him by this section shall forfeit the sum of one hundred dollars for each such failure. Such sum may be recovered in an action at law by any citizen of the county in which the officer acts, one-half to his own use and one-half to the use of the state. (1949___ p. 912, appvd. Sept. 19, 1949.)

EXHIBIT "D"

Section 21. REGISTRARS: APPOINTMENT OF. - Registration shall be conducted in each county by a board of three reputable and suitable persons to be appointed by the governor, auditor and commissioner of agriculture and industries, or by a majority of them acting as a board of appointment, and who must be also qualified electors and residents of the county and who shall not hold an elective office during their term. One of said members shall be designated by the board of appointment as chairman of the board of registrars for each county. Provided, however, that in counties of over three hundred and fifty thousand population, according to the last or any subsequent federal census, (that the governor shall appoint the chairman of the board of registrars.) (1920, p. 124; 1932, Ex. Sess., 177.) This section has been superseded by Title 62, Section 330 (249-B) wherein the board elects its own chairman.

EXHIBIT "E"

Section 22. TERMS OF OFFICE. - The registrars so appointed under this article may be removed at the will of the appointing board, or a majority of the members thereof, at any time, with or without cause, and without giving their reasons therefor, and if not so removed, the registrars may hold office for four years from the time of their appointment and until their successors are appointed. (1920, p. 124.)

EXHIBIT ''F''

Title 62, Section 330 (249d). PURGING LIST OF REGISTERED VOTERS. - The board of registrars shall have the power to purge the list of registered voters in the same manner as is now provided by law and may do so on any day on which it meets to register qualified persons as voters or electors, but the board shall give priority and preference to registration on such days. The board shall have the authority to meet for the purpose of purging such lists on any thirty additional days in each year as may be designated by the board. Insofar as sections 44 and 47, Ttile 17, Alabama Code of 1940, (244) - 330 (249) of this title, specify the days on which the board of registrars shall purge. such Code sections and said act shall have no application in the counties described in section 330 (249a) of this title. (1951, p. 1199, Section 4, appvd. Sept. 5, 1951; 1953, p. 514, appvd. Aug. 27, 1953.)

EXHIBIT "G"

Section 330 (249a). ESTABLISHING, CHANGING, ETC., ELECTION DISTRICTS OR PRECINCTS: DESIGNATING OF VOTING PLACES. -

The board of registrars shall have complete and exclusive power to establish, change, consolidate or alter election districts or precincts and to designate voting places in any manner it deems appropriate, and shall have and perform all powers, functions, and duties of such county governing body and of the judge of probate. The authority hereby conferred upon the board of registrars shall not be subject to limitations as to the composition of all districts and precincts imposed upon county governing bodies by chapter 1, article 6, Title 17, Code of Alabama of 1940. Consolidation of precincts and districts and the establishment of new voting centers in such counties due to the adoption and mandatory use of voting machines, heretofore made by the said board of registrars in such counties are hereby ratified and approved. The consolidation or abolition of precincts in such counties as heretofore made or which may hereafter be made by said board of registrars shall not affect offices of justices of the peace, notary public ex officio justices of the peace, or constable as such offices existed at the time said precinct or precincts were consolidated or abolished but said officers shall continue to hold office and exercise jurisdiction within the territory embraced within the precincts as they existed when elected or appointed. Thereafter such officers shall be elected or appointed only in the precincts as established by the board of registrars. (1951, p. 1199, Section 5, appvd. Sept. 5. 1951; 1953, p. 514, appvd. Aug. 27, 1953.)

EXHIBIT "H"

Section 33 (250). BOARD OF REGISTRARS TO PURGE LISTS OF THOSE DECEASED, NON-RESIDENT OR OTHERWISE DISQUALIFIED.

The board of registrars in each county in the State of Alabama having a population of 400,000 or more according to the last or any subsequent federal census is hereby directed to purge all lists of the qualified electors in such county to the end that the names of all who are deceased or nonresidents of such county or have otherwise become disqualified from voting therein shall be removed from such lists and to the end that the name of each qualified elector shall appear only on the list of qualified electors for the district and precinct in which he resides. (1940, p. 861, Section 1, appvd. Sept. 7, 1949.)

EXHIBIT "I"

Section 330 (254). MEETINGS OF BOARD OF REGISTRARS FOR PURPOSE OF PURGING LISTS. -

The board of registrars in each county shall meet as often as necessary and on such dates as such board may by order fix for the purpose of purging the lists of qualified electors of such county. Such board may meet any number of days not exceeding thirty-five (35) per annum in excess of the maximum now provided by law for the purpose of purging such lists; and shall be entitled to the same per diem allowance, for meeting on such dates in excess of the maximum as now provided by law. (1949, p. 863. Section 5, appvd. Sept. 7, 1949.)

EXHIBIT "J"

Section 330 (255). REGISTRARS MAY EMPLOY INVESTIGATORS. -

Subject to the approval of the county commission, board of revenue, or other governing body in such county, the board of registrars shall have authority to employ such investigators as may be necessary to enable them to purge the voting list. Any such employees shall be subject to the provisions of any applicable merit system or civil service law. (1949, p. 863, Section 6, appvd. Sept. 7, 1949.)

EXHIBIT "K"

Code 1940, Title 14, Section 437. VAGRANTS, VAGABONDS AND TRAMPS.

Section 437. (5571) (7843) (5628) (4047) (4218) (3630) (88) VAGRANCY DEFINED. - The following described persons are vagrants:

(1) Any person who wanders or strolls about in idleness, or lives in idleness, who is able to work and has no property sufficient

for his support.

(2) Any person leading an idle, immoral, or profligate life, who has no property sufficient for his support, and who is able to work, and does not work.

(3) Any able-bodied person having no property sufficient for his support, who loafs. loiters, or idles in any city, town or village, or upon a public highway, or about a steamboat landing, or a railroad station, or any other public place in this state, or any place where intoxicating liquors are sold, without any regular employment.

(4) Any person trading or bartering stolen property, or who unlawfully sells or barters any spirituous, vinous, or malt or other intoxicating liquors.

(5) Any person who is a common drunkard.

(6) Any person who is a professional gambler.

(7) Any able-bodied person who is found begging.

(8) Any able-bodied person who shall abandon his wife and children, or either of them, without just cause, leaving her or them without sufficient means of subsistence, or in danger of becoming a public charge.

(9) Any person who is a prostitute.

(10) Any person who is a keeper, proprietor or employee of a house of prostitution.

(11) Any person who is a keeper, proprietor or employee of a gambling house.

(12) Any person who has no property sufficient for his support and who is able to work and does not work, but hires out his children or allows them to hire out.

(13) Any person over the age of twenty-one years, able to work, and who does not work, and has no property sufficient for his support, and has not some means of a fair, honest, and reputable livelihood, is a vagrant.

QUALIFIED VOTER TOTALS FOR JEFFERSON COUNTY IN 1954, 1956, AND 1958 (ELECTION YEARS) WERE AS FOLLOWS:

COUNTY VOTERS IN 1954

White 95,779 or 94.5% ___ Negro 5,503 or 5.45% ___ Total 101,282

COUNTY VOTERS IN 1956

White 105,839 or 92.65% ___ Negro 8,386 or 7.35% ___ Total 114,225

COUNTY VOTERS APRIL 15, 1958

White 115,382 or 91.03% ___ Negro 11,371 or 8.97% ___ Total 126,753

COUNTY VOTERS APRIL 29, 1958

White 118,048 or 91.05% ___ Negro 11.578 or 8.95% ___ Total 129.628
In 1954 there were 91 Boxes, 100 Boxes in 1956, and 108 Boxes in 1958.
Average voters per box was 1151 in 1954, 1142 in 1956 and 1198 in 1958

In analyzing this chart we find that in 1954 there were 91 boxes in Jefferson County. By 1956 three of these boxes had been consolidated and eleven new boxes established for a total of 100. Of this number, we find only 11 boxes showing a gain over this period, 70 showing a loss and 11 with no change. There was, of course, no basis for comparison on the newly established boxes. Looking further we find that in 1956 there were 100 boxes. There were no consolidations for the period 1956 to 1958 but we find 8 new boxes established during this period, with 20 boxes showing a gain, 66 registering a loss and 14 unchanged.

During the period 1954 to 1958 we find the White voting power falling from 94.567% to 91.05% ___ or a loss of 3.513%.

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CITIZENS' COUNCILS
STATES' RIGHTS · RACIAL INTEGRITY

Jefferson County Citizens Council

P. O. Box 6325

BIRMINGHAM 7, ALABAMA

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Autauga Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 80 (72) 73
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this Negroes have no trouble with board
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacenty Give some evidence Veterans and teachers are encouraged to vote but make no real attempts
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
    - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes
    - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no
    - (c) Is this required of white applicants ?
    - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
    - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
    - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? No trouble registering.
    - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as for whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Inactive
(b) militancy
(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? None
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes, in the past
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? —
What reason? —

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Neutral
Give some evidence Not enough negroes have tried

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Negroes Votes
Campaign —

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Colored character witnesses not accepted.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 2 known reasons for denials using Colored Vouchers

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Good. Supt. encourages Negroes to register and vote.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No.

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? not particularly To what extent Small

How do you account for this? lack of education.

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? — How effective —.

Interviews:

Probate Judge James A. Rice (very nice)

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No - next day. Do the whites get theirs? ?

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? Will assist people in filling out forms

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
none except refusal to accept Negro character witnesses.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?
Encourage teachers and vets.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Balwin Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 625
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good - need a voter as voucher Give some evidence of this Voucher takes full responsibility
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Slightly Complacent - but improving Give some evidence Veterans who can vote complacent.

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness ~~or~~ vouchers Not white but character witnesses - can write letters

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes

   (c) Is this required of white applicants yes

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   Good for County - only character witness

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same - line & all

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Voluntary - Yes
(b) militancy ______________________
(c) Position held County Agent, (d) Effective, How?
Becoming more effective number increased in

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Increasing
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
Organized laborers.
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? Citizens Coordinator
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? none known
What reason? ______________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Neutral
Give some evidence no tangible evidence of concern.

9. Attitude of the press Neutral ,Editorial and newsnews it if available ______________, dates ______________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Very favorable
Campaign Almost ask Negroes to campaign for them.

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?
Yes to what extent? Mainly a rural county - more vocal than others

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration None

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

- positive- cooperative.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No such system 80% owners

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? yes (mobile) Have they shown any tangible interest? yes How effective

Very much -

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? only if all board members are present. Do the whites get theirs? Same

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? All vouchers or other members to assist.

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Very cordial and give all possible assistance in getting vouchers.

Trying to get at least 1000 voters soon. No real problems but to get Negroes out to register and vote.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Barbour Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters Not Known (no ~~[illegible]~~) 220 (official list)
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Friendly Give some evidence of this Most Applicants accepted, and encouraged
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Interest lacking Give some evidence 24 person Contacted on streets and all said they "Saw no reason for Voting" or similar answers
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants —
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? The "New" board will help any Negro - This was Cause a grand jury investigation
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as White

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active None organized

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

one Minister make a determind effort.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? None

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? None

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& No

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Only Certain Individuals

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? Few approximately how many? Not Known

What reason? —

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Un Concern

Give some evidence statement "It is all right for them to vote but they wouldn't know what they are voting for. They will just be doing what the NAACP tell them"

9. Attitude of the press Cool ,Editorial and newsnews it if available None available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes ignore the Negro

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered "I went down and was ask Do you Know What you are doing? Who Paid you to come down?"

12. Approximate number denied certification Very few

reasons for denials Could Not Read

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Supt. "All Should Vote if they teach Citizenship

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

No To what extent ________

How do you account for this? ________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge — "We let them Vote, but they don't know what they are doing except Dr — and a few of those teachers"

Newspaper editor — "I don't have time to talk about that"

Members of the Board of Registrar: "I help them and have got in a world of trouble"

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind? interpitation

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? Not Known

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

If any Negro Come down and Can read and Write he is regestered.

Walker Co - Hembrick
Bibb - Wesley, N.W. *

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Bibb Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters (180) app. 300 235 actual Count
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Liberal Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting negligence Apathetic Give some evidence ________

5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No - dropped in last 12 months
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ?
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ________
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as for whites

Wesley - Take negro people
to court house to register colored.
Attitude still prevails

Citizens Committee for Voter registration

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy ✓

(c) Position held Pres. of District (2), (d) Effective, How? for getting people to vote and keep informed. / Increasing Number.

Patton B'ham - State direct.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Yes

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
All teachers - 54 - all registered
Farmers, Day + Domestic.

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? ? approximately how many? ________
What reason? ________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration good

____

Give some evidence ________

____

9. Attitude of the press Good - encourage voting, Editorial and newsnews it if available ________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit under cover
Campaign Make many promises

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes
________ to what extent? ________

Sept. W.C.C.

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Know of None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ____________

reasons for denials ____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes 600 members

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes Negroes not affraid.

In what ways have they affected registration Citation of Board Chairman to stall all Negroes possible

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Indifferent-
Every body was encouraged to vote during Goodwyn Bill.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ____________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes ____________ To what extent ____________

How do you account for this? ____________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ____________ How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge G. H. Stacy -

~~Progress.~~ Newspaper editor J. W. Oakely

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes, (see above)

20. Is the White given any assistance? ?

What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ?

State some specific case or practices? (See above)

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? Generally favorable - No white person need to vouch.

Board of Registrars in Court House.

Centerville Press

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Bullock Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 6
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Congenial but Negative Give some evidence of this Persons attempting to register are treated with Courtes but are always told they did not pass the test.
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Previous interest now Lost Give some evidence In 1953 more than 100 attempted to register. In the last year only 20 have attempted. Nineteen of the 20 were rejected.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants no

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no

   (e) Give the nature of the threat ———

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Registrars converse with applicants in friendly fashion but always turn them down.

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Place is provided and there is freedom to apply.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy______________________________ ______

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

no leadership whatever

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? no

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? none

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& no

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? ____________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or fefused certification? yes approximately how many? 19 in last year

What reason? No reason given

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

Some promise to help but do not appear at appointed time

Give some evidence______________________________

____

9. Attitude of the press (Ignore the subject), Editorial and newsnews it if available__________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes ignore Negro ~~vote~~ registration

Campaign______________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?________

no to what extent? One of the six is a rural voter

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Seven trips required before registration was completed.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 79

reasons for denials none given

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Board ignores the subject. Superintendent makes the observation that they should vote but give no assistance.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

no To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor— attacked NAACP. No other comment

Members of the Board of Registrar: very cordial but insist applicants did not meet qualifications.

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? One did. Do the whites get theirs? Most do

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Registrars fill out the application

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind? Same as 19

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? none

Comment: There is need for a leadership organization. Community people feel that teachers in the schools should take the lead. However, it is reported that certain leaders discourage efforts of Negroes to attempt to register.

GREENVILLE J. ROSS

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

Mr. Taylor

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County BUTLER Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters [redacted] 805
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE (SO FAR) Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting LACK OF INTEREST Give some evidence WON'T GO DOWN TO REGISTER

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO

   (c) Is this required of white applicants ______

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ______

   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? SAME PLACE AS WHITES

Rev P.B Bennett.

R.L. Austin

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy

(c) Position held Teacher, (d) Effective, How?

Good leadership

Minister Work with church in Num[illegible] votes

Eco. Security

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Teachers

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Teachers — Few Workers —

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&. Individual help

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Teach to fill in blanks

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? Few

What reason? Didn't complete

Blanks — People who didn't read

Changed since the Supreme Court Decision

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Very well

Give some evidence

It's possible that they were incorrect.

9. Attitude of the press Never take issue, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes

Campaign Ask Negroes for Votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

to what extent? Good

More than city group Number —

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification__________

reasons for denials__________ __________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes CAN'T

In what ways have they affected registration TELL

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

FAVORABLE IT WOULD SEEM

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent FEW

How do you account for this?____________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?____ ____Have they shown any tangible interest?________How effective__________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? NO

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES —
What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? YES IT Seem to be the CASE
State some specific case or practices? However the Negroes help Negroes

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

until they were asked not to help each other.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

Not more 200 over since 145 4 Registered Voters

1. Name of the County Calhoun Investigator H.
2. The Number of registered Negro voters ~~1800~~ 1620
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this no separation according to race. Negro gave aid to applicant no help now allowed
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting To an extent a little apathy Give some evidence Promise but fail to go. Many had to be Taken to the Board

Objected to Negro bringing in Voters Should a owner

come in individual

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ——
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat None
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Some are asked Questions. Usually about farm
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same for all

What Percent A minister show interest. Pretty high now. what this occurred in the last 3 years

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy ✓

Business & Professional

(c) Position held Not Many in Profession (d) Effective, How?

to a degree

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Not much

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
Teachers seem more anxious than others
encouraged by Bd of Education

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Anniston & Calhoun Co. Voters League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? 2%
What reason? improperly filling out blank

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
favorable
Give some evidence Candidates solicit Negro vote
and urges them to register

9. Attitude of the press ~~Opposed~~ hostile ,Editorial and newsnews it if available degrade the Negro , dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Seeks support
Campaign Come to Negro meeting

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No effort
made Some to what extent? few

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification not many
reasons for denials Improperly filled blank

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes None
In what ways have they affected registration ____________________

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Favorable

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? None
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? Yes few farmers To what extent ____________
How do you account for this? Not Motivated

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Not much How effective ____________.

Membership 12-1500

Interviews:
Probate Judge
no

Newspaper editor
Some Negroes have stopped the paper
encourage Voting but opposes integration

Members of the Board of Registrar:
Not interviewed

B.O.R

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? no

20. Is the White given any assistance? No
What kind? ____

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? none

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? none

WCC has had little influence
on Registration & Voting
Press encourage Voting, but oppose
integration

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc. (No.49)

La fayeth, ala 400

1. Name of the County Chambers Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 249 - excluding Lanett
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Very Cool Give some evidence of this Negroes are always told to come back atleast 3 times
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Not interested Give some evidence after the first attempt the seldom go back.

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants yes
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials only the leader
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat telephone Calls
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? - Since they "New" Chairman (lady) she give the applicant the "3rd degree" before the application blank is given them.
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? a table in the Sheriff office

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy ✓

(c) Position held , (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Midde age

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& In the rural

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? yes approximately how many? 47

What reason? Did not Meet qualification

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration few will sign blanks

Give some evidence A Number of White will Promise to Sign but never show up

9. Attitude of the press bitter, blame Negroes desires on N.A.A.C.P., Editorial and newsnews it if available , dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes They seek the few Negroes Votes

Campaign - All Contact the leader

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes

to what extent? More than the Negroes in the County ~~Sed~~ Seat. The only organization is in the rural.

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered "I went to the board three time before they would let me have a blank to fill out"

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Not Known

reasons for denials ___________ ___________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration. "The board was denying the Negro before the Citizen Council"

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? The few that do pass The board blank is signed by the assistance Supt.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

No To what extent ___________

How do you account for this? ___________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Not the County. * Have they shown any tangible interest? ___________ How effective ___________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge " — — — Is always in my face about the N— voting - We have enough of them now.

Newspaper editor — "See — — —"

Members of the Board of Registrar: "Too busy to see you to day — come back in Sept."

* See Lanett's report

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind? interpetation

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? yes

State some specific case or practices? If an answere is Wrong they will be allowed to Correct it

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? Whites are allowed to Carry some one to help them. Negroes are Not.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

In Lanett where the Mill boss shows interest Negroes can regester freely but there is quite a barrier to the rural Negro and the Negroes in the County Seat, There is a General dislike for the lady who push for their registrat all Negroes are required to Vote in the Sheriff office so they Will Know just how Negroes Vote. This box is reserved for Negroes, but some Whites use it when they do not Wish to stand in line

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Chambers Lanett Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters approximately 400
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants very favorable Give some evidence of this Most factory applicants are accepted.
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting apathy Give some evidence When given time off from jobs to go to vote they often go elsewhere and do not vote.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants yes
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ________
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? none unfavorable
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active none

(b) militancy none

(c) Position held ______________, (d) Effective, How?

____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? no

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? none

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& no

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? ____________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? ________

What reason? ______________________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration favorable

Give some evidence Employers encourage registration and give time off from jobs for this purpose

9. Attitude of the press Unconcern ,Editorial and newsnews it if available ____________________, dates ____________________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes good

Campaign solicit Negro vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? ________ to what extent? ____________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification none

reasons for denials ________ ________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? no

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes ________

In what ways have they affected registration ________

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? favorable

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ________ urban area

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

________ To what extent ________

How do you account for this? ________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? yes Have they shown any tangible interest? yes How effective

Industrial workers are registered voters regardless of race.

Interviews:

See County's report

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council *no*

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? *yes*. Do the whites get theirs? *yes*

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? *yes — interpretation of questions*

20. Is the White given any assistance? *yes*

What kind? *interpretation of questions*

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? *no*

State some specific case or practices? ______________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Plant manager and union influential in Negro registration. Board of Registrars sends notice of meeting dates.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Cherokee Investigator J. E.

2. The Number of registered Negro voters 250

3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants favorable Give some evidence of this Make no difference between races

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting enthusiastic Give some evidence Many seek helpful information

5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants Yes same way

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no threat

   (e) Give the nature of the threat —

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   The usual courtesy accorded all

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Use same accommodation

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy moderate

(c) Position held President P.T.A. & Voters League, (d) Effective, How?

Yes to a degree

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Not too much

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Farmers

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Civic Improvement League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? None approximately how many? none

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration favorable

Give some evidence Urge them to register

9. Attitude of the press Liberal, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Soliciting Votes

Campaign Come to meeting, seek opportunity to speak

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Very Liberal all Teachers should vote, + urged to do so

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes, Same as owners To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

illiterates are asked if he owns $308.00 worth of Property. if he does he is qualified

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council ——

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? ——

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? Allowed to assist in Registering & Voting

Donald Stocks

Cleburne

WCC not successful in organizing

Each page

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Chilton Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters @ 350
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good (First come, first served) Give some evidence of this Registering of Truck loads at times —
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacency Give some evidence Were interested but not so at present

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No

   (c) Is this required of white applicants n

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials not recently (12 yrs)

   (e) Give the nature of the threat

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   very good - because of small no. of Negroes

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same - first come, first served

Voters organization -
President -

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Inactive at prest
(b) militancy
(c) Position held High School Principal, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
Farmers & lower income group -
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? —
What reason? —

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Neutral
Give some evidence Not Too Many Negroes in County

9. Attitude of the press Neutral ,Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes very good
Campaign Strong solicitation,

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?
Yes to what extent? more than in city

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered No

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification none
reasons for denials ____

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No
In what ways have they affected registration ____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
neutral - stirs clear of politics

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Have none
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
____ To what extent ____
How do you account for this? ____

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? ____ How effective ____.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? Will allow teachers or others to assist or will fill out application from answers to questions

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

none known

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

See above.

Protested in Middle Forties to have list changed to integrated listing rather than separation by race.

Now it is
difficult to get exact
number ...

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Choctaw Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 112
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Friendly Give some evidence of this All are treated with Courtesy
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Poor Give some evidence Few Negroes Will attempt to register

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes

   (c) Is this required of white applicants yes

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials yes

   (e) Give the nature of the threat A Cross was burn in front of the two leaders of the movement to get Negroes to Vote.

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? One Negro Moved from Fla. in 1922, and was denied the privledge of registing until He wrote Washington and proved that he was not a draft dodger from world War I

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   All Negro & White use the same accomodation at the same time. They are taken in order as they come

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Very little

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

~~Some~~

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? middle age group

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& No

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? three person in the County

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? ~~No~~ at first approximately how many? 28

What reason? No reason given, but all 28 were accepted on the second try

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Not interested

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates The Editor said he urge all to Vote - Not just White or Negroes

10. Officials and candidates attitudes They ignore

Campaign The Negro Voters Completely

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the

note difficulty encountered Teachers were turn down most time on their first try, but the "yard boys and maids always passed

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ______

reasons for denials ______ ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes ——

In what ways have they affected registration "There is no need for the Council - The Colored Boys keep us in line"

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? The Supt. told the teachers to register and get all adults to register so they could vote for the Goodwin amendment

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? No To what extent ______

How do you account for this? ______

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? ______ How effective ______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge - "I want the Negro to vote but I do not say any more to them about it than I have to - your folk have peoples that have been to school"

Newspaper editor - I urge all to vote - not any racial group - I still make my living selling my paper"

Members of the Board of Registrar:

We pass all that can qualify

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council ______

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? Some

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No — At first yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? No

What kind? ______

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? ______

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Note The Schools has local principal any message to Negroes Votes is relayed through these Principals — No efforts is made to get Negroes to Vote unless there is a close local election.

Grove Hill

Sam Williams

Has A Store

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County [redacted] CLARKE Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 650 - 800
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this I guess
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NOT TO INTERESTED Give some evidence

5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES (2 whites)

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank

   (c) Is this required of white applicants

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials

   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   SAME AS WHITES

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy____________________

(c) Position held__________, (d) Effective, How?

Need good christian leadership LIKE they got in Montgomery

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No enough

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

FARMERS

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Individuals — work for voters

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?__________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?____________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

The don't care — when you get

Give some evidence registered the try to get your vote.

9. Attitude of the press__________,Editorial and newsnews it if available__________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________

Campaign Run after the Negro for his vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

__________to what extent? good

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered NONE — Just can't get the Negro to go down

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ______

reasons for denials ______ ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

______

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

______ To what extent YES

How do you account for this? ______

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective ______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES
Help him fill out blanks

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Thomasville John Street

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County CLARKE [redacted] Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 700
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this NO intimidation of voters
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Lack of interest Give some evidence Fail to go down to register
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes (3 white)
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO —
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     Same as Whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy___________________________________

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

Need Leadership Promote Voting among

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No To a great degree Negroes

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

No special group —

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?________

What reason?____________________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

Seem somewhat favorable — but look at

Give some evidence you when you attempt vote —

____

9. Attitude of the press Won't take issue, Editorial and newsnews it if available______________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________________

Campaign____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Some [illegible] to [illegible]

______________to what extent?____________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes YES

In what ways have they affected registration

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

they are FAVORABLE TO the Negroes Voters

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

NO To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Thomasville Times

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES

Help them Fill out Blanks

20. Is the White given any assistance? ______
What kind? ______

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices? SENT Blank OUT IN Negroes to study before registering

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Cleburne Investigator ________
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 60
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Apathetic Give some evidence Many won't try to qualify
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ~~Yes~~ No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants Not Necessarily
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ________
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Few individuals

(b) militancy No

(c) Position held Laborer, (d) Effective, How?

Absentee leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Laborers

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Informal get together

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? ~~Yes~~ Not Known approximately how many? Not Known

What reason? ______

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration ______

Give some evidence ______

9. Attitude of the press ______, Editorial and newsnews it if available ______, dates ______

10. Officials and candidates attitudes No soliciting

Campaign ______

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? ______

______ to what extent? ______

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification____________

reasons for denials__________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Not Known

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration No

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? No Comment

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?____________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

____________ To what extent____________

How do you account for this? ____________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?____ ____Have they shown any tangible interest? ________How effective

____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor — No Comment
No Stand on Segregation Pro - Con

Members of the Board of Registrar: Not Known Personally

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes __________. Do the whites get theirs? ________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes, and asked those who are able to fill out blank & those unable to do so.

20. Is the White given any help assistance? ____________________

What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ________________________

State some specific case or practices? __________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Bennie Brooks Enterprise

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Coffee Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters [redacted] 600
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable To Give some evidence of this Negro Voters
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Some interest but Give some evidence not enough
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants No
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat No
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Very good County for voting, Negro just want to go down.
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy Teachers

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

NO LEADER IN COUNTY - NOT MINISTERS

WILL GIVE NO LEADERSHIP

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) ~~What group of voters seem more anxious~~ to register?

VOTERS LEAGUE

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& YES

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

SEEM FAVORABLE

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press WANT TAKE ISSUE, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes

Campaign COURT NEGROES FOR VOTES

11. Do the rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

to what extent? FEW

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered NO

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials ___________ ___________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent FEW

How do you account for this? ECO. INTEREST

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?___ ___Have they shown any tangible interest? _________How effective

_____________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES

What kind? HELP FILL IN BLANKS

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ____

State some specific case or practices? ____

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Swope
105 Montgomery ~~Street~~, Tailor
Ave.

Reidentification

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

921

1. Name of the County Colbert Investigator ________

2. The Number of registered Negro voters ~~700~~ 921

List may be reduced by Reidentification

3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Very favorable Give some evidence of this few rejections

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting not too enthusiastic Give some evidence Opinion of several leaders + ordinary citizens

5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No

   (c) Is this required of white applicants Same as Negroes

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials None

   (e) Give the nature of the threat None

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same

Wallace 1000 E 8th Florence Griffin – Presbyterian Minister
– Eggelston Waddel
– McDaniel Long Steele
Percy Ricks

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Fairly

(b) militancy yes

(c) Position held ~~Industrial Workers~~ Business / Minister (d) Effective, How?

Organization very active in getting out the vote

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Not much

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Professional & Business – middle Class group

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? Voters League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? None approximately how many?

What reason? Some are given help – the feeling that whites are given more aid

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Encouraging

Give some evidence Urge Negroes to register

9. Attitude of the press ✓, Editorial and newsnews it if available ✓, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicitous

Campaign Seek Negro Votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification none
reasons for denials none

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No
In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? — Very favorable

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? not concerned
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
not Known To what extent
How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Not Known How effective
.

Interviews:

Probate Judge Out of Town

Newspaper editor
Not interviewed

Members of the Board of Registrar: not interviewed

office { Fair, but gave the wrong number of qualified voters. 350

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Minimum Interpretation + Precinct Number

20. Is the White given any assistance? give Precinct (Same number
What kind? Same to both races

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? ______

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? cordial reception

EVERGREEN LEWIS

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Conecuh Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 900- 1000
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this ____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting MODERATE — Give some evidence WANT GO IN TO REGISTER
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ____
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ____
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     SAME AS WHITES —

     SEPARATE ROOM

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy__________

(c) Position held__________, (d) Effective, How?

Good leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?__________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& [redacted] Individual

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?__________

What reason?__________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Try To get negroes To Vote

Give some evidence__________

9. Attitude of the press Favorable ,Editorial and newsnews it if available__________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Worry me To

Campaign Death To vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

__________ to what extent? Good

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ______

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials ______ ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

______

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? YES

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent good

How do you account for this? Feel Voting will get him a better price for his goods

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? NO Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective

______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Obi Frazier Evergreen

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Conecuh Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 900-1000
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this No intimidation of voters
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Moderate Give some evidence

Had [illegible] set up until May 1954 Supreme Court

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank 1 signed

   (c) Is this required of white applicants

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials

   (e) Give the nature of the threat No

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   All seem to be favorable to Negro

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same as whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy____

(c) Position held_______________, (d) Effective, Hew?

Teachers – Need more active leadership

No organization – Feel its better to act individually

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Farmers.

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&__________ individuals (groups)

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?__________ Try To operat as an organization unorganized

(d) Are many applicants turned down or fefused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?____________________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration good

Give some evidence Have encouraged Negroes To register – (white started it by encouraging Negroes To court

9. Attitude of the press Favorable, Editorial and newsnews it if avbailable______________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Very

Campaign Good – work with Negroes To register

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

_______________to what extent?_____________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered NO.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

FAVORABLE – CALL UP NEGROES OFTEN
NEGRO CAN [illegible]

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? YES,

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent good

How do you account for this? Leader ship Among the Teachers Association –

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? NO Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective.

Interviews:

Probate Judge – L. HART (good MAN) FOR NEGRO VOTERS =

Newspaper editor EVERGREEN COURANT

Q. Bozeman – WANT TAKE ISSUE –

Members of the Board of Registrar:

ALL – Good =

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes
Aid in Filling of blank

20. Is the White given any assistance? ? ?
What kind?____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices?____________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Coosa Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters approximately 450
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants favorable Give some evidence of this applicants usually get registered immediately
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Slow Give some evidence People contacted on the street not interested in Voting

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants no

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials yes — to leader of Negro group

   (e) Give the nature of the threat Telephone calls threatning to burn him out

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Experiences have been favorable.

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as for whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes
(b) militancy ____
(c) Position held School principal, undertaker, (d) Effective, How?
Fair

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? little
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
middle aged group
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? ____
What reason? ____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
total unconcern
Give some evidence ____

9. Attitude of the press unconcern, Editorial and newsnews it if available ____, dates ____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes seek votes
Campaign ____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? no
____ to what extent? ____

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered little or no difficulty encountered

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification less than 20 in 4 years.
reasons for denials ____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? ________ yes
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no
In what ways have they affected registration ____________

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? favorable -

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? unconcern
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
~~very~~ yes To what extent very little
How do you account for this? ____________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ____________.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind? interopretation

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? ______________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?
Most negroes who apply are registered.

ALICE BURKE

Andalusia

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Covington Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters I don't know
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants ________ Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ________ Give some evidence ________

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

(a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers ________

(b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ________

(c) Is this required of white applicants ________

(d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ________

(e) Give the nature of the threat ________

(e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

I am going ahead but I don't like to mess with them white folks stuff.

(f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

____

Comment. these white folk just worry you to death trying to get you to vote what man? Insurance man — He want us Negroes to vote for him He been trying to 2 Months

the practice seem to been for white to get Negroes registered and then control this vote usually the person who has contact with the Negro, such as the Insurance man, etc.

" To interested "
Drives & Rally

Rather not vote than to
register & vote the way

W. Terry SERVICE STATION OPP

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County COVINGTON Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters I DON'T KNOW
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants ______ Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ______ Give some evidence ______

COMMENT WE AINT INTERESTED IN VOTING AROUND HERE that's FOR white FOLK

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers ______
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ______
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ______
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ______
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ______
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

______

COMMENT

The Teachers Just Take Care of themselves Dont Wont them Tying To Lead me Nowhere

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy________________________________

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?__________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?________

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?____________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?__________

What reason?_______________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

____

Give some evidence__________________________________

____

9. Attitude of the press________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available___________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________________

Campaign_______________________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?________

____________ to what extent?__________________

Will Coleman

ANDALUSIA

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Covington Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 175
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this Try to get Negroes to vote
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NOT INTERESTED Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank 1 Signed
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials Registered Voter
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? SAME AS WHITES

Preachers & Teachers are not aiding the Negro vote — It seems to be the white.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active____________
(b) militancy________________________________ ________
(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?
LACK OF LEADERSHIP

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? NO
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
____
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE started by whites to get Negroes to vote in a pool for the benefit of the white.
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES (FILL OUT BLANK)
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?__________
What reason?____
____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
FAVOR IT FOR POLITICAL REASON —
Give some evidence____________________________________
____

9. Attitude of the press FAVORABLE ,Editorial and newsnews it if available______________________, dates
____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes_____________________
Campaign____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?________
______________to what extent?______________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification NO

reasons for denials ____________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? NO To what extent —

How do you account for this? ____________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Andalusia Star News (weekly)

Favorable –

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?_____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance?______________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?_________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

OZARK

D H Smith

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County DALE Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 380
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE — — Give some evidence of this Encourage Negroes to vote -
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Show interest Give some evidence
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials NO
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
     SAME + WHITES

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active___________

(b) militancy_______________________________ _______

Minister not To doing much

(c) Position held_______________, (d) Effective, How?

Good — We Know how To handle our situation here.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Farmer & Teacher

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Individual encourage vote

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?__________________________________

____

Picnic for voters

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____ Seem favorable —

Give some evidence______________________________________

____

9. Attitude of the press Never Take issue, Editorial and newsnews it if available_____________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________________

Campaign Court Negro for votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

____________to what extent? good

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification____________

reasons for denials____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Encourage them To vote (Favorable)

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? YES

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent Some ask them To vote

How do you account for this? ____________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Southern Star

J. Q. Adams —(FA.M) —

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Jessie

Adams pushed voting among Negroes

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES Aid Negro To Fill Blank.

20. Is the White given any assistance? ______ —

What kind? ______

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ______

State some specific case or practices? ______

______

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Boynton - SW

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County DALLAS Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 275
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants UNFAVORABLE Give some evidence of this (FILL BLANK) OUT NOT CERT.
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting INTERESTED Give some evidence TRIED SEVERAL TIMES
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   (c) Is this required of white applicants
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO THREATS
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   SAME AS WHITES

1 1 N
1/4 12 mts
Easy
Janitor in Liquor Store
About 80 yrs
Carried him up To Board

FAIR person

Boynton

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&: VOTERS LEAGUES

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 350 PAST YEAR

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

UNFAVORABLE

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press UNFAVORABLE, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered______________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification______________

reasons for denials____________ __________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO — But

In what ways have they affected registration____________

have stopped a few Negroes from going up.

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

UNFAVORABLE — Teacher Fired Because he was qualified — said he was "to smart"

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

________________________ To what extent______________

only Negro voter in comm,

How do you account for this? ________________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? (white only) Have they shown any tangible interest? _________ How effective ____________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Ed. Fields Selma Times Journal

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? NO. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?________________

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES
What kind? HELP FILL OUT BLANKS

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? YES

State some specific case or practices?________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

SELMA

Mrs Sallie Surnaven

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County DALLAS Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 275
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants UNFAVORABLE Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting INTERESTED Give some evidence Some have registered as many as three or four times without any reply.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ________
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ________
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat Are you a member of N
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as White

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

(No active) Negro distrust leader.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Teacher —

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?

What reason? Refuse to check application

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

against it

Give some evidence If Negro is to insistant he'll lose his job.

9. Attitude of the press, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?

to what extent?

Does applicant belong to N ?

ELTON BLAK

BArber shop

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County DALLAS Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters I don't Know not many
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants they don't LIKE you to vote Give some evidence of this ____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting EGO, SECURITY Give some evidence whats you going to do when "the cow that kicks you gives you milk"
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers I don't Know my boss told me to go down, but he wants to use my vote
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ____
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ____
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ____
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ____
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

____

Preachers to busy "rallying and driving" to get folk interested. Teachers are afraid

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy__________________________________

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

Need leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? These Negro just want a drink + and tell everything

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NO - Not that I've heard of.

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?_____________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?________

What reason?___________________________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

They are against it.

Give some evidence If you vote you got to much sense to work.

9. Attitude of the press___________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available______________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________________

Campaign____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? NO

______________to what extent?______________________

Not much.

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ALL OF THEM

reasons for denials ____________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES ALL OVER

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes ________

In what ways have they affected registration ____________

I DON'T KNOW THEY ARE IN EVERY THING —

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

NO To what extent ____________

How do you account for this? I DON'T KNOW

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration?
________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance?______________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?_________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

SELMA (POOL ROOM)

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County DALLAS Investigator____________
2. The Number of registered Negro voters____________
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants________________________Give some evidence of this________________________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting______ COMMENT!

LEAVE them white FOLK ______Give some evidence______

Along— BETTER STOP Trying TO go TO

them white FOLK school.

5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers____________
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank______
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants____________
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials________________
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat________________
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

____

I Don't want nothing to do with it.

COMMENT If they Don't want me TO VOTE - I Dont want TO VOTE.

Dr. Stewart. J.W. No 6th ave.
E.F. Barnes

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County ~~Etowah~~ Dekalb Investigator J.E.P.
2. The Number of registered Negro voters ____________
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants favorable Give some evidence of this Well received, no discrimination
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Seems rather indifferent Give some evidence A small Negro population, difficult to get them to go down & register.

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants no

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no

   (e) Give the nature of the threat none

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   The usual

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same as for white

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active no

(b) militancy no

(c) Position held Farmer, (d) Effective, How?

Rather indifferent - Complains of lack of interest by Negroes

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? no

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? no particular group

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& no

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? no

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? ——

What reason? none

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration favorable

Give some evidence urge Negro to register

9. Attitude of the press neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available none, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes no interest manifested

Campaign ask for votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

to what extent? Same as urban

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None made

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification none

reasons for denials none

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? no

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? — not known

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

no To what extent —

How do you account for this? —

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? none How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge — out of Town

Newspaper editor — Closed at the time

Members of the Board of Registrar:
not contacted

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No, except explanation asked

20. Is the White given any assistance? not any more than given the Negro
What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? none

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? Cordial reception with aid when asked for

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Elmore Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 226
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants hostile Give some evidence of this Board of Registrars closed up and left office when a group of Negroes attempted to register
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting indifferent Give some evidence Those who attempted to register had so much trouble others preferred not to bother.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes

   (c) Is this required of white applicants not known

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials yes organizer threatened by phone

   (e) Give the nature of the threat that he will be run out of town.

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   Registrants are told when to meet the board but the board is always absent when registrants arrive.

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same as whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes

(b) militancy ______

(c) Position held public school teachers, (d) Effective, How?

quite effective

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? mildly

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

younger people

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? some approximately how many? 50 in last 12 months

What reason? no reason given

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Some want to help.

Give some evidence Some who are influential carry applicants whom they know before the board and get them registered.

9. Attitude of the press favorable. Editorial and newsnews it if available none available dates

______

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Probate Judge & Solicitor favorable

Campaign Some candidates seek Negro votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes

______ to what extent? As much as urbans

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ______

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification ______

reasons for denials no reasons given

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes yes

In what ways have they affected registration Fewer whites give assistance in getting Negroes registered since the organization of the White Citizen Council.

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Superintendent encourages teachers to take the lead in getting Negroes to register to vote.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

none To what extent ______

How do you account for this? ______

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? ______ How effective ______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge – out of state

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council yes

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? no. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? no

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes
What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? yes

State some specific case or practices? The boad will help the Whites but No One Can Come Near the Negro

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
Cards are sent out to applicants as to when the Board of Registrars would be in if they are white. Negro applicants receive no cards.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro? none

Braxton

J. W. Green SA Co.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Escambia Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 1800-2000
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORAGLE Give some evidence of this ____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ____ NO TO INTERESTED Give some evidence ____ Many registed and want vote

Trouble to get Negro to go down and registed Voting for the big Negroes

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants NO
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ____
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     SAME PLACE AS WHITES

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active __________ Teachers take Front

(b) militancy __________

(c) Position held __________, (d) Effective, How?

NEED more leadership The preachers won't come in

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? __________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Civic organization

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? __________

What reason? __________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration __________

Favorable —

Give some evidence Many whites help Negroes TO VOTE

9. Attitude of the press Against Negro voting in places, Editorial and seems newsnews it if available that the Negro have power to elect officers —, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes __________

Campaign Work with Negro for his vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

__________ to what extent? great numbers

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered 0

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0
reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO
In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Superintendent urge Negroes TO VOTE.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
YES To what extent
How do you account for this? SMALL FARM OWNERS

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective .

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO —

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? ________
when you pay poll tax!

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Fill out Blanks —
What kind? Yes

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ________

State some specific case or practices? ________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

COTTON FIELd

NEAR BRENTON — WORKERS —

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

COMMENT

Will Voting STOP me From picking COTTON? NOT now THEN I AINT GOT MANY MORE YEARS TO WAIT. GO ON BACK TO THE CITY BOY.

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County ESCAMBIA Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters__________
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrats toward Negro applicants____________________ Give some evidence of this____________________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ✓ __________ Give some evidence____________________

YOU go ON A VOTE AND LET US ALONE,

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

(a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers__________

(b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank______

(c) Is this required of white applicants__________

(d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials__________

(e) Give the nature of the threat__________

(e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

(f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

____

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitide of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Etawah Investigator J.E.P
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 2,000
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants No Trouble Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Apathetic ________ Give some evidence Hard to Stimulate Negro registration

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Must be Present and make himself known

   (c) Is this required of white applicants Same is true in few cases

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials None

   (e) Give the nature of the threat ________

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? None which would be expected of a Voter

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same for all

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes, active but not a gogetter
(b) militancy no
(c) Position held second level leadership, (d) Effective, How?
No help from Top leaders

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Very little, except referendum on alcohol
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
Labor group
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Civic League, Improvement League
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes + operating of Voting Machine
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? None
What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Very favorable
Give some evidence Encourage Negro to register

9. Attitude of the press hostile, Editorial and newsnews it if available editorially favorable dates
not available

10. Officials and candidates attitudes ~~[illegible]~~ solicit of Negro Vote
Campaign yes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? few
to what extent? apathetic
Mostly owners

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Very few
reasons for denials improper filling blank

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? no
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no
In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Neutral

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
Yes To what extent not much at election of officers
How do you account for this? Lack of value of the ballot

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Yes How effective ________.

Interviews:
Probate Judge
Not interviewed

Newspaper editor - favorable

Members of the Board of Registrar:
Cordial

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? No
What kind? None

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? Not noticeable

State some specific case or practices? ~~Welcome~~ None Observable

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?
Welcomed the same as white

free
Individual initiative by few for personal gain

Prevented organization of Jim-Crow boys club.

Autherine Lucy — loss of advertisers

J. A. Berry

Mr. Filix McConner-

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Fayette Investigator A. L. Carey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 300-350 326
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this Interviewee teaches Vets and Vets have no trouble at all
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Showing great interest Give some evidence there has been a substantial increase in last two years

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants —
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No-
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Vet received very courteous treatment
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

Fayette Co. Teachers-Assoc.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes

(b) militancy

(c) Position held Mr. Baty, James W., (d) Effective, How?

Increased no. of Negro voters

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Increasing

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Professionals & Farmers.

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? See above

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or fefused certification? No. approximately how many? —

What reason? —

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Good - neutral

Give some evidence —

9. Attitude of the press Liberal, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Negro voters.

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?

About 75% to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None

reasons for denials —

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? If so Unknown.

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration —

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Encourage all teachers to register.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Unknown

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes To what extent Increasingly

How do you account for this? Local activities and personal Contact

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? — How effective —.

Interviews:

Probate Judge C. Cargale

Newspaper editor Fayette County Times

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council None

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes

What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? Assist individuals in filling out blanks

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Everybody forms in the same line.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Franklin Investigator ____________
2. The Number of registered Negro voters ~~50-75~~ 200
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this Urge Negroes to register
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Little interest shown Give some evidence Voters League NAACP American Legion urge them to qualify
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers ~~Not always~~ are required [illegible]
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants yes
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No complaint by Negro
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ____________
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy______________________________

(c) Position held Retired Veteran (d) Effective, How?

____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Little

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
What little there is is manifested by all
Group

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes American Legion, Voters League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? None
What reason? Even illiterate will be registered if he owns $300.00 worth of Property

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Favorable
Give some evidence Threatening none

____

9. Attitude of the press __________, Editorial and newsnews it if available __________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Votes
Campaign Speaks before Negro groups

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes
__________ to what extent? Wide

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Read & answer the question

12. Approximate number denied certification None Known

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? no

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration None

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Superintendent Liberal - but defeated in last election

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

no To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? no How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge
Out of town

Newspaper editor - friendly

Members of the Board of Registrar: Absent

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? No
What kind? ?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No
State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

There is division of opinion. Seems to be a split. One claims the Negro fails to register. Another claims 350± and takes credit for it. Still another is better trained for leadership and refutes the claim of the other two

H.B. Winston
Russellville

Robt James Jr.
Russellville, Ala

Hartford

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

L. L. Lyles

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Geneva Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 300
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this ____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Lack of Interest Give some evidence ____

Rural minded Town

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank (?)
   (c) Is this required of white applicants ____
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ____
   (e) Give the nature of the threat No
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as Whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active____________

(b) militancy____________________________________

(c) Position held________________, (d) Effective, How?

TEACHERS (LACK OF good LEADERSHIP)

MINISTERS COME IN ONCE A MT. AND LEAVE. NO INTEREST IN COMM.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?____________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? TEACHERS

Teachers LEAD ON school Amendment ALL TEACHERS VOTE!

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& VOTERS LEAGUE

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

SINCE NAACP THREATS SOME TALK MAKE IT DIFFICULT

Give some evidence____________________________________

WHITE FEMALE WORKING – NEGRO COOK TAKE SUCH [illegible] (ECONOMIC PROBLEM)

9. Attitude of the press____________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available________________________, dates ________________________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________________

Campaign COURT THE NEGROES – ON LOCAL ELECTION

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? SOME

_______________to what extent?_______________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered 0

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials __________ __________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

In Favor of Negro Vote

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? YES

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? YES To what extent Fair

How do you account for this? Tenant can't do anything against his boss –

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ___ ___ Have they shown any tangible interest? ______ How effective __________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Hartford News —

(Never take issue)

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Slocomb

Boy STEVENSON

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitide of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Geneva Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 325
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this ____
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ____ Give some evidence ____

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank (1 Signed)
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ____
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ____
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ____
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

____

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy______________________________ ______

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?__________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____________________ Voter League

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&________ Yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?____ Yes ______

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?________

What reason?_________________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

Somewhat Favorable —

Give some evidence_____________________________________

____

9. Attitude of the press__________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available____________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes___________________

Campaign____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?________

______________to what extent?____________________

97 GENEVA F. R. Knox [illegible]

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County GENEVA Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 300
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NOT INTERESTED Give some evidence ________
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank YES
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ________
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials NO
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
     Same as white
     Separate Table or Room

Most time [illegible] you will sign you

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active___________

(b) militancy__________________________________ _______

(c) Position held Teachers, (d) Effective, How?

Very Poor — No Leadership

Minister — Preaching In MT + Leading

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Farmers ← Teachers

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& __________ Individual

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks?_______________

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason?____

____

Got name of church workers and gave to Preacher — Got Minister and Take Leadership

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

Encourge Negro To Vote

Give some evidence Will Try To organize Negro Block To Control Election

9. Attitude of the press Favorable, Editorial and newsnews it if available______________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes___________________

Campaign Court the Negro

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

_______________ to what extent? Good

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ______________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials ______________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Encouge Negro vote

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent good

How do you account for this? Farmer feel if they vote they get more for produce. (Economic)

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ______________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor General Co. Kemper (" Say) Favorable)

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES Help Fill out Blank —

20. Is the White given any assistance? ____________________

What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ~~YES~~ NO

State some specific case or practices? ________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Cont

WHITE - [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] got [illegible] [illegible] —

[illegible]

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Greene Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 175-200 1502 Wt 157 N.
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants recently changed Give some evidence of this (Folsomism)
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Variable Trained people concerned but not others Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants Not
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ——
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Negro needs to know some good white man.
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as white

Greene Co. Letter
business association

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes

(b) militancy

(c) Position held School teacher & Shop owner, (d) Effective, How?

Quite effective - white people recognize

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? yes (see above)

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

upper Educational groups

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes - see above

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? ?

What reason? Only for failing to fill out blank correctly

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Believe only intelligent Negroes should vote

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Some do seek negro vote

Campaign Last election, Negroes voted one Candidate in office

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

most Negroes are rural to what extent? upper Educational group

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Getting white voucher and correct filling of blank.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification

reasons for denials Thinks board sets quotas.

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes Undercover

In what ways have they affected registration

no fear by Negroes

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Neutral. Indifferent –

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Some To what extent Get owners to vouch.

How do you account for this? Greene Co. Better business ass.

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?_____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance?______________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?_________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Board of Registrars not in business. Same for 10 yrs except one. Members can receive very little pressure from Negroes.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Hale Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters ~~200~~ 130 actual count from official list
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Not good as a whole (fair) One person good. Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacency Give some evidence When one is turned down others develop fear

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No but two voters.
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants No
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ______
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same for all

Hale Co. Voters League

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active recently fallen off

(b) militancy

(c) Position held Farmer, (d) Effective, How?

Have been effective

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Not much

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Professional + farm owners, business men

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? yes approximately how many? 300

What reason? Didn't pass - failed to fill out questionnaire properly

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Against it

Give some evidence Sheriff and others "pressure" liberal members of board"

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available , dates Greensboro Watchman

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit individually

Campaign same - to leaders of Negroes.

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Some

to what extent? Small

(Over)

One woman refused because she didn't know estranged husband's address - Teacher.

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered "Moral terpetude questions" Reception is fine.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 300 in 2 years

reasons for denials "failed test."

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No noticable

In what ways have they affected registration

Development of fear of economic reprisals

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Indifferent.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Very limited To what extent —

How do you account for this? lack of training

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective —.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Mr. Hamner Cobb

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Mr. Shelly Hoggle

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council? No - not many Negroes trying since organization

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration?
No few exceptions. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? filling out blanks

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? Yes

State some specific case or practices?

Certificate
Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
1. White given assistance, negroes not.
2. white get ~~blanks~~ at registration, Negroes don't
3. After two or three failures Negroes can't go back the same year.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Negroes never refused blanks and always cordially received.
Same treatment at the polls

* Any differences subtle as possible.

Abbeville J.B. Newman

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Henry Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 600
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this LOTS OF FARMERS VOTE
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting LACK OF INTEREST Give some evidence CANT GET THEM TO GO DOWN

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank (1 signed)
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants Yes
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

SAME ROOM AS WHITES

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy____

(c) Position held_______________, (d) Effective, How?

Good Leadership — Newman is a good man, not afraid to fight

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?____________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

________________________ Negro say he got to much news

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&_________ Voters League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 0

What reason? I don't take them down unless I think they can pass,

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

No trouble — yet

Give some evidence____

____

9. Attitude of the press they don't say, Editorial and newsnews it if available____________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes______________________

Campaign Court when time to vote —

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

_______________to what extent? Good

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ______________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials ____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

NOT SO FAVORABLE BUT HAVE NOT

[redacted] objected.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? no

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

yes To what extent good

How do you account for this? ______________________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? no How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor ABBEVILLE Herald

NEVER TAKE ISSUE

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO.

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? YES. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? HELP FILL OUT BLANKS

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES

What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices? ________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

J C. FORRESTER

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

PRES OF LEAGUE

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County HOUSTON Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 1,700 (About)
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this __________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting LACK OF INTEREST Give some evidence __________
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
    - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
    - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank 1 (Signed)
    - (c) Is this required of white applicants YES
    - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials __________
    - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
    - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
    - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

      SAME AS WHITE

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active____________

(b) militancy____________________________________

(c) Position held________________, (d) Effective, How?

Good — LEADERSHIP

TEACHERS WERE SLOW TO REGISTER

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? NORMAL —

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? FARMER & MASSES

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& HOUSTON CO. VOTER LEAGUE BRANCHES

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? (FEW)

What reason? FAILURE TO COMPLETE BLANKS MUST (READ & WRITE

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration FAVORABLE

Give some evidence__________________________________

9. Attitude of the press NOT TAKE ISSUE, Editorial and newsnews it if available____________________, dates__________________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________________

Campaign COURT THE NEGROES —

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

____________ to what extent? GOOD

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered 0

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials______________ ______________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

Trying TO get control.

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

UNFAVORABLE — Devises plans To Keep Negro From Voting. Had meeting

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?__________________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes To what extent good

How do you account for this? (ECO, REASONS)

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? ~~NO~~ Yes How effective (Encourage Voters)

______________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge ALBERT LOGUE (Fair To Negro Voters.)

New editor Nichols

Newspaper editor Dillon Eagle

Won't take issue

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO —

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes
Aid in Filling out blanks

20. Is the White given any assistance? ____________
What kind? ____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices? ____________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Joe Weaks Comm. House

Swimming Pool

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

Comment We could do better if the Negro wasn't so sorry. He think he still living in Washington days. But Aunt Haggus's children are on the march.

1. Name of the County Houston Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters I don't know
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants ______ Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ______ Give some evidence ______
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers ______
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ______
   (c) Is this required of white applicants ______
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ______
   ~~(e)~~ Give the nature of the threat ______
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? ______

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Jackson Investigator JSP
2. The Number of registered Negro voters __________
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Very favorable Give some evidence of this infrequent meeting
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Little apathetic Give some evidence Small number

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers __________

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants __________

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials None

   (e) Give the nature of the threat None

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes

(b) militancy not too much

(c) Position held Principal, (d) Effective, How?

relations

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Little enthusiasm. Civic intelligence low

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Laborers influence, Veteran

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& No

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Individual, informal meeting

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No fill out those who cannot read & write approximately how many?

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Encouraging

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicition

Campaign settle

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None ____

reasons for denials ____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No ____

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes ____

In what ways have they affected registration ____

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ____________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

____________ To what extent ____________

How do you account for this? ____________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ______ How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

No hostile stand —. Carry Negro Pictures in Spelling bees (Gazette

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Not Known of any

20. Is the White given any assistance? Not any more than to Negros
What kind? __________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices? __________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

The lack of leadership is recognized - Small percent of Population is Negro.

W.C.
Mr. Patteau - Emory Jackson, Billingsley, O-
Ly 29 366 Atty. Newton

Doz. Copies

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

M.M.

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Jefferson Investigator A. L Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 7200 — 7000 about right
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Fair Give some evidence of this Fair reception but many questions
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Very good, Give some evidence There is an increased interest for registration
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —
   (c) Is this required of white applicants —
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no
   (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   many questions, some irrevelant, asked about 35-45 min.
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same (Separate lines)

Jefferson Co Chap.

Alabama State Coordinating
assoc. for reg. and Voting

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Fairly

(b) militancy

(c) Position held Attorney, (d) Effective, How?

Increase the number attempting registration

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? More than in past - Good deal during strike

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Laboring

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? Yes approximately how many? 50%

What reason? Failure to "correctly answer question

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Negative

Give some evidence Press & Radio

9. Attitude of the press News - fairly liberal & Post Herald, Editorial and anti-Negro

newsnews it if available May 20, 1956, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Subtle

Campaign Do not openly asks for Negro votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

to what extent? fair

would do better except for past experiences used to register about

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Filling out blanks - and the days are not convenient for worker

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 5090

reasons for denials Failure to answer questions satisfactorily

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes (2)

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes Yes

In what ways have they affected registration (fear and intimidation)

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
~~We~~ Encouragement for registration and voting

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? None

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? ——— To what extent ———

How do you account for this? ———

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Yes How effective C.I.O. - Conducted weekly schools to help people register - other groups also. not sure about A.F.L.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council not noticable,

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? No

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? No / - If so not known.
What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
1. Two lines (recent development)
2. Questions - quantity and quality)
3.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Courtesy and diplomatic denial.

negroes "made" to Concur in denial.

115, 742 white

Birmingham News - May 20, 1956

Section 6 - VI

1. No one currently is keeping records of the no of persons trying to become voters
2. No one is jotting down experiences of negroes
3. Do not know accurately the grounds for rejections -
4. When figures were kept 7 out of 10 were rejected.
5. Group does a good job on voting schools and similar movements.
6. Biggest problem is getting information to work with
7. All recorded information based on questions asked.

Tactic 8. Estimate it takes 45 min to register one persons. But after criticisms got able to register 600 a day (white). Longer for negroes (45 min) Longer the line, longer the questions

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Lamar Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 100
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this Registrar all who try and encourage to bring others
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Becoming awaken in last two years Give some evidence There has been a small increase and attempts to encourage them are made thru Churches etc -
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
    - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
    - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —
    - (c) Is this required of white applicants —
    - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials —
    - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
    - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Very good - strong encouragement
    - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active No

(b) militancy Some by vocational teacher and school meeting

(c) Position held Vocational tg., (d) Effective, How?

Not very.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No - but increasing

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Principally teachers, few farmers & Vets.

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? See above

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many?

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Neutral

Give some evidence Encourage Negroes to Vote.

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good -

Campaign House to House

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?

Few - to what extent? Small

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None

reasons for denials —

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Unknown if so—

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes —

In what ways have they affected registration —

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

neutral but not against — Anxious during Goodwyn Amendment

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No large plantation owners

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Few in County To what extent —

How do you account for this? Complacent

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? — How effective —.

Interviews:

Probate Judge — S. G. Johnson —

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes

What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? assist whoever needs such and encourage them to send others -

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? none known -

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

1. Assist negroes who need

2. Very Courteous when registering and voting.

About 1570 Negro

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Lawrence Investigator J.E.P.
2. The Number of registered Negro voters ~~560~~ 408 Official Count 408
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Favorable now Give some evidence of this Little difficult in qualifying
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Not too enthusiastic Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
    (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
    (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
    (c) Is this required of white applicants Must have Voucher
    (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
    (e) Give the nature of the threat none
    (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
    no more than other Voters
    (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
    Same as for white

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Moderate

(b) militancy no

(c) Position held Civic Leaders, (d) Effective, How?

Only ~~widely~~ Mildly effective

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? no

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Skilled laborers Farmers + Professional

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? Less than 2%

What reason? inability to fill out properly the Questionnaire

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

indifferent

Give some evidence No interference

9. Attitude of the press favorable, Editorial and newsnews it if available Voters list, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes favorable

Campaign solicit Negro Votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

to what extent? not too widely

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None encountered

12. Approximate number denied certification Less than 5 %

reasons for denials failure to fill out Questionnaire properly

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration None

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Neutral except urge + vote for State Tax amendment

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? — No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes To what extent Small

How do you account for this? Lack of education

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge - Not interviewed

Newspaper editor — Not in

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Not contacted

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Not

20. Is the White given any assistance? No
What kind? none

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No
State some specific case or practices? None

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Lee Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters Unknown
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this Any Negro Can register if he Wish
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Fair Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No

   (c) Is this required of white applicants —

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat None

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   Most Negroes had No trouble

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same as White

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓
(b) militancy
(c) Position held Vet Teacher, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? A little
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Vet. & Younger
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? Teachers
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many?
What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Good
Give some evidence Most White insist that their Worker Vote

9. Attitude of the press Good, Editorial and newsnews it if available None, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Seek the Votes of the Negroes
Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes
to what extent? Quite a Number are Voters

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Very few

reasons for denials ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration ______

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? The Supt. & Board insist that all teacher be voters.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? —

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

— To what extent ______

How do you account for this? ______

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No ______ Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective

______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge – Out of town

Newspaper editor – We always encourage the Negroes in every thing but the NAACP has hurt their Cause.

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Could not find.

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? usually

20. Is the White given any assistance? Same
What kind? interpertation

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

The Board has work over time to finish registering Negroes that had to Work and Come late.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitide of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Limestone Investigator ______ No label by me
2. The Number of registered Negro voters (800) Estimate
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants good - improved lately Give some evidence of this Few are denied, & received more cordially
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Very poor Give some evidence Oh What use, Vote will not count, Put off [illegible] telling your ~~they are going to Register~~. Votes wont count any way

Many feel that the vote will be thrown out

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ______
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials NO
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat Never heard of any
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

     (1946) Had to get white to vouch for him
     Had to read sections of Constitution - refused
     even though he secured the white witness
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     Same - No discrimination

Dr. B. J. Hill - Retired
interest

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Good leadership
(b) militancy Undertaker
(c) Position held Business, Teacher, (d) Effective, How?
Ministers not active. / Principal active in getting
negroes to register

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and
voting? No
   (a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
   Generally - Teachers, Veteran
   (b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters
   to qualify?& No Organization - only individual
   (c) Does this organization give instruction on filling
   out blanks? ~~No~~ Yes
   (d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? not many approximately how many? Veteran No Trouble
   What reason? No one known

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Encourage
Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press ______, Editorial and
newsnews it if available ______, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Votes
Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? ______
______ to what extent? ______

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ______________________________

12. Approximate number denied certification ______________

reasons for denials ___________ ______________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No, If here not known

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Super-intendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Negro show interest, non-organized leadership

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? _

______________________ To what extent ____________

How do you account for this? ____________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge. — Anti desegregationalist

Do not give Courtesy title to women Teachers { Newspaper editor: Fair

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Very cooperative

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs?

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? Not Observed
What kind? None

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Early Experience Veteran were Questioned extensively After Passage of Boswell Amendment

1. Need to be education Value of Voting
2. A Complacent Group.

Decatur
  Dinkin – Pilgrim
  Sheffield
  Sykes, Carl

I was told to Read the papers—
There is No Board of Registers

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Macon Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters — 1100
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants No board, only one member Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting enthusiastic Give some evidence Continued pushing for a board, Excellent leadership. City wide protest for a full board
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants not known
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials yes
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat from board member & negro
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? See above
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Yes
(b) militancy Yes
(c) Position held Top level, (d) Effective, How?
Yes as far as possible

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? [illegible]
   (a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
   All, with possible rural exception
   (b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes
   (c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes
   (d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? ? approximately how many? Large percent
   What reason? Failure to fill out
   blanks proper

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
[illegible]
Give some evidence Presence of [illegible] at the
Box

9. Attitude of the press Neutral ,Editorial and newsnews it if available , dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes mixed
Campaign Solicit Negro vote [illegible]

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes
to what extent? [illegible]

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Not Known

    reasons for denials failure to meet the Satisfaction

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

    Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes yes

    In what ways have they affected registration Created [illegible]

    [illegible]

    all Negroes

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Super-intendent toward Negro registration? Not too well disposed toward Negroes

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ~

    Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

    Few To what extent limited

    How do you account for this? Economic pressure

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council Yes

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? no. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? no

20. Is the White given any assistance? not known
What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? Believe so

State some specific case or practices? According to figures more registered white than Negroes 21% figures by U.S. Census

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

White soldiers [illegible] while the [illegible] [illegible] all white [illegible]

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

The [illegible] Negroes

Buford, Berry Ph Jefferson X-9243
7 pm

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Madison Investigator J.E.D.
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 1500
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants favorable Give some evidence of this The board is Cordial - smile + give little assistance
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Manifest little interest Give some evidence difficult to get the Negro to go to the board. They will promise but never go
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
    - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no
    - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Must go
    - (c) Is this required of white applicants Yes
    - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials None
    - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
    - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? Most favorable
    - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as for white

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Fair

(b) militancy Fair

(c) Position held Bus & Prof, (d) Effective, How?

Yes Not much Cooperation from Preacher & School Principle

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Not Much

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Common Class - Mass

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? Several, Fraternal Club. Masonic Lodge Good Neighbor Club Voters

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes — Copy of Question

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? None unless he cannot read & write approximately how many?

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

None with proper Class, but the poor resents

Give some evidence threw rocks at a man

9. Attitude of the press fair, Editorial and newsnews it if available no unfavorable, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Soliciting Votes

Campaign [illegible] & meeting

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Reluctant tenant farm to what extent? Among landowners cooperate

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered Only, when he have difficulty

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Very few
reasons for denials educat

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no
In what ways have they affected registration

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
neutral

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Not Known
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
Little, Cooperate but afraid To what extent
How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Nothing How effective .

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

LINDEN

Austin Taylor

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Marengo Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 170
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Unfavorable Give some evidence of this Not registering any Negroes
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Interested Give some evidence Attempted to register

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank 1 (signed)
   (c) Is this required of white applicants (?)
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   No reports

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same as whites

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy__________

(c) Position held__________, (d) Effective, How?

Need more Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Teachers

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?__________

What reason?__________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

Haven't had reason to show concern

Give some evidence__________

NONE

9. Attitude of the press__________, Editorial and newsnews it if available__________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________

Campaign Don't want Negro vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

__________ to what extent?__________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification____________
    reasons for denials____________ __________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES
    Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes YES
    In what ways have they affected registration____________

We were registering in favorable numbers until the the W.C.C. Now they are tight

Supreme Court decision made it Tough

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
    "They in the crowd of Pecks to the Finish"

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?________________
    Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
    YES To what extent Lot of them until now.
    How do you account for this? WCC (Mont. etc)

Press — said one way to keep Negroes in their place is not to let them register

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective
    ______________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Westbrook Cole

Newspaper editor

R. Sutton — Democrat Reporter
Favorable to white — but fair — in some things

Members of the Board of Registrar:

Write Negro with small (N)

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration?
YES. Do the whites get theirs?

that is before the Supreme Courts Decision

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES
What kind? Help fill out Blanks

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Demopolis

Rousse [illegible]

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Marengo Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters [redacted] 170
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Unfavorable Give some evidence of this Not registering any
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Interested Give some evidence Continue to apply
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank (1 signs)
   (c) Is this required of white applicants Yes
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ________
   (e) Give the nature of the threat ________
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same for both

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy ________________

(c) Position held ________, (d) Effective, How?

TEACHERS
protect
jobs
No Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? NO

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? (Individual instruction)

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? ________

What reason? WANT EVEN WRITE UP NEGROES

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration FAVORABLE in Demopolis White will

Give some evidence TAKE Negroes To Polls

9. Attitude of the press DON'T TAKE ISSUE, Editorial and newsnews it if available ________, dates ________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes ________

Campaign ________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? NO

NO to what extent? ________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered (Waiting scheme)

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 150

reasons for denials ______ ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes Intimidation

In what ways have they affected registration ______

Causes Negroes to Fear —

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

(indifferent.)

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent ______

How do you account for this? Great Dunking of Farmers

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective

______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge Wes Brook —

Newspaper editor Dempolis Times

(Don't take issue —)

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ______________. Do the whites get theirs? __________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? ____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance? ____________________ What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ________________________

State some specific case or practices? ________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Mr. Montgomery

(66 people on last Monday) 1st & 3rd Mondays!

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Mobile Investigator A. L. Lacey
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 6400 latest
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Very good Give some evidence of this One Democratic Committeeman, One labor leader
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Not properly informed Give some evidence Have not realized the importance of vote.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Not white, but any qualified elector.
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Yes
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants Yes
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ——
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

     If negro can read and write only a qualified elector is necessary as voucher
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     Same room but different tables

— Citizen Committee —
Non partisan Voters league

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active very active

(b) militancy yes

(c) Position held Democratic committeeman Barber, (d) Effective, How?

— very effective —

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? yes — have list of people to be carried down —

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

no particular group

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? none

What reason? only those who can't read & write

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

neutral

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Generally against negroes. ,Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good.

Campaign Solicit negro voters.

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes

to what extent? not too many rural negroes

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered More Whites can be registered than Negroes under present setup - One day 108 white 16 Negroes

12. Approximate number denied certification no

reasons for denials Illiteracy

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Neutral.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No plantation owners

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

—— To what extent ——

How do you account for this? ——

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Not much How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

very good.

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes

What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? Will help people small subtle items

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

Different table allows more white than Negroes to register.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Will allow voters to call in a vouch for certain persons, (Off-record)

J. M[illegible]

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Monroe Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 140
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Unfavorable Give some evidence of this Keep Fear in the Negro
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Lack of interest Give some evidence in City & the Co. to an EXTENT.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   (c) Is this required of white applicants NO
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   (e) Give the nature of the threat NOT openly
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   but every body know they don't like for Negroes to vote.
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

Supreme Court decision not effect the vote. Most of the Negroes just won't register

Migration from County because of no Industry

Older people whose ways are conditioned with times

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy________________________

(c) Position held____________, (d) Effective, How?

More aggressive Leader — Needed

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Very Little —

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Few who Fear they might Lose Job.— Another group is just contented as non voters

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& YES

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?________

What reason?________________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration________

Give some evidence Tried to get Negro Registered,

9. Attitude of the press____________, Editorial and newsnews it if available____________, dates____________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________

Campaign________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

A Few — to what extent?____________

many Pay to Vote,

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered

12. Approximate number denied certification NO Knowledge
reasons for denials (BUT will delay)

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO
In what ways have they affected registration NO

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
NO To what extent
How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

(candidate for gov.)
Falkner
Bill Steward

Newspaper editor Monroe Journal
Fairly Favorable TO Negro Votes

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?____________________

20. Is the White given any assistance?______________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?_________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Charles McCant

Monroeville

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Monroe Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 140
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Unfavorable Give some evidence of this Don't want Negroes to come down
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting No enough going in Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO

   (c) Is this required of white applicants

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials

   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same as white, but a different room for colored

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active____________
(b) militancy_________________________________ ______
(c) Position held________________, (d) Effective, How?
Need Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Farmers
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Farmers & Business
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Voters Leagues, Civic organization
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes
(d) Are many applicants turned down or fefused certification? approximately how many?________
What reason? (Misplaced blanks or come back later.)

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Business establishment shown sign of wanting
Give some evidence Negroes to vote, no organized attempt to keep Negroes from voting

9. Attitude of the press [redacted], Editorial and newsnews it if available Editor feels that the Negro should vote, , dates
____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes In local campaign
Campaign candidate ask for Negro votes —

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes
____________ to what extent? Large percent,

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification____________
reasons for denials__________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO
In what ways have they affected registration NO
____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Seems Favorable —

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
NO To what extent____________
How do you account for this? (Small Farming Basis)

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?____ ____Have they shown any tangible interest? ________How effective ____________________.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yES. Do the whites get theirs? yES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yES

Aid in Filling in Blanks

20. Is the White given any assistance? ____________

What kind? ____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ____________

State some specific case or practices? ____________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Morgan Investigator __________

2. The Number of registered Negro voters 600

3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants good Give some evidence of this __________

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Apathetic Give some evidence My Vote Wont Count

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No

   (c) Is this required of white applicants __________

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat __________

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same No Separation 1st Come first Serve

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active - Moderate Stymied by old line Republican

(b) militancy no - one would be

(c) Position held Business Organization, (d) Effective, How?

The newly formed discovered widespread interest

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No, no motivation

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Veteran - not wholly

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes, newly formed - Handicapped by divided leadership

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? none known

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Encouraging - Neutral

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press favorably as a Southern paper, Editorial and newsnews it if available neutral, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Votes of Negro

Campaign - Appear before ~~your~~ our group

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Active in certain section to what extent? Many places more so than City ~~sold~~ Aid is given by disclosing

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? No

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes None

In what ways have they affected registration

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? Active encouraging because of a School bond issue

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? None How effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Not interviewed

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Allow the accompanist to aid Very Courteous

20. Is the White given any assistance?

What kind?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Hampton Lee MARION

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Perry Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 300
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants UNFAVORABLE Give some evidence of this ______

ask it //

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting INTERESTED Give some evidence ______

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

(a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES

(b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank YES

(c) Is this required of white applicants NO

(d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ″

(e) Give the nature of the threat Never seen Form Blank

(e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

(f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

Same as white

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________ Preachers + Teacher afraid of job + to lead

(b) militancy______________________________ ______

(c) Position held_____________, (d) Effective, How?

Need Leadership ____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? YES

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? most Teacher for job security

(Common Worker)

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& (V.F.W.) organizing

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? will aid

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certificat on? approximately how many?________

What reason?______________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

Interested

Give some evidence Tried many Times To register

____

9. Attitude of the press (indifferent),Editorial and newsnews it if available____________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes____________________

Campaign______________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

____________to what extent?__________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered (Destroy Blank)

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 200

reasons for denials ____________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes YES

In what ways have they affected registration

(Seem to frighten the Negro) (Negro is To WEAK)

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

____________ To what extent ____________

How do you account for this? ____________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? ____ ____ Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ____________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? NO. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? NO

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES
What kind? (FILL IT OUT) BLANK

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? YES

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

W. H. Eldridge UNIONTOWN Royal

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

90 UNIONTOWN

1. Name of the County Perry Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters [redacted] 300
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants UNFAVORABLE Give some evidence of this WAS LIBERAL BEFORE NOT

*

IN LAST year 1 negro passed with aid OF WHITE EMPLOYER

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NOT SO INTERESTED Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO

   REFERENCES (2)

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank

   (c) Is this required of white applicants

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials

   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same as White

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy__________

(c) Position held__________, (d) Effective, How? —

Need Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?__________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?? NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO (individual do work in Home— Royal)

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? 20

What reason? (Don't rec'd Blanks) when question those we the reply (Just could get to it.)

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration_____

NO objection

Give some evidence__________

9. Attitude of the press (No Press) ,Editorial and newsnews it if available__________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes__________

Campaign__________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

__________to what extent?__________

Before Supreme Court Decision things are Tough Being Had no Trouble registering

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification____________

reasons for denials__________ ________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? [illegible]

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes______

In what ways have they affected registration__________

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

15. Hase the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

NO To what extent —

How do you account for this? NOT APPROACHED & LACK OF TRAINING —

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? 0 Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge J. C. Griffin FAVORABLE TO NEGROES —

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

OUR SLOGAN OUGHT TO BE "V.V" — VOTING FOR VICTORY

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? NO. Do the whites get theirs? YES

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? NO

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES

What kind? ____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ____________________

State some specific case or practices? ________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Mr. Ware in Carrollton -

Back Page

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Pickens Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters @600 (783)
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Generally Cordial Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacent Give some evidence ________
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank ____
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ____
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ____
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active none?

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? A great deal after reduction of poll tax

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Professional

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& No

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? no

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many?

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Interested only when vote

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Urge everybody to vote, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Solicit Negro vote

Campaign Very much so

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes!

to what extent? Small!

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None particularly

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? If So Under Cover.

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no

In what ways have they affected registration not known

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Indifferent - Asked people to Vote on Goodwyn Amendment

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Only on certain Cases - Farm program

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Except when encouraged by whites To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Judge Farrar

Newspaper editor

Pickens County Post Herald

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council Not known

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes
No writing except signing name -

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? yes, some
What kind? ____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? Tell registrant what to write

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?
None known.

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?
Registrar interviewed after hour.
very cordial

Total Voting Strength – @ 5500 [illegible] – 500 Negroes –

Intelligent Threats –

"We have always ruled this Country and intend to continue to rule it"

– Some economic pressure on tenant farmers – threat of no land and no money.

Troy

Mr C. [illegible]
Principal

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Pike Investigator Walter
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 800
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this Don't discourage Negro vote
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Seem interested Give some evidence many have gone down to register but not enough. — It takes a little time.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   (c) Is this required of white applicants NO
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

Need good Leadership For this County Minister And Not As Active As they Should Be And Teachers Are Job Conscious.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active
(b) militancy + Veterans
(c) Position held Teacher, (d) Effective, How?
Need Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and
voting? Normal (Not too much)
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& NO — Had a Voter League
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? went out of Existence
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? Few
What reason? No Sure of reason

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
Never say much About it
Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Won't Take issue, Editorial and
newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes
Campaign Asked For Negro Vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes
to what extent? Some

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered ____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials ____________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Seem To Favor the Negro Voting.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

Yes To what extent Some

How do you account for this? ____________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? NO Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective ____________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Troy M[illegible]

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Fill in blanks

20. Is the White given any assistance? you
What kind? Same as Negro

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Brundidge Mams

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitude of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Pike Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 150
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants favorable Give some evidence of this ________
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NOT TO INTERESTED Give some evidence Cant get them to go down and register.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NOT NOW
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants ________
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials ________
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat O
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
     Same Room Separate Table

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy__________________________________

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

Need Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Farmers + Teachers

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? NO

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO - Not Now

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?________

What reason?__________________________________

____

things are Kinda slow since all this mess about the NAACP. We can't stick our neck out!

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration If the vote going to help them

Give some evidence its allright.

____

9. Attitude of the press (?), Editorial and newsnews it if available__________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes________________

Campaign They Ask For your Vote

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes

____________ to what extent? Some

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered________________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials____________ ____________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? NO

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration NO

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

They don't seem to care — but

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?__________________ (Goodwyn)

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

__________________________ To what extent______________

How do you account for this? __________________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?____ ____Have they shown any tangible interest? __________How effective

_________________________.

that
bill was
trying
to pass
the
talked
about it
but not
since

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Some time they will answer a question for the Negro

20. Is the White given any assistance? ______

What kind? ______ (?)

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? I don't think so,

State some specific case or practices? ______

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitide of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Randolph Investigator L. D. Draper

2. The Number of registered Negro voters 1171 in 1955

3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants very favorable Give some evidence of this

4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting favorable Give some evidence Many register without prompting

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

(a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

(b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

(c) Is this required of white applicants no

(d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials no

(e) Give the nature of the threat

(e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
Applicants registered almost 100%

(f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
Special room

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ____________
   (b) militancy yes
   (c) Position held farmer-President of Voters League, (d) Effective, How?
   Quite effective

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? mildly enthusiastic
   (a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?
   Middle aged group
   (b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes
   (c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes
   (d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? 1
   What reason? intoxication

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration
   favorable
   Give some evidence whites transport Negroes to place of registration

9. Attitude of the press favorable, Editorial and newsnews it if available ____________, dates ____________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good
    Campaign solicit Negro votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?
    yes to what extent? enthusiastically

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification none.
reasons for denials__________ __________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? no
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes no
In what ways have they affected registration__________

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Encourage Negro registration

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? not Known
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
yes To what extent many are voters
How do you account for this? no opposition

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? no Have they shown any tangible interest? ________ How effective ________.

Interviews:
Probate Judge – Encourages Negroes to vote.

Newspaper editor – Generally favorable. All citizens encouraged to vote.

Members of the Board of Registrar: All in favor of Negro registration.

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? no

20. Is the White given any assistance? no

What kind? __________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? no

State some specific case or practices? __________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro? - none

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Teachers are permitted to remain at the place of registration and help any Negroes who are applying for registration.

Curtis Smith

Luverne

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

V

1. Name of the County Crenshaw Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 600
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants FAVORABLE TO SOME EXTENT. Give some evidence of this
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting INTERESTED Give some evidence

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers NO
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank NO
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants NO
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat NO
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     SEPARATE TABLE FOR COLORED

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active___________

(b) militancy____________________________________

(c) Position held__________________, (d) Effective, How?

Good Leadership

Teacher
Supreme Court
& NAACP
ECO. S[illegible]

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting?____________________

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

____

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?&_________ Voters Civic League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? YES

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many?_________

What reason?______________________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

Pretty much Apposed [illegible]

Give some evidence____

____

9. Attitude of the press____________________,Editorial and newsnews it if available________________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes_______________________

Campaign____

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? YES

_______________to what extent?_______________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification 0

reasons for denials________________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration (?)

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Pretty Fair To Some Folk

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

YES To what extent good

How do you account for this?________________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? NO Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective

________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Frank Lloyd —

Unfavorable To Negroes

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council no

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

Pri T of
N
Voter
in Pro

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants?_____ yes _____

20. Is the White given any assistance?________________________
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro?__________________________

State some specific case or practices?___________________
____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Russell Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters No recallable
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Good Give some evidence of this If the Negro Come we Will register them
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Not good Give some evidence after the Vice "Clean up the Negroes are still doubtful.
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers no

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank no

   (c) Is this required of white applicants no

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   No unfavorable

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same as white

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active ✓

(b) militancy

(c) Position held Minister Undertaker, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? ✓

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many?

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

Once they took Negroes to register and the controlled their vote & now no interest

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Unconcerned, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes They seek their support

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered "We have never had any trouble but was told how to vote" now - we are left alone!"

12. Approximate number denied certification few

reasons for denials ______ ______

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration ______

---

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? "Supt" "I have always encourage the Negro to vote - and served on the Board for 14 years and have always help them.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? To see that they did not vote

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

No To what extent 30 cotton pickers in one field - the spokeman said "That White folk business."

Note How do you account for this? The land lord came up while I was there and ask "Is He trying to start trouble"

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? yes Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective ______.

Interviews:

Probate Judge — We are careful to serve all voters - We want all qualified persons to vote, Negroes & White

Newspaper editor

I do not care to discuss this matter

Members of the Board of Registrar:

See Statement of Supt. of Ed.

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? yes. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Same

What kind? ____________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? ____________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Since the Nice Clean up Negroes are ask to Vote, but they Show little or No interest.

Mrs. W. E. Jones
Mr. C. L. Lacey

No Separation
or label

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Shelby Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 375
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Very Good Give some evidence of this Brought board to school and register all who come.
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacent as a whole Give some evidence Small number registered

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —

   (c) Is this required of white applicants —

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat —

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   anyone who wants to register can -

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same

Voters league
Church

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Not at home

(b) militancy no

(c) Position held School Principal (d) Effective, How?

not very at the moment

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

All groups

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify? not recently

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? not presently but planning

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? none

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration

neutral

Give some evidence

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good

Campaign Solicit negro votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?

no to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None

reasons for denials None

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No

In what ways have they affected registration Unknown

If so,

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Positively in favor of voting

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? None with Negro aid.

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

None To what extent

How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? Yes How effective most of the laborers voting got vote there through

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Shelby County Democrat

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No.

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? ?

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? ?

What kind? ?

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ?

State some specific case or practices? Anyone who shows high literacy can help people register.

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

See above.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County St. Clair Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 750
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants Excellent Give some evidence of this Will fill out blanks for Negroes
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Good Give some evidence Almost all negro voters in Co. registered since 1948

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants No
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? very good. five or six people from Jefferson and Talladega Co. registered here to transfer.
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same

L. Davis. Pres. Voters League.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Inactive now due to Whites thinking it was N.A.A.C.P.
(b) militancy
(c) Position held Laborer, (d) Effective, How?

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? yes
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Laborers (Ragland)
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes.
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? —
What reason? —

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Neutral
Give some evidence Editorials good.

9. Attitude of the press Good, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good
Campaign Solicit Negro Votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? Yes to what extent? Small

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximate number denied certification None

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes Maybe.

In what ways have they affected registration By thinking Voters league was N.A.A.C.P., some Negroes were intimidated and became afraid and league ceased action.

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
new Supt. from Miss, but out going Supt. very liberal and favorable

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
Yes To what extent Small

How do you account for this? Voters league.

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? No Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective.

Interviews:
Probate Judge

Newspaper editor
St. Clair News Aegis

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes - will fill out application blanks -

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes

What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No -

State some specific case or practices? See above

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

See above

Voters list not separated but do list a small c.

Thinks there could be many more negro voters if Negroes understood and were more interested.

Colored Population only 1184.

1954 After Poll Tax change

STARTED

ADMIN Leg

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

John DRAKE

LIVINGSTON

1. Name of the County SUMTER Investigator WALTON
2. The Number of registered Negro voters [redacted] 280
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrats toward Negro applicants SEEMS FAVORABLE Give some evidence of this NO INTIMIDATION
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting NO INTERESTED Give some evidence WON'T GO DOWN TO REGISTER

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers YES

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank Yes ①

   (c) Is this required of white applicants YES

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials

   (e) Give the nature of the threat NONE

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   SAME AS WHITES

most
6
registered
voted

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active

(b) militancy

(c) Position held, (d) Effective, How?

Need Leadership

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? NO

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Teachers

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Negro Business League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? FEW

What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration NOT INTERESTED

Give some evidence DON'T TALK ABOUT IT TO NEGROES

9. Attitude of the press WANT TAKE SIDE, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

SEEMS NOT TO CARE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

10. Officials and candidates attitudes

Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? NO

to what extent?

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered____________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Very Few

reasons for denials__________ ____________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration__________

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Never mention it.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? NO

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

NO To what extent__________

How do you account for this? __________________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? YES Have they shown any tangible interest? NO How effective ________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? ________________. Do the whites get theirs?__________

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind?_______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? NO

State some specific case or practices? Help Negroes to answer questions

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Vote

Started registering 1953 — Few Negroes

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Sumter Investigator Walton
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 295
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Favorable Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting No interested Give some evidence Want to get more to register —

5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers Yes
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank (1 signed)
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants NO
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials None —
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat ______
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants? Same as Whites

Seems to be Lack of interest on part of Negro Leadership.

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy______________________________ ______

(c) Position held____________, (d) Effective, How?

Needed in County

Preachers + Teachers Silent.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? NO

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

Teachers

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Negro Business League

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? NO

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? approximately how many? Some Difficulty in getting whites to sign —

What reason?____________________________

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration No interested — look at you like you're "crazy"

Give some evidence Don't talk about it to Negroes —

9. Attitude of the press Won't take issue, Editorial and newsnews it if available__________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes________________

Campaign__________________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register?________

____________to what extent?__________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered______________________________

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification________________

reasons for denials____________ ____________________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? YES

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes NO

In what ways have they affected registration OVERT evidence

____

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?

Don't TALK About it To Teachers

Seem To be No pressure on Teachers, but I got the impression that its Because The Negroes show so little interest in voting in Sumter Co.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters?________________

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

NO To what extent NONE

How do you account for this? Economic Struggle

16. Do you have labor unions in your county?___ ___Have they shown any tangible interest? ________How effective __________________.

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor Sumter County Journal TY

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council NO

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? NO. Do the whites get theirs? ?

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? YES

20. Is the White given any assistance? YES

What kind? Help th Fill out Blank

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ______

State some specific case or practices? ______

______

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Dr. Brothers - Pres - Civic Council -

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Talladega Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 1134
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Excellent Give some evidence of this ______
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacency Give some evidence ______
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —
   (c) Is this required of white applicants No
   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
   Cordially
   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
   Same.

Men's Civic League—
Meet once monthly :—
(Mr. R. E. Strickland)

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active Yes
(b) militancy Curtailed by N.A.A.C.P. Ban.
(c) Position held Physician, (d) Effective, How?
____

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No
   - (a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Laborers
   - (b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& Yes
   - (c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? Yes — passed out thousands in 3 yrs.
   - (d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? few approximately how many? ______ What reason? Illiteracy

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Neutral
Give some evidence ____________________________

9. Attitude of the press Rotten—, Editorial and newsnews it if available Talladega Daily Home, dates ____________________

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Good - make donations
Campaign Solicit negroe votes

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? ______
Very little to what extent? ____________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification Few
reasons for denials Illiteracy

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes No
In what ways have they affected registration none

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Neutral

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? Few tenants owners
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
To what extent
How do you account for this? Few share croppers

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective .

Interviews:
Probate Judge —

Newspaper editor -

Members of the Board of Registrar

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? Same

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ?

State some specific case or practices? ?

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

complaints on meddling and too much help -

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Very good reception at polls -

Some help.

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Tallapoosa Investigator L. D. Draper
2. The Number of registered Negro voters Not Known
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Very Poor Give some evidence of this Will Not See them if can help it.
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Poor Give some evidence Most feel that they are not wanted and make no effort to vote
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar

   (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No

   (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No

   (c) Is this required of white applicants __________

   (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No

   (e) Give the nature of the threat __________

   (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar? The Board Will Set Attain day for Negroes but Will take only a few

   Note

   (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

   Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active__________

(b) militancy______________________________ ______

(c) Position held______________, (d) Effective, How?

The leadership is against the Negro voting. There is a "Father Devine" and he keeps the Negro under subjectio

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? No______

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

—__________________

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& No____

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? No______

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? Few try approximately how many?________

What reason?____________________________

____

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration____

No interest

Give some evidence The Whites feel that the Negro is "out of his place" voting

9. Attitude of the press No Comment, Editorial and newsnews it if available__________________, dates

____

10. Officials and candidates attitudes No interest

Campaign__________________________________

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? No

____________to what extent?__________________

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered I Went down and Waited 4 hours and then Was told to come back in 2 weeks - I had to wait 3 hours the Next time.

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification few try

reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes [illegible]

In what ways have they affected registration This has effected the whole attitude of the white toward the Negro -

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? - "No interest in fact the teachers need to teach the boys and girls - not loose time with teaching peoples to Vote"

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? No

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting? "That's Not our business To what extent

How do you account for this? Afraid of having to move

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? No How effective.

Interviews:

Probate Judge - "I do Nothing to help or hinder them"

Newspaper editor - "Am too busy to day Come back Monday" (this was Wed.)

Members of the Board of Registrar:

When they came here they don't know what they are doing"

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council "They have alway been mean"

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? Not Know

What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ______________________

State some specific case or practices? ________________

____

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

The Negroes Can Not get an Organyation started because of a "Rev" in Alexander City. The Board attitude would be diffrent if he would drop— out of the Picture.

15th Tuscaloosa - Mr. Thomas + Mr. Howard,
Ala. Citizen   stud. at Stillman College

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Tuscaloosa Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 5500
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrabs toward Negro applicants 2 ok One Hostile Give some evidence of this One Veteran - Registrar failed to register
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting ~~favorable~~ anxiously
   Give some evidence
5. Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank No
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants —
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?
     See above (3)
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?
     Same

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active none local — small group of Pottern District
(b) militancy Church & Veteran leader —
(c) Position held Preacher & Barber, (d) Effective, How?
moderately

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? yes
(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register? Laborers
(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes (see above)
(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes
(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? no approximately how many? ——
What reason?

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration Variable — Depends on issue —
Give some evidence Referendum

9. Attitude of the press very liberal, Editorial and newsnews it if available, dates

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Generally favorable (see above)
Campaign

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? yes
to what extent? Believe more than in City

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered none cited

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification________

reasons for denials________ ________

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Yes - Leonard Wilson

Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes yes

In what ways have they affected registration________

Negroes intimidated - on Jobs etc.

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration? variable

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? ?

Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?

? To what extent________

How do you account for this? ________

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? yes How effective

Yes + very effective

Interviews:

Probate Judge

Newspaper editor

Members of the Board of Registrar:

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? No. Do the whites get theirs? No

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? No

20. Is the White given any assistance? ?
What kind? ______________

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? ?

State some specific case or practices? ______________

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Tuscaloosa – Voters List integrated and real number hard to ascertain.

Door to Door Canvass on Alcohol referendum – workers reported better than 3,000

---

all teachers in County voter (mandatory) not true in city – but most do.

No Trouble for negroes to register.

Total – 25,000

Negroes exercise ballot when they see ~~the~~ something favorability for themselves.

1. Liquor 2. President

but not on vital local issues.

Veterans working hard.

Planning an ad in Paper to designate place for instruction.

Mr. A. P. Howell
Mr. W. C. White

Survey of Negro Suffrage in Alabama

To secure through investigation the number of Negro registered voter in Alabama and changes brought on during the year whenever Negroes attempt to qualify for the ballot. The attitida of the Board of Registrars and the attitude taken by the citizens toward Negro applicants for the ballot, etc.

1. Name of the County Walker Investigator A. L. Lacy
2. The Number of registered Negro voters 2800-3000
3. The attitude of the Board of Registrars toward Negro applicants Excellent Give some evidence of this Will let Voters Committee register individuals
4. Attitude of the Negro toward registering and voting Complacent Give some evidence Veterans and other eligibles ~~all~~ don't bother to register or vote
5. **Discriminatory practices used by the Board of Registrar**
   - (a) does the board require white character witness or vouchers No
   - (b) must these witnesses actually sign the blank —
   - (c) Is this required of white applicants —
   - (d) Have there been any threats to Negro applicants by non-officials No
   - (e) Give the nature of the threat —
   - (e) Give as full as possible experience Negro registrants have had with the Board of Registrar?

     Very good
   - (f) What accommodation is provided for Negro applicants?

     Same

Walker Co. Voters League

6. Type of leadership among Negroes, (a) Active yes

(b) militancy Affiliated with State & District Org.

(c) Position held Sec., Vice Pres., (d) Effective, How?

Increased strength considerably.

7. Do the Negroes show any enthusiasm for registering and voting? Increasing — 35 from one community in one year —

(a) What group of voters seem more anxious to register?

All groups with professionals

(b) Has there been any organization urging Negro voters to qualify?& yes

(c) Does this organization give instruction on filling out blanks? yes

(d) Are many applicants turned down or refused certification? No approximately how many? none

What reason? ______

______

8. Attitude of white citizens toward Negro registration ______

favorable

Give some evidence Whites seek information concerning registration of Negroes

9. Attitude of the press Neutral, Editorial and newsnews it if available ______, dates

______

10. Officials and candidates attitudes Politics & rallies all around

Campaign Candidates pay $5.00 each to speak to people

11. Do the Rural Negroes make attempts to register? ______

Smaller towns yes ______ to what extent? see above

money goes to league! $25.00

Give some statements of registered Negro voters of the difficulty encountered None

12. Approximatelnumber denied certification None
reasons for denials

13. Is there a White Citizen Council in your county? Unknown
Has it had any effect on registering of Negroes
In what ways have they affected registration

14. What is the attitude of the school Board and the Superintendent toward Negro registration?
Neutral until election time.

15. Have the plantation owners shown any interest in Negro voters? None — none
Have the Negro tenants shown any interest in Voting?
To what extent
How do you account for this?

16. Do you have labor unions in your county? Yes Have they shown any tangible interest? How effective.

Interviews:
Probate Judge Lecil Gray — ok —

Newspaper editor Neutral

Members of the Board of Registrar:
Good

17. Has the Board of Registrar shown any difference toward Negro registration since the organization of the Citizen Council No

18. Do Negroes get their certificate at the time of registration? Yes. Do the whites get theirs? Yes

19. Does the Board of registrar offer any assistant to Negro applicants? Yes

20. Is the White given any assistance? Yes
What kind? Some

21. Are the white given any more assistant than is given to the Negro? No

State some specific case or practices? See above

Give any other instances of discrimination made between White and Negro?

None

State specifically any favorable attitude taken toward the Negro?

Will assist and [illegible] to bring other negroes [illegible] for registration.

Total Strength 15,000

Main difficulty is getting Negroes down to register and vote. Usually get 90-95% of eligibles to votes.

ARKANSAS

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	0	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	0	0
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	998	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prarie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Springs	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

** Number not available from county records, and 1942 county data substituted.

*** Total county number not classified by color. The number was estimated by relating the number of specific population 21 years old and over and the ratio of Negro to white registranrs for available years.

Source: The estimative nature of these statistics cannot be over-emphasized. The data, except where indicated, were obtained from the office by the County Clerk of each county. Two methods were used in the collection of the data-- (1) A mail collection form sent to all County Clerks, and (2) a visit to the County Clerk office and counting of the number of registrants. This field data in turn was checked for consistency with a listing of total county registrants by years secured from the office of the State Auditor. County Clerks kept no total registration for years by color. Also, Bureau of the Census statistics on county population 21 years of age and over were utilized for general consistency purposes.

Attention is directed to the probable great variability in recording procedure among the County Clerk offices. In some instances no color classification was made. In others, non-Negroes are included among either whites or Negroes. In particular are the data for the least recent years apt to be most unreliable. Also, typographical and printing errors and color omissions were frequently encountered in the primary county records. Finally, the hand counting phase of the field collection had no systematic check and is subject to small errors.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
State Total	490,444	67,851	493,869	61,413	424,488	37,155	348,317	21,888
Arkansas	6,705	995	6,469	1,089	5,444	468	5,016*	209*
Ashley	6,209	1,361	5,927	1,207	4,906	1,181	3,912*	908*
Baxter	3,690	0	3,710	0	3,330	0	1,985	0
Benton	12,695	5	13,594	5	11,847	5	6,079	5
Boone	5,902	0	7,234	0	4,939	0	3,746	0
Bradley	4,373	1,210	3,906	851	3,605*	687*	3,768*	418*
Calhoun	2,430	844	1,936	626	2,249	297	1,192	108
Carroll	4,419	2	5,264	2	4,330	2	3,879	2
Chicot	3,636	2,588	3,196	2,055	3,412	747	3,665*	131*
Clark	5,799	1,067	5,644	812	6,157	954	3,964	422
Clay	6,088	0	6,095	0	5,360	0	4,983*	0*
Cleburne	3,045	0	3,055	0	3,488	0	3,303*	0*
Cleveland	2,572	371	2,251	427	2,347	283	1,364	116

TABLE 1, (cont.) NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Columbia	6,135	957	6,211	1,013	5,099	789	5,755*	639*
Conway	5,541	1,527	5,801	1,303	4,679	530	2,504	261
Craighead	13,636	292	13,594	259	10,840	32	8,556*	25*
Crawford	7,112	21*	6,256	19*	4,941	15*	5,119	14*
Crittenden	5,865	1,352	5,538	868	6,863	467	4,486	154
Cross	4,539	723	4,973	553*	4,280	476*	1,923*	214*
Dallas	3,367	1,033	3,454	813	2,931	607*	3,172*	352*
Desha	4,533	2,518	4,134	2,064	3,892	487	3,952*	339*
Drew	3,828	1,038	3,745	1,135	3,276	720	2,085	143
Faulkner	8,361	430	7,414	383	6,695	280	5,559	165**
Franklin	4,546*	23*	4,343*	20*	3,862*	16*	2,062*	10*
Fulton	2,696	0	2,629	0	2,521	0	1,686	0

TABLE 1 (cont)

NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Garland	15,615	2,520	15,140	2,023	15,204	1,341	14,863*	2,389*
Grant	3,371	231	3,222	78	2,882	108	3,329*	47*
Greene	8,184*	5*	7,848*	5*	6,178*	5*	4,767*	5*
Hempstead	5,558	1,452	5,527	1,152	5,628	952	6,604*	498*
Hot Spring	7,411	717*	7,014	513	5,523	372	4,432	106
Howard	3,635	460	3,647	456	3,750	420	3.608*	400*
Independence	6,755*	100*	7,010*	75*	6,859*	50*	4,730*	40*
Izard	2,973*	27*	2,340*	20*	2,043*	18*	782*	8*
Jackson	6,282	1,215	6,972	1,325*	5,782	788*	4,439*	307*
Jefferson	13,680	5,774	14,081	6,069	10,323	5,161	13,335*	3,334*
Johnson	4,884*	18*	4,868*	15*	4,166*	17*	4,452*	10*
Lafayette	2,921	1,033	2,503	720	2,722	135	2.426*	75*
Lawrence	5,652*	67*	5,791*	66*	5,293*	72*	6,196*	101*

TABLE 1 (cont.)

NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952,1947 and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Lee	2,669	1,610	2,498	1,409	2,601	757	2,215	507
Lincoln	2,419	1,391	2,322	1,480	2,201	935	1,755	397
Little River	2,946	782	2,757	631	2,676	551	1,582	238
Logan	5,745*	183*	5,933*	189*	5,683*	236*	4,640*	95*
Lonoke	6,960	805	6,228	843	6,275	293	6,695	186
Madison	3,891*	5*	6,099*	3*	2,475*	4*	2,173*	5*
Marion	2,861	0	2,926	0	2,907	0	2,162*	0
Miller	9,354	1,840	9,330	2,377	8,614	1,206	6,362	236
Mississippi	13,239	3,915	13,396	2,472	12,606	708	7,319	243
Monroe	3,412	1,031	3,456	958	3,690	461	2,920*	361*
Montgomery	2,903	15	2,284	7	2,332	4	2,607	3
Nevada	3,459	825	3,285	774	3,120	618	2.989	311
Newton	2,866	0	3,430	0	1,867	0	2,353	0

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Ouachita	8,384	2,500	8,775	2,813	6,286	1,496	4,491	819
Perry	2,231	65	2,004*	57*	2,158*	68*	2,761*	52*
Phillips	5,571	3,561	5,605	2,993	5,735	648	6,396*	561*
Pike	2,692	86	2,881	80	2,693	87	2,935	30
Poinsett	9,193***	195***	8,524	63	8,163	17	7,537	3
Polk	4,780	0	4,398	0	3,813	0	3,641	0
Pope	7,160*	150*	6,794*	132*	6,091*	75*	4,604*	30*
Prairie	3,088*	900*	3,108*	600*	3,260*	460*	3,082*	442*
Pulaski	56,096	8,364	58,011	8,753	46,014	6,134	25,842	1,888
Randolph	4,787*	57*	4,594*	32*	4,231*	25*	2,772*	45*
St. Francis	5,699	2,300	4,565	1,532	3,879	747	2,377	383
Saline	8,765	413	7,998	359	5,904	266	3,141	178
Scott	3,236*	45*	2,810*	32*	2,605*	27*	3,207*	40*

TABLE 1 (cont.)

NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO POLL TAX PAYERS, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955		1952		1947		1940	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Searcy	2,922	0	3,801	0	2,770	0	3.343*	0*
Sebastian	20,560	661	21,698*	927*	15,860*	507*	15,620*	500*
Sevier	3,334	235	3,266	230	2,954	142	2,392	139
Sharp	2,736*	3*	2,322*	3*	3,039*	3*	2,997*	3*
Stone	2,548	0	2,211	0	2,455	0	1,937*	0
Union	14,155	2,570	14,513	2,389	10,792	1,165	9,526*	960*
Van Buren	3,364	31	3,826	23	3,091	5	1,695	5
Washington	13,982*	40*	17,534*	35*	12,229*	20*	7,988*	12*
White	9,110	288	9,932	213	7,083	115	10,044*	101*
Woodruff	3,397	954	3,508	914	3,320*	830*	1,631	517*
Yell	5,289*	55*	4,809*	69*	5,166*	63*	4,911*	143*

~~Estimated~~
~~1942 rather than 1940~~
~~Not broken by color; estimated~~

* Number not available from county records. The number was estimated by relating the number of specific population 21 years old and over and the ratio of Negro to white registrants for available years.

Dashes represent counties less than 3% Negro in pop.

TABLE 2

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940
/Ratios rounded/

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Arkansas	0.49	0.07	0.47	0.08	0.40	0.03	0.37	0.02
Ashley	0.44	0.10	0.42	0.09	0.35	0.08	0.26	0.06
– Baxter	p.54	--	0.54	--	0.49	--	0.36	--
– Benton	0.53	--	0.57	--	0.49	--	0.27	--
– Boone	0.58	--	0.71	--	0.49	--	0.40	--
Bradley	0.47	0.13	0.42	0.09	0.39	0.07	0.37	0.04
Calhoun	0.59	0.02	0.47	0.15	0.55	0.07	0.23	0.02
– Carroll	0.53	--	0.63	--	0.52	--	0.44	--
Chicot	0.29	0.21	0.25	0.16	0.27	0.06	0.23	0.01
Clark	0.44	0.08	0.43	0.06	0.46	0.07	0.29	0.03
– Clay	0.41	--	0.41	--	0.36	--	0.33	--
– Cleburne	0.46	--	0.46	--	0.52	--	0.47	--
Cleveland	0.53	0.08	0.46	0.09	0.48	0.06	0.21	0.02

TABLE 2 (cont.)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940
[Ratios rounded]

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Garland	0.50	0.08	0.49	0.07	0.49	0.04	0.55	0.09
Grant	0.64	0.04	0.62	0.01	0.55	0.02	0.58	0.01
Greene	0.50	--	0.48	--	0.37	--	0.29	--
Hempstead	0.38	0.10	0.38	0.08	0.38	0.06	0.37	0.03
Hot Spring	0.58	0.06	0.54	0.04	0.43	0.03	0.43	0.01
Howard	0.45	0.06	0.46	0.06	0.47	0.05	0.39	0.04
Independence	0.48	--	0.50	0.01	0.49	--	0.34	--
Izard	0.51	--	0.40	--	0.35	--	0.11	--
Jackson	0.44	0.09	0.49	0.09	0.41	0.06	0.31	0.02
Jefferson	0.31	0.13	0.31	0.14	0.23	0.12	0.35	0.09
Johnson	0.50	--	0.50	--	0.43	--	0.43	--
Lafayette	0.40	0.14	0.34	0.10	0.37	0.02	0.27	0.01
Lawrence	0.48	--	0.49	0.01	0.45	0.01	0.52	0.01

TABLE 2 (cont.)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940
/Ratios rounded/

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Columbia	0.37	0.06	0.38	0.06	0.31	0.05	0.35	0.04
Conway	0.54	0.15	0.57	0.13	0.46	0.05	0.22	0.02
Craighead	0.48	0.01	0.48	0.01	0.38	--	0.33	--
2.9 — Crawford	0.54	--	0.47	--	0.37	--	0.39	--
Crittenden	0.23	0.05	0.22	0.03	0.27	0.02	0.18	0.01
Cross	0.35	0.06	0.38	0.04	0.33	0.04	0.14	0.02
Dallas	0.47	0.14	0.48	0.11	0.41	0.08	0.39	0.04
Desha	0.33	0.19	0.30	0.15	0.29	0.04	0.26	0.02
Drew	0.38	0.10	0.35	0.11	0.33	0.07	0.20	0.01
Faulkner	0.57	0.03	0.51	0.03	0.46	0.02	0.39	0.01
Franklin	0.62	--	0.59	--	0.52	--	0.24	--
Fulton	0.50	--	0.49	--	0.47	--	0.31	--

TABLE 2 (cont.)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940
/Ratios rounded/

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Lee	0.21	0.13	0.20	0.11	0.20	0.06	0.15	0.04
Lincoln	0.26	0.15	0.25	0.16	0.24	0.10	0.16	0.04
Little River	0.44	0.12	0.41	0.09	0.40	0.08	0.18	0.03
Logan	0.46	0.01	0.48	0.02	0.46	0.02	0.32	0.01
Lonoke	0.46	0.05	0.41	0.06	0.41	0.02	0.41	0.01
- Madison	0.58	--	0.92	--	0.37	--	0.28	--
— Marion	0.57	--	0.58	--	0.58	--	0.42	--
Miller	0.48	0.09	0.48	0.12	0.44	0.06	0.35	0.01
Mississippi	0.31	0.09	0.31	0.06	0.29	0.02	0.17	--
Monroe	0.32	0.10	0.33	0.09	0.35	0.04	0.25	0.03
- Montgomery	0.74	--	0.58	--	0.59	--	0.55	--
Nevada	0.40	0.10	0.38	0.09	0.36	0.07	0.28	0.03
— Newton	0.64	--	0.76	--	0.41	--	0.44	--

Table 2 (cont.)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

[Ratios rounded]

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Ouachita	0.44	0.13	0.46	0.15	0.33	0.08	0.26	0.05
Perry	0.65	0.02	0.58	0.02	0.63	0.02	0.63	0.01
Phillips	0.22	0.14	0.22	0.12	0.22	0.02	0.23	0.02
Pike	0.46	0.01	0.49	0.01	0.46	0.01	0.45	--
Poinsett	0.46	0.01	0.43	--	0.41	--	0.39	--
—Polk	0.56	--	0.52	--	0.45	--	0.41	--
Pope	0.52	0.01	0.49	--	0.44	--	0.33	--
Prairie	0.40	0.12	0.40	0.08	0.42	0.06	0.38	0.05
Pulaski	0.44	0.07	0.45	0.07	0.36	0.05	0.25	0.02
Randolph	0.53	0.01	0.51	--	0.47	--	0.29	--
St. Francis	0.29	0.12	0.24	0.08	0.20	0.04	0.12	0.02
Saline	0.58	0.03	0.53	0.02	0.39	0.02	0.27	0.01
Scott	0.55	0.01	0.48	--	0.44	--	0.45	--

TABLE 2 (cont.)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940
/Ratios rounded/

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Searcy	0.49	--	0.64	--	0.47	--	0.53	--
Sebastian	0.51	0.02	0.54	0.02	0.39	0.01	0.41	0.01
Sevier	0.45	0.03	0.44	0.03	0.40	0.02	0.28	0.02
Sharp	0.53	--	0.45	--	0.58	--	0.48	--
Stone	0.60	--	0.52	--	0.58	--	0.44	--
Union	0.47	0.09	0.48	0.08	0.36	0.04	0.32	0.03
Van Buren	0.60	0.01	0.68	--	0.55	--	0.26	--
Washington	0.45	--	0.56	--	0.39	--	0.32	--
White	0.42	0.01	0.45	--	0.32	--	0.49	--
Woodruff	0.34	0.10	0.35	0.09	0.33	0.08	0.14	0.04
Yell	0.63	0.01	0.57	--	0.61	--	0.43	0.01

* Computed on 1950 county population 21 years old and over -- Ratio less than 0.01
** Computed on 1940 county population 21 years old and over
SOURCE: Computed from data of Table 1, and U.S. Census of Population 1950, Vol. II, Part 4, Arkansas, Table 41, pp. 4-65 --4-77; and 16th Census of Population, 1940, Vol. II, Part 1, Arkansas, Table 22, pp. 423-36

TABLE 3

PERCENT CHANGE IN WHITE AND NEGRO POLL-TAX REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS FOR SELECTED PERIODS

[Percentages Rounded]

YEARS	WHITE		NEGRO	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1955	490,444	-0.7	67,851	10.5
1952	493,869	16.3	61,413	65.3
1947	424,488	21.9	37,155	69.8
1940	348,317	---	21,888	---

SOURCE: Computed from data in Table 1

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(28)•

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA50 NSB336

195 OCT 29 PM 3 41

NS PBA114 10 COLLECT=WUX PINE BLUFF ARK 29 227PMC:

TO ATLANTA

=HAROLD FLEMING SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVENUE N E ATLA=

1327 3

:POLL TAX RECEIPTS PURCHASED FOR 1956 TOTAL 580,645=

=TILMAN C COTHRAN=

:1956 580,645=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SURVEY OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN ARKANSAS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to survey the suffrage status of Negroes in the State of Arkansas. The types of data sought have been suggested by the "Outline for Survey of Negro Suffrage in Twelve Southern States" developed by the Southern Regional Council in mimeograph form on April 27, 1956.

In the past ten years, Negroes in Arkansas have made giant strides in their effectiveness as political forces in state politics. The changed character of the Negro's relative and absolute suffrage status during this period has been greater possibly than at any comparable period since Emancipation. Negro poll tax payments and/or registration have experienced remarkable increase. The white primary as an insurmountable obstacle for Negro voters rapidly lost its potency after the Supreme Court's decision in the Smith vs. Allwright Case in 1944. There were efforts to salvage a measure of control on Negro suffrage in the state by attempting legislation which separated state and national elections. However, this device was never put into effective operation.

The data presented in this study have been collected from county clerks' offices through a mail questionnaire and visitations, interviews with Negro leaders in the state, questionnaire returns from 38 Negroes in twenty-three counties, newspaper articles, Census Bureau publications and the statutes of Arkansas. Information in Table I showing the number of white and Negro poll tax payers for counties of

PAGE (s) MISSING

Arkansas is based on tabulations from official county lists of eligible voters. All counties are required by law to publish such lists indicating by appropriate symbols Negro and white electors. Since only the total number of poll tax receipts sold must be reported to the State Auditor's Office, there is generally no break down of county or state totals by color. Accordingly, it was necessary to secure copies of the county lists of electors for the desired years and hand tabulate by color. Where the lists were not available, the information was gathered from the records in the county office.

Our task was to secure data on Negro suffrage and to present it journalistically and factually. Therefore, generalizations and possible explanations are tentatively stated. While these limitations are important, the study is valuable for the factual information and for insights into the changing character of Negro suffrage in the state.

REGISTRATION TRENDS

Table 1 presents the basic data on the number of Negro and white poll tax payers by counties for 1940, 1947, 1952, and 1955, and it serves as a source table for some of the other tabular presentations in the study. The information in this table is summarized in Table 2. Viewing Table 2, one immediately observes that for the four periods between 1940 and 1955, the relative increase of Negro poll tax payments has been markedly greater than that for white poll tax payments for the state as a whole.

Table 2

PERCENT CHANGE IN WHITE AND NEGRO POLL-TAX REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS FOR SELECTED PERIODS

(Percentages Rounded)

YEARS	WHITE		NEGRO	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1955	490,444	-0.7	67,851	10.5
1952	493,869	16.3	61,413	65.3
1947	424,488	21.9	37,155	69.8
1940	348,317	-	21,888	-

Source: Computed from data in Table 1

This fact is a result of the historically low level of Negro poll tax payments scrutinized against the background of the recent emergent political awareness of Arkansas Negroes. While for each time period the increase of Negro poll tax registration was relatively larger than the increase of white poll tax registration, there is still an incredibly large hiatus between the Negroes' registration status and that of whites.

For both color groups the greatest relative increase was experienced in the period from 1940 to 1947. For Negroes, the increase in poll tax payment was influenced by the Smith vs Allwright Decision outlawing the white primary, by the increased activity of organized labor in politics, by the social, political, and economic impact of World War II and returning veterans, and by the legislative act (Arkansas Statutes 1947, No. 220, --1, ;. 484.) of 1947, which removed the property assessment requirement as a prerequisite for paying poll taxes. Between 1952 and 1955, white poll tax registration experienced a small relative decrease. Finally, both color groups showed consistently smaller increases in poll tax registration from the earlier time period to the latter one. This is accounted for in part by the diminishing potential for increase for both groups and possibly by the large differential out-migration by color.

The data in Table 3 show the ratio of white and Negro registered voters to the population 21 years of age and over by counties. By

TABLE 3

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940
(Ratios rounded)

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Arkansas	0.49	0.07	0.47	0.08	0.40	0.03	0.37	0.02
Ashley	0.44	0.10	0.42	0.09	0.35	0.08	0.26	0.06
Baxter	0.54	-	0.54	-	0.49	-	0.36	-
Benton	0.53	-	0.57	-	0.49	-	0.27	-
Boone	0.58	-	0.71	-	0.49	-	0.40	-
Bradley	0.47	0.13	0.42	0.09	0.39	0.07	0.37	0.04
Calhoun	0.59	0.02	0.47	0.15	0.55	0.07	0.23	0.02
Carroll	0.53	-	0.63	-	0.52	-	0.44	-
Chicot	0.29	0.21	0.25	0.16	0.27	0.06	0.23	0.01
Clark	0.44	0.08	0.43	0.06	0.46	0.07	0.29	0.03
Clay	0.41	-	0.41	-	0.36	-	0.33	-
Cleburne	0.46	-	0.46	-	0.52	-	0.47	-
Cleveland	0.53	0.08	0.46	0.09	0.48	0.06	0.21	0.02

TABLE 3 (cont)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

(Ratios rounded)

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
XXXXXXXXX	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Columbia	0.37	0.06	0.38	0.06	0.31	0.05	0.35	0.04
Conway	0.54	0.15	0.57	0.13	0.46	0.05	0.22	0.02
Craighead	0.48	0.01	0.48	0.01	0.38	-	0.33	-
Crawford	0.54	-	0.47	-	0.37	-	0.39	-
Crittenden	0.23	0.05	0.22	0.03	0.27	0.02	0.18	0.01
Cross	0.35	0.06	0.38	0.04	0.33	0.04	0.14	0.02
Dallas	0.47	0.14	0.48	0.11	0.41	0.08	0.39	0.04
Desha	0.33	0.19	0.30	0.15	0.29	0.04	0.26	0.02
Drew	0.38	0.10	0.35	0.11	0.33	0.07	0.20	0.01
Faulkner	0.57	0.03	0.51	0.03	0.46	0.02	0.39	0.01
Franklin	0.62	-	0.59	-	0.52	-	0.24	-
Fulton	0.50	-	0.49	-	0.47	-	0.31	-

TABLE 3 (cont)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

(Ratios rounded)

COUNTY	YEAR AND COLOR							
	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940*	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Garland	0.50	0.08	0.49	0.07	0.49	0.04	0.55	0.09
Grant	0.64	0.04	0.62	0.01	0.55	0.02	0.58	0.01
Greene	0.50	-	0.48	-	0.37	-	0.29	-
Hempstead	0.38	0.10	0.38	0.08	0.38	0.06	0.37	0.03
Hot Spring	0.58	0.06	0.54	0.04	0.43	0.03	0.43	0.01
Howard	0.45	0.06	0.46	0.06	0.47	0.05	0.39	0.04
Independence	0.48	-	0.50	0.01	0.49	-	0.34	-
Izard	0.51	-	0.40	-	0.35	-	0.11	-
Jackson	0.44	0.09	0.49	0.09	0.41	0.06	0.31	0.02
Jefferson	0.31	0.13	0.31	0.14	0.23	0.12	0.35	0.09
Johnson	0.50	-	0.50	-	0.43	-	0.43	-
Lafayette	0.40	0.14	0.34	0.10	0.37	0.02	0.27	0.01
Lawrence	0.48	-	0.49	0.01	0.45	0.01	0.52	0.01

TABLE 3 (cont)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940

(Ratios rounded)

YEAR AND COLOR

COUNTY	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Lee	0.21	0.13	0.20	0.11	0.20	0.06	0.15	0.04
Lincoln	0.26	0.15	0.25	0.16	0.24	0.10	0.16	0.04
Little River	0.44	0.12	0.41	0.09	0.40	0.08	0.18	0.03
Logan	0.46	0.01	0.48	0.02	0.46	0.02	0.32	0.01
Lonoke	0.46	0.05	0.41	0.06	0.41	0.02	0.41	0.01
Madison	0.58	-	0.92	-	0.37	-	0.28	-
Marion	0.57	-	0.58	-	0.58	-	0.42	-
Miller	0.48	0.09	0.48	0.12	0.44	0.06	0.35	0.01
Mississippi	0.31	0.09	0.31	0.06	0.29	0.02	0.17	-
Monroe	0.32	0.10	0.33	0.09	0.35	0.04	0.25	0.03
Montgomery	0.74	-	0.58	-	0.59	-	0.55	-
Nevada	0.40	0.10	0.38	0.09	0.36	0.07	0.28	0.03
Newton	0.64	-	0.76	-	0.41	-	0.44	-

TABLE 3 (cont)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947, and 1940

(Ratios rounded)

COUNTY	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Ouachita	0.44	0.13	0.46	0.15	0.33	0.08	0.26	0.05
Perry	0.65	0.02	0.58	0.02	0.63	0.02	0.63	0.01
Phillips	0.22	0.14	0.22	0.12	0.22	0.02	0.23	0.02
Pike	0.46	0.01	0.49	0.01	0.46	0.01	0.45	-
Poinsett	0.46	0.01	0.43	-	0.41	-	0.39	-
Polk	0.56	-	0.52	-	0.45	-	0.41	-
Pope	0.52	0.01	0.49	-	0.44	-	0.33	-
Prairie	0.40	0.12	0.40	0.08	0.42	0.06	0.38	0.05
Pulaski	0.44	0.07	0.45	0.07	0.36	0.05	0.25	0.02
Randolph	0.53	0.01	0.51	-	0.47	-	0.29	-
St. Francis	0.29	0.12	0.24	0.08	0.20	0.04	0.12	0.02
Saline	0.58	0.03	0.53	0.02	0.39	0.02	0.27	0.01
Scott	0.55	0.01	0.48	-	0.44	-	0.45	-

TABLE 3 (cont)

RATIO OF WHITE AND NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS TO THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, FOR THE COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS: 1955, 1952, 1947 and 1940

(Ratios rounded)

COUNTY	1955*		1952*		1947*		1940**	
~~State Total~~	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Searcy	0.49	-	0.64	-	0.47	-	0.53	-
Sebastian	0.51	0.02	0.54	0.02	0.39	0.01	0.41	0.01
Sevier	0.45	0.03	0.44	0.03	0.40	0.02	0.28	0.02
Sharp	0.53	-	0.45	-	0.58	-	0.48	-
Stone	0.60	-	0.52	-	0.58	-	0.44	-
Union	0.47	0.09	0.48	0.08	0.36	0.04	0.32	0.03
Van Buren	0.60	0.01	0.68	-	0.55	-	0.26	-
Washington	0.45	-	0.56	-	0.39	-	0.32	-
White	0.42	0.01	0.45	-	0.32	-	0.49	-
Woodruff	0.34	0.10	0.35	0.09	0.33	0.08	0.14	0.04
Yell	0.63	0.01	0.57	-	0.61	-	0.43	0.01

* Computed on 1950 county population 21 years old and over

** Computed on 1940 county population 21 years old and over

-- Ratio less than 0.01

Source: Computed from data of Table 1, and U.S. Census of Population 1950, Vol.II, Part 4, Arkansas, Table 41, pp. 4-65 --4-77; and 16th Census of Population, 1940, Vol. II, Part 1, Arkansas Table 22, pp. 423-36 observing this table, several patterns seem to emerge. First, the ratios of white poll tax registrants to white population 21 years of age and over are consistently and definitely larger than comparable ratios for Negroes. Inspection shows that this pattern applies generally for all four time periods. In no county does the Negro ratio equal that of the whites and only rarely, in spite of increasing Negro ratios from 1940 to 1955, does it approximate the white ratio. This enormous disparity in ratios by color attests to the effectiveness of traditional discriminatory practices as they relate both directly and indirectly to the suffrage status of Negroes in the state.

Second, the ratios for both Negroes and whites increased from 1940 through the several periods to 1955. Although this increase in ratios of poll tax registrants and population 21 years of age and over is apparently general throughout the state, some color differences among the counties seem to appear from visual inspection. Such superficial observation indicates that white ratios seem to be higher in those counties with large numbers of Negroes. Accepting for the moment the assumption that restrictive racial controls are more in evidence in areas of heavy concentration of Negro population, it is quite possible that the relaxed atmosphere of political tolerance in the state gives Negro political leadership a situation in which its exhortations find great receptivity. Conversely, however, in those situations where the masses of Negroes experience a measure of acceptable accommodation, it is more difficult for Negro political leadership to arouse them from their political lethargy. Thus, the color composition and the concomitant race relations pattern of the counties appear to be associated with poll tax registration in the counties. That the Negro ratios are larger in those counties characterized by relatively high percentages of Negroes in the total population is an interesting observation. Closely associated with this observation is the fact that the relative increase in the Negro ratios through the time periods from 1940 to 1955 seems to be higher in those counties with high percentages of Negroes in the population. Worthy also of note is the fact that in the counties of relatively high Negro ratios and increase, the white ratios seem to be lower than white ratios in other counties of the state.

Generally, it seems that the data in Tables 1, 2, and 3 support the following tentative observations:

1. The proportion of whites 21 years of age and over qualifying as electors is considerably greater than the comparable proportions of Negroes.

2. The percentage increase in poll tax payment for Negroes is generally higher than that for whites for the same period as indicated.

3. The period of greatest increase in poll tax registration for both Negroes and whites was from 1940 to 1947.

4. Poll tax registration for both color groups has increased from 1940 to 1955 with a slight decrease for whites from 1952 to 1955.

5. The higher the Negro percentage of the counties' total population;

   a. The lower the over-all poll tax registration,
   b. The lower the white poll tax registration when compared with counties of low percentages of Negroes in the total county population,
   c. The higher the Negro poll tax registration when compared with counties of low Negro percentages in the population,
   d. The greater relative increase in Negro poll tax registration since 1940, and
   e. The smaller relative increase in white poll tax registration since 1940.

VOTING PERFORMANCE

Voting performance for all citizens in the State of Arkansas is usually low. In the first primary of 1956, only 55 percent of the poll tax receipt holders voted. Since World War II, 55 percent is not a representative turnout for Arkansas in a Democratic primary. In the first and second primaries of 1952, 64 percent and 73 percent, respectively, of the registered voters voted and in the first and second primaries of 1954, 61 percent and 70 percent, respectively, voted. A breakdown of the voting percentages of all counties in Arkansas, shown in Table 4, revealed little consistency in the voting performance by counties.

Table 4

VOTE PERCENTAGE OF ALL COUNTIES
ARKANSAS

County	Eligible Voters	Actual Votes	Percent of Eligible Voters
Arkansas	7,700	3,838	50
Ashley	7,570	4,764	63
Baxter	3,690	2,420	68
Benton	12,700	3,101	24
Boone	5,902	2,325	38
Bradley	5,583	3,848	69
Calhoun	3,274	2,268	69
Carroll	4,421	1,796	40
Chicot	6,224	2,813	45
Clark	6,866	4,522	65
Clay	6,088	1,717	28
Cleburne	3,045	1,552	50
Cleveland	2,943	2,217	75
Columbia	7,092	3,908	55
Conway	7,068	3,640	51
Craighead	13,928	7,343	52
Crawford	7,133	4,055	57
Crittenden	7,217	3,186	44
Cross	5,262	2,146	40
Dallas	4,400	3,008	68
Desha	7,051	3,494	49
Drew	4,866	3,136	64
Faulkner	8,791	6,934	78
Franklin	4,569	3,612	79
Fulton	2,696	1,632	61
Garland	18,135	6,846	37
Grant	3,602	2,798	78
Greene	8,189	5,549	68
Hempstead	7,010	4,589	65
Hot Spring	8,128	4,600	56
Howard	4,095	1,734	42
Independence	6,855	4,034	59
Izard	3,000	2,125	71

County	Eligible Voters	Actual Votes	Percent of Eligible Voters
Jackson	7,497	4,553	60
Jefferson	19,454	10,788	50
Johnson	4,902	3,178	64
Lafayette	3,954	1,642	41
Lawrence	5,719	3,740	65
Lee	4,279	1,634	37
Lincoln	3,810	1,966	51
Little River	3,728	2,466	66
Logan	5,928	4,019	67
Lonoke	7,765	4,948	63
Madison	3,896	1,864	47
Marion	2,861	2,001	70
Miller	11,194	7,412	66
Mississippi	17,154	8,529	49
Monroe	4,443	2,375	53
Montgomery	2,918	2,015	68
Nevada	4,284	2,662	62
Newton	2,866	859	30
Ouachita	10,884	6,879	63
Perry	2,296	1,449	63
Phillips	9,132	4,024	44
Pike	2,778	1,206	43
Poinsett	9,388	6,355	66
Polk	4,780	3,380	70
Pope	7,210	3,640	50
Prairie	3,988	2,098	52
Pulaski	64,460	33,321	52
Randolph	4,844	2,722	56
Saline	9,178	6,759	74
Scott	3,281	2,159	65
Searcy	2,922	671	22
Sebastian	21,221	9,604	46
Sevier	3,569	1,400	39
Sharp	2,739	1,296	47
St. Francis	7,999	5,040	63
Stone	2,548	459	18
Union	16,725	11,303	67
Van Buren	3,395	2,566	75
Washington	14,022	7,611	54
White	9,398	6,661	70
Woodruff	4,351	2,021	46
Yell	5,344	3,738	70
State Total	558,197	309,113	55

Source: Arkansas Gazette, August 5, 1956.

There were 36 counties with 60 percent or more of the registered voters exercising their privilege with 25 of these counties adjoining each other in the central part of the state. Pulaski County, predominantly urban, with the largest population of any county in the state, and with a Negro population which approximates Negro proportion in the total state population, had only 52 percent of the eligible voters going to the polls. Location appears to be the only common factor characterizing these counties. Economic factors and racial composition of the 25 counties exhibit the state differentials for these factors. Seventy-nine percent voted in Franklin County--highest for any county and 78 percent voted in both Faulkner and Grant Counties. These counties are centrally located in the state and have low proportions of Negroes in their population. However, Stone County, with only 18 percent of eligible voters voting and Searcy County, with only 22 percent, have no Negroes. The low turnout of voters in Stone and Searcy Counties may be attributed to the heavy Republical population concentration.

In order to determine the racial proportions of persons casting votes, it is necessary to check the voting lists against the list of eligible voters. To the best of our knowledge, this has not been done. Accordingly, any racial comparison with regard to voting performance is, of necessity, conjecture.

An analysis of actual votes cast in Pine Bluff by wards during the first primary of 1956 serves as a basis for projecting a racial comparison of voting performance. In the four wards of Pine Bluff, Negro voters are concentrated in Wards Two and Four, with the highest concentration in the latter ward. Of the three major candidates running for the governorship of the state, Negroes generally felt that incumbent Governor Faubus was the least objectionable and voted almost in bloc for him on the insistence of Negro political leaders of the city.[1] According to the results presented in the Pine Bluff Commercial as shown in Table 5, Faubus carried only two wards--these were the wards with a large Negro population.

Table 5

VOTING IN PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS BY WARDS
July 31, 1956

	Johnson	Prosser	Pippin	Faubus	Snoddy
Ward One	541	4	2	409	65
Ward Two	431	13	11	767	154
Ward Three	1374	19	5	1246	444
Ward Four	558	5	5	1085	78
Vaugine	815	4	5	721	93
Totals	3719	45	28	4228	834

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[1] Writer attended the political rally of over 1,000 Negroes prior to the first primary and found unanimous support for Governor Faubus who had taken the least extreme position on the segregation issue.

Negro political leaders in the city expressed the belief that the Negro vote made it possible for Faubus to receive a plurality of votes cast in the county and in the city.

In a meeting sponsored by the Negro Democratic Organization in the city, Negro leaders urged bloc voting to the more than 1,000 persons in attendance. This was a reversal in policy since the racial issue had not been used as a campaign weapon after the 1950 elections. According to the July 29, 1956 Pine Bluff Commercial, Dr. W. E. O'Bryant and Attorney Wiley Branton, political leaders among Negroes in Pine Bluff, stated, "As a result of the tactics used by these candidates and their failure to openly make themselves known to Negro voters, we have no alternative but to urge Negro voters to resort to bloc voting in order to make their influence felt." These local political leaders, unlike some Negro state political leaders, urged participation on the part of the Negro voters.

On the state level, the state Democratic Organization urged Negroes to register and to show their disapproval, through failure to vote. Mr. I. S. McClinton is quoted by the Arkansas Gazette of June 20, 1956 as saying, "If there is nobody who will give us at least a fair shake, he may try to hold out the Negro vote until there is a run-off; if there is one, or until the next election in 1958." However, Mr. McClinton did not have full support on his position from Negro political leaders representing the various sections of the state.

The small turnout for the first primary was largely a function of the fact that one issue dominated the campaign and that issue was racial segregation. There was only the question of degree--that is, which candidate could be the most vociferous and the most dramatic in his support of segregation. The positions of the candidates affected the interest of Negro voters and white voters who do not favor segregation. In spite of the lack of issues, one candidate's position was so extreme that Negro voters were generally united in opposition to him. Accordingly, the votes were not necessarily in support of Governor Faubus, but against his chief challenger--Johnson.

Through correspondence with 38 Negro leaders in 23 counties of the state, 30 expressed the feeling that the Negro vote on occasion has been the determining factor in local elections. One respondent in Chicot County in answer to the question, "Has the Negro vote in your county been a deciding factor in any election" said, "In 1954, we elected a sheriff and a state senator against the wishes of most of the whites because we thought them to be liberal-minded men and kindly disposed toward our cause." Another Negro respondent in Drew County said "We are almost certain that the Negro vote decided the election for the chief of police a few years ago and in the last city election we believe that the Negro vote was the deciding factor." While it may not be possible to fully accept all of the claims of the Negro political leaders, there is some evidence to indicate that the Negro vote has been important in local elections and state elections.

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

There are two sets of requirements for voting in the State of Arkansas. They are constitutional or statutory and party requirements. The rigidity of application of these requirements is a function of the intensity of group, class, and/or racial consciousness and the personal insecurity of the persons charged with the responsibility of administering the voting requirements of the state. Possibly not since the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century which witnessed the militant agrarianism of Jeff Davis has there been any really devisive issues in Arkansas politics. V. O. Keys, Jr., in his book on Southern Politics views this situation as "Policy Consensus and Factual Fluidity."

Thus in the absence of strong political factions, machine politics and deep seated devisive political issues, class and racial consciousness as factors affecting voting strength has not served as an effective source of motivation for the development of a body of tactics and practices to restrict the voting potential of Negroes. However, Negro voting did not become an issue of importance until the late 1940's or after the Smith vs Allwright Decision of 1944. Prior to this time, Negroes generally did not try to vote with the exception of a few Negroes in some communities who were permitted to vote by agreement on the part of white party officials.

Although there are legal and party requirements for voting, there is sufficient evidence to support the belief that unless glaring inconsistencies are apparent, the latter requirements are not very rigidly enforced. The basic requirement is constitutional--the possession of a poll tax receipt.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND/OR STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING

Consistent with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, Arkansas' Constitution does not restrict voting on the basis of race.[2] However, in addition to the traditional requirement of age and residence, there is a poll tax requirement, with exemptions for citizens who otherwise qualify for voting and who are serving in the U. S. Armed Forces. Also, Arkansas citizens who become 21 years of age after April 10 of the preceding year may vote without paying poll tax.

Historically, the poll tax has been viewed as a device for disfranchising the Negro as a member of a low-income group. Since Negroes could not generally vote in the private party primaries, the poll tax was of little consequence to potential Negro voters who were excluded from primary elections. It is quite possible that the existence of the poll tax was a contributing factor to the low level of white voter participation.

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[2] Article 3, Section 1 of Arkansas Constitution, adopted September 7, 1874.

The Smith vs Allwright Decision came at a time when the non-cumulative one dollar Arkansas poll tax exercised a less decisive deterring influence on Negro voting than possibly originally intended. In fact, until recently, poll taxes were assessed along with personal and property taxes and were included on all citizens' tax statements. Thus, many Negroes were paying poll taxes long before there was hope for exercising the right to vote.

Factors favorable to poll tax payment in Arkansas. -- As indicated above, the payment of poll taxes is no longer required along with the payment of personal property taxes. Wives and others without property assessments may pay their poll taxes with the express purpose of qualifying to vote. Thus, many counties collect poll taxes in excess of poll tax liabilities carried on the tax books. (See Table 6).

Certain categories of people in the State are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt. According to law (See Arkansas Acts 1929, No. 288.8, p. 1202) every adult person who makes application for a license or permit purchases a poll tax receipt. Another group of people required by law to purchase the poll tax receipt is all adults who are to receive wages, salaries or other compensation paid from public funds of any character (Arkansas Acts 1929, No. 288.8 2, p. 1202). This group

Table 6

RATIO OF POLL TAX PAYMENT TO ACTUAL POLL TAX ASSESSMENT FOR SELECTED COUNTIES IN ARKANSAS 1952

	WHITE			NEGRO		
	Assmnt.	Payment	Ratio	Assmnt.	Payment	Ratio
Ashley	4711	5927	1.26	2166	1207	0.56
Baxter	2681	3710	1.38	0	0	
Benton	14117	11847	0.84	3	5	1.67
Bradley	3881	3906	1.01	1189	851	0.72
Calhoun	1336	1936	1.45	378	626	1.66
Carroll	4249	5264	1.24	1	2	2.00
Chicot	3214	3196	0.99	1569	2055	1.31
Clay	1725	6095	3.53	0	0	
Cleburne	2401	3055	1.27	0	0	
Craighead	14811	13594	0.92	1348	259	0.19
Crittenden	3426	5538	1.62	2557	868	0.34
Drew	2963	3745	1.26	1133	1135	1.00
Franklin	3192	4343	1.36	14	20	1.43
Fulton	2148	2629	1.22	0	0	
Hempstead	4372	5527	1.26	1410	1152	0.82
Howard	3500	3647	1.04	500	456	0.91
Independence	7701	7010	0.91	158	75	0.47
Jackson	6000	6972	1.16	2000	1325	0.66
Johnson	4281	4868	1.14	15	15	1.00
Lafayette	2345	2503	1.07	97	720	7.42
Lawrence	6104	5791	0.95	66	66	1.00
Lincoln	2101	2322	1.10	1704	1480	0.87
Little River	2948	2757	0.94	908	631	0.69
Lonoke	5500	6228	1.13	1500	843	0.56
Montgomery	1884	2284	1.21	6	7	1.17
Ouachita	7292	8775	1.20	2753	2813	1.02
Perry	1878	2004	1.07	57	57	1.00
Phillips	4200	5605	1.33	2310	2993	1.30
Pike	2820	2881	1.02	100	80	.80
St. Francis	2834	4565	1.61	2643	1532	0.58
Saline	8186	7998	0.98	54	359	6.65
Van Buren	4573	3826	0.84	4	23	5.75
Yell	4150	4809	1.16	69	69	1.00

Source: Table 1 on page 2, and Data from State Auditor's Office.

includes teachers and many other persons on the public payroll. These legal poll tax requirements apply to Negroes and whites alike.

There is much truth in the statement that the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than it is as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. The general atmosphere in the state is one of encouragement of poll tax payment by both Negro and white persons. In some communities the daily newspaper encourages all citizens to pay the poll tax. In others, the tax collector will frequently remind any citizen to pay his poll tax. Thus, great effort is put forth to increase the extent of poll tax payment vis-a-vis efforts designed to diminish it.

Factors hindering the payment of poll taxes. -- On rare occasions, clerks in the Sheriff's Office may tend to discourage Negro poll tax payments through various kinds of discourtesies. Chief among these are; refusing to use titles of respect, suggesting to the Negro tax payers that it is not necessary for them to make payment, and addressing Negroes as boy or girl. Today these practices are decreasing very rapidly.

Another factor is the feeling among many Negroes that their vote will have little influence on the outcome. One informant from Southeastern Arkansas told the writer: "The white folks are going to do what they want to anyway and I don't see any reason for voting."

Possibly the greatest deterring factor to Negro poll tax payment is the lack of interest on the part of the individual Negro. Many years of disfranchisement did not permit a development of the habit and interest in voting for the masses of Negroes. The importance of the ballot has only recently become a part of the conscious awareness for the Negro masses.

A competent attorney affiliated with the labor movement's educational program observed that the real importance of the poll tax as a deterrent to voting is not the one dollar involved but rather the time element. The final day for the payment of poll taxes is October 1st each year. This poll tax is good for voting in all elections after October 2nd of the year in which the poll tax is paid until October of the following year. Thus, the 1955 poll tax receipt is good for voting until October 1, 1956. With poll tax payment lagging one year behind voting, and political issues arising in late spring or early summer for the July or August primaries, it is too late for the issues raised to influence poll tax purchases. The purchasers of poll tax receipts in 1956 will not be able to use them until the November general elections, at which time all important issues raised this spring and summer will be settled in the July and August primaries.[3]

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[3] This section was written in July, 1956.

The exception to this statement is the fact that voting on the Initiated Acts and Amendments will take place at the time of the General Election which usually attracts a small voting turnout since the primary generally determines the major political positions.

It was interesting to find that some important Negro leaders were in opposition to the abolition of the poll tax. These leaders feel that the one dollar poll tax which is now tantamount to registration is less a burden on Negro voters than would be the case of unknown registration procedures. They reason that presently all a Negro has to do is to pay the tax. There are generally no questions asked beyond those of name and address. This simple procedure works little or no hardship on the illiterate or poorly educated Negro. However, in the event the state adopts a registration procedure requiring the filling out of an application or answering questions for the registrar, there are many Negroes who would not be willing to try. It is believed that where a white registrar might be willing to fill out the necessary forms for a white registrant, he might not be willing to do so for the Negro, and the Negro would be unwilling to face the embarrassment of having to admit that he cannot read and write. Currently the voters of the state will have the opportunity of accepting or defeating a constitutional amendment which proposes to abolish the poll tax.[4]

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[4] Arkansas voters rejected the amendment to repeal the poll tax in the General Election on November 6, 1956.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE STATUS OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN ARKANSAS

The socio-economic factors involved in the present status of Negro suffrage in Arkansas constitute a complex subject for discussion. Within the framework of the present study the subject denotes a Negro-white comparison and not an intra-group analysis. It presumes the existence of differential suffrage statuses, and differential socio-economic characteristics of Negroes and whites. Finally, it assumes that the relative status of Negro suffrage and differential socio-economic characteristics of Negroes and whites are mutually interdependent within the state's dynamic socio-cultural system.

Little time will be spent in questioning the validity of these assumptions, or in describing their dimensions. They appear to be intuitively sound, and can be empirically demonstrated, regardless of the definition of relative Negro suffrage. Our task, then is to journalistically describe the nature and character of the relationship between the relative suffrage status of Negroes and whites (registering and voting), and differential socio-economic factors characterizing Negroes and whites in Arkansas.

Economic Areas of Arkansas.-- There is little tangible evidence to indicate that Negroes in Arkansas are overtly hindered from registering and voting because of economic dependency. However, it seems safe to surmise that if economic dependency of Arkansas Negroes hinders their registration and voting, either directly or indirectly, it would be experienced in those areas of the state which traditionally and historically have had great economic dependency and repressive race relation practices.

In 1950 the Census Bureau divided Arkansas into statistical areas called "state economic areas".[5] These economic areas represent groupings of counties with similar agricultural, demographic, climatic, physiographic, historical, cultural, and industrial characteristics. In addition, the state economic areas are of two types--metropolitan and non-metropolitan. Metropolitan economic areas consist of cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more, together with the county which contains the city. Non-metropolitan economic areas are groupings of the remaining counties based primarily on the following indices: industry; land use; social indices; population; agricultural economy; type of farm composition; agricultural income; value of farm products; crops and yields, and livestock production.[6]

According to the above system of delineating economic areas, Arkansas has one metropolitan area--Pulaski County, which includes the City of Little Rock. The other 74 counties of Arkansas are grouped into eight non-metropolitan economic areas as presented in Table 7.

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[5] U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol.II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 4, Arkansas, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952. Especially Chap.B, "General Characteristics"; and U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1950.Vol.I, Counties and State Economic Areas, Part 23, Washington Government Printing Office, 1952. Especially Statistics for Counties."

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census. State Economic Areas, by Donald Bogue, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 4-5.

TABLE 7

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION AND OF VOTING AGE POPULATION IN 1950, AND NEGRO PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN 1940 AND 1950; BY COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS ECONOMIC AREAS

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties [1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Percent Change of Negro Population 1940-1950	Negro Percentage of Total Voting Age Population 1950
Metropolitan Area			
Pulaski	23.5	9.1	22.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
1			
Benton	-	#	0.2
Washington	0.1	2.7	1.0
Carroll	-	#	0.2
Madison	-	#	0.1
Boone	-	#	-
Newton	-	#	-
Marion	-	#	-
Searcy	-	#	0.1
Baxter	-	#	-
Fulton	-	#	0.1
Izard	0.9	-32.1	1.1
Stone	-	#	0.1
Van Buren	1.0	-22.6	1.1
Cleburne	-	#	-
2			
Crawford	1.3	-26.4	3.1
Franklin	1.5	-42.2	1.2
Johnson	0.4	-17.9	1.5
Pope	2.0	-29.7	3.1
Sebastian	1.2	-46.2	6.6
Logan	2.8	-21.2	1.7
Yell	3.9	-47.5	4.0
3			
Randolph	0.8	-18.8	1.1
Sharp	0.1	#	0.1
Independence	2.7	-19.9	2.9
White	2.5	-18.9	3.3
Faulkner	11.8	-18.3	10.1
Conway	28.3	-18.9	21.5

TABLE 7

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Percent Change of Negro Population 1940-1950	Negro Percentage of Total Voting Age Population 1950
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
4			
Perry	4.0	-40.3	3.9
Saline	5.5	42.7	6.4
Garland	2.7	10.1	2.1
Montgomery	0.4	#	0.6
Scott	1.3	-71.1	1.6
Polk	0.1	#	0.1
Pike	4.8	-26.9	5.0
Hot Springs	7.1	28.6	2.2
Sevier	-	-26.8	8.3
5			
Little River	33.5	-32.4	31.6
Miller	25.8	-7.9	25.7
Howard	21.6	-31.5	17.6
Hempstead	42.9	-27.1	35.7
Lafayette	46.7	-26.6	40.8
Nevada	36.9	-27.7	30.2
Columbia	43.1	-16.8	34.2
6			
Clark	29.4	-12.5	24.3
Ouachita	43.3	-8.1	36.9
Union	34.9	-11.2	27.9
Dallas	40.1	-8.6	35.0
Calhoun	34.4	-18.8	31.0
Grant	8.1	-19.6	7.1
Cleveland	24.4	-35.5	21.7
Bradley	33.8	-13.5	29.8
Drew	37.9	-26.4	31.0
Ashley	39.0	-20.6	36.1

TABLE 7

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Percent Change of Negro Population 1940-1950	Negro Percentage of Total Voting Age Population 1950
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
7			
Clay	-	#	-
Greene	-	#	-
Lawrence	0.8	-19.1	1.4
Craighead	0.3	-5.3	3.5
Poinsett	-	-30.8	8.9
Jackson	12.4	-8.3	14.5
Cross	31.9	-22.3	31.1
Woodruff	37.6	-19.6	35.6
Monroe	54.6	-12.2	46.4
Prairie	16.3	-24.6	15.5
Lonoke	24.4	-23.4	21.6
Arkansas	22.6	-0.6	21.4
8			
Mississippi	24.8	-11.9	28.0
Crittenden	69.3	-1.2	66.0
St. Francis	60.5	-9.1	55.4
Lee	61.5	-15.1	59.2
Phillips	63.3	-10.4	59.2
Desha	50.6	-25.4	47.9
Lincoln	53.2	-23.2	51.5
Jefferson	55.6	5.2	47.3
Chicot	49.6	-24.1	55.1

- Less than 0.1 percent
Percent not shown where base is less than 100

1/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. State Economic Areas, op. cit., (See footnote 6
Table C, p. 81

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1950, op. cit. (See footnote 5 Computed from Table 41, pp. 65-77.

This table reveals the interesting distributional pattern of Negroes in the state. Non-metropolitan economic areas 5, 6, 8, and part of 7 contain the overwhelming majority of the Negro population. In fact, Negroes generally constitute over 50.0 percent of the total population of the counties comprising economic area eight. In the counties comprising economic areas 5, 6, and most of 7, Negroes generally make up between 25.0 to 50.0 percent of the total population. For the counties comprising economic areas 1, 2, 3, 4, and part of 7, the Negro percent of the total population is generally less than 10.0 percent. Actually, among the counties of economic area one, there are figuratively no Negroes. Finally, Negroes constitute 23.5 percent of the total population of the only metropolitan area in the state.

This pattern of relatively great concentration of the Negro population among the counties of Arkansas is further illustrated in Table 8.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF COUNTIES BY NON-WHITE PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION: 1950

Percent of Total County Population Negro	Number of Counties
Less than 1.0	24
1.0 to 9.9	16
10.0 to 24.9	9
25.0 to 49.5	18
50.0 or more	8
Total	75

Thus, the Negro population of Arkansas in 1950 was strikingly concentrated in non-metropolitan economic areas 8, 5, 6, and 7. These economic areas comprise mostly the eastern and southern counties, bordering the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Traditionally, these are the areas of one-crop agriculture (cotton), of tenancy, of the plantation system of socio-economic organization, and of restrictive race relations.

It is important to observe that the dynamics of social change in Arkansas over the past two decades have operated to alter the nature of Negro and white economic interdependency. Marked shifts of Negroes, especially from rural to urban areas, accompanied by shifts in occupational and industrial utilization, have occurred in the state. Also important here are large and differential out-migration of Negroes and whites. The data of Table 7 suggest that the Arkansas Negro was extremely mobile during the 1940 decade, and indicate a marked loss of Negro population. Few Arkansas counties gained Negro population between 1940 and 1950; striking population losses are the rule, with the exception of the counties encompassing fairly large urban places and their adjacent counties. The areas with larger Negro populations seem to have generally experienced greater percentages of Negro losses. This over-all Negro population loss is assumed to be primarily out-of-state migration, but involved considerable shifting of Negroes from rural to urban areas within the state.

Another prominent social force assumed to be associated with the dynamics of Negro-white economic interdependency is changes in the techniques and organization of the states' major industry--agriculture. This change is interrelated with the shifting of Negroes from rural to urban and the loss of Negro population. In other words, technological and other structural changes of agricultural organization within the state drastically altered the location and character of the required work force. Increases in industrialization and prominence of organized labor affected the complexity of Negro-white economic interrelationship.

Table 9 presents total and Negro median income for the counties of Arkansas as collected in the 17th decennial census for the year 1949. Immediately one notices the marked gap between median income for non-white families and unrelated individuals and the comparable total median income for the counties of Arkansas. Again there is noticed an apparently lower total median income and Negro median income in those economic areas characterized by a relatively large percentage of Negroes, or an inverse association of median income and proportion of the areas' Negro population.

In 1950 the median school year completed for the non-white and white populations of the United States 25 years of age and over was 6.9 and 9.7 years, respectively. Table 10 shows that the comparable measures of educational status for the counties of Arkansas are

TABLE 9

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN 1950, TOTAL AND NEGRO MEDIAN INCOME IN 1949 FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS BY COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS ECONOMIC AREAS

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties [1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median Income in 1949 of Families And Unrelated Individuals:1950 (Dollars)	Median Income in 1949 of Negro Families and Un-Related Individuals (Dollars)
Metropolitan Area			
Pulaski	23.5	$2,238	$ 969
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
1			
Benton	-	1,266	*
Washington	0.1	1,369	*
Carroll	-	996	*
Madison	-	895	*
Boone	-	1,260	*
Newton	-	843	*
Marion	-	1,197	*
Searcy	-	922	*
Baxter	-	1,516	*
Fulton	-	983	*
Izard	0.9	941	*
Stone	-	904	*
Van Buren	1.0	843	*
Cleburne	-	959	*
2			
Crawford	1.3	1,254	*
Franklin	1.5	1,061	*
Johnson	0.4	1,191	*
Pope	2.0	1,080	*
Sebastian	1.2	2,111	1,104
Logan	2.8	1,023	*
Yell	3.9	1,070	*
3			
Randolph	0.8	1,118	*
Sharp	0.1	898	*
Independence	2.7	1,197	*
White	2.5	1,143	*
Faulkner	11.8	1,028	893
Conway	28.3	1,009	645

TABLE 9

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median Income in 1949 of Families And Unrelated Individuals:1950 (Dollars)	Median Income in 1949 of Negro Families and Un-Related Individuals (Dollars)
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
4			
Perry	4.0	949	*
Saline	5.5	1,927	*
Garland	2.7	1,713	975
Montgomery	0.4	906	*
Scott	1.3	1,156	*
Polk	0.1	1,008	*
Pike	4.8	1,282	*
Hot Springs	7.1	1,873	1,434
Sevier	-	1,307	*
5			
Little River	33.5	930	509
Miller	25.8	1,606	767
Howard	21.6	1,082	688
Hempstead	42.9	1,082	688
Lafayette	46.7	980	605
Nevada	36.9	1,151	750
Columbia	43.1	1,345	748
6			
Clark	29.4	1,133	726
Ouachita	43.3	1,691	904
Union	34.9	2,044	922
Dallas	40.1	1,362	887
Calhoun	34.4	1,071	771
Grant	8.1	1,167	*
Cleveland	24.4	1,062	630
Bradley	33.8	1,471	996
Drew	37.9	1,055	552
Ashley	39.0	1,363	664

TABLE 9

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median Income in 1949 of Families And Unrelated Individuals:1950 (Dollars)	Median Income in 1949 of Negro Families and Un-Related Individuals (Dollars)
Non-Metropolitan Areas:			
7			
Clay	-	1,162	*
Greene	-	1,322	*
Lawrence	0.8	1,178	*
Craighead	0.3	1,535	903
Poinsett	-	1,243	673
Jackson	12.4	1,306	712
Cross	31.9	1,094	738
Woodruff	37.6	920	582
Monroe	54.6	1,223	857
Prairie	16.3	1,197	826
Lonoke	24.4	1,194	563
Arkansas	22.6	1,570	859
8			
Mississippi	24.8	1,317	826
Crittenden	69.3	823	644
St. Francis	60.5	950	689
Lee	61.5	875	647
Phillips	63.3	1,000	696
Desha	50.6	834	473
Lincoln	53.2	488	366
Jefferson	55.6	1,258	655
Chicot	49.6	566	404

- Less than 0.1 percent

* Median not shown where base is less than 500

1/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. State Economic Areas, op. cit., (See footnote 6 Table C, p. 81

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population:1950, op.cit., (See footnote 5 Tables 45 and 45a, pp. 98-101.

TABLE 10

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN 1950, NEGRO AND TOTAL MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED OF TOTAL POPULATION 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1950; BY COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS ECONOMIC AREAS

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties [1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median School Year Completed of Negro Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	Median School Year Completed of Total Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	
			Male	Female
Metropolitan Area				
Pulaski	23.5	7.2	10.1	10.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas:				
1				
Benton	-	*	8.6	8.9
Washington	0.1	*	8.7	9.0
Carroll	-	*	8.3	8.6
Madison	-	*	8.0	8.2
Boone	-	*	8.7	8.8
Newton	-	*	7.8	8.1
Marion	-	*	8.3	8.4
Searcy	-	*	8.1	8.1
Baxter	-	*	8.5	8.7
Fulton	-	*	8.2	8.4
Izard	0.9	*	8.2	8.4
Stone	-	*	8.1	8.2
Van Buren	1.0	*	8.0	8.1
Cleburne	-	*	7.8	8.1
2				
Crawford	1.3	*	8.3	8.6
Franklin	1.5	*	8.4	8.5
Johnson	0.4	*	8.4	8.5
Pope	2.0	*	8.5	8.6
Sebastian	1.2	*	8.9	9.4
Logan	2.8	*	8.3	8.4
Yell	3.9	*	8.3	8.5
3				
Randolph	0.8	*	8.0	8.2
Sharp	0.1	*	8.2	8.3
Independence	2.7	*	8.4	8.7
White	2.5	6.3	8.1	8.4
Faulkner	11.8	7.1	8.6	8.8
Conway	28.3	7.2	8.2	8.4

TABLE 10

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median School Year Completed of Negro Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	Median School Year Completed of Total Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	
			Male	Female
Non-Metropolitan Areas:				
4				
Perry	4.0	*	8.1	8.4
Saline	5.5	5.6	8.2	8.5
Garland	2.7	7.8	8.8	9.2
Montgomery	0.4	*	8.2	7.9
Scott	1.3	*	8.2	8.2
Polk	0.1	*	8.0	8.3
Pike	4.8	*	8.3	8.3
Hot Springs	7.1	6.8	8.4	8.7
Sevier	-	7.5	8.2	8.5
5				
Little River	33.5	5.2	6.9	8.0
Miller	25.8	5.7	8.3	8.7
Howard	21.6	7.1	8.3	8.6
Hempstead	42.9	6.3	8.3	8.6
Lafayette	46.7	3.6	6.6	7.5
Nevada	36.9	6.1	8.2	8.8
Columbia	43.1	5.4	8.2	8.6
6				
Clark	29.4	6.7	8.4	8.7
Ouachita	43.3	6.1	8.4	8.7
Union	34.9	5.6	8.7	9.3
Dallas	40.1	5.9	7.7	8.7
Calhoun	34.4	5.4	7.9	8.2
Grant	8.1	*	8.0	8.3
Cleveland	24.4	5.4	8.1	8.7
Bradley	33.8	5.6	8.1	8.9
Drew	37.9	5.5	7.8	8.2
Ashley	39.0	5.0	7.7	8.1

TABLE 10

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties 1	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Median School Year Completed of Negro Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	Median School Year Completed of Total Population: 1950 (25 years old & over)	
			Male	Female
Non-Metropolitan Areas:				
7				
Clay	-	*	7.6	8.1
Greene	-	*	7.8	8.2
Lawrence	0.8	*	8.0	8.2
Craighead	0.3	6.1	8.0	8.4
Poinsett	-	4.6	6.4	7.1
Jackson	12.4	6.0	7.2	7.8
Cross	31.9	5.0	6.4	7.4
Woodruff	37.6	5.8	6.7	7.5
Monroe	54.6	5.7	6.8	7.7
Prairie	16.3	6.2	7.8	8.5
Lonoke	24.4	5.4	8.0	8.1
Arkansas	22.6	5.4	8.1	8.4
8				
Mississippi	24.8	4.3	6.6	7.4
Crittenden	69.3	4.4	5.1	6.1
St. Francis	60.5	4.7	5.7	6.7
Lee	61.5	4.5	5.5	6.3
Phillips	63.3	5.1	6.2	6.8
Desha	50.6	4.7	6.2	6.9
Lincoln	53.2	4.5	6.2	6.7
Jefferson	55.6	5.7	7.9	8.2
Chicot	49.6	4.4	6.1	6.6

- Less than 0.1 percent

* Median not shown where base is less than 500

1/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. State Economic Areas, op. cit., (See footnote 6 Table C, p. 81

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population:1950, op.cit., (See Footnote 5 Tables 42 and 44, pp. 78-83 and 93-97.

consistently lower than the national measures, and that the differential color pattern is similar. The counties of the non-metropolitan areas of Arkansas seem to reveal a pattern of decreasing level of educational status for Negroes and whites with increasing size of the Negro population within the counties comprising the areas. For example, the general level of educational attainment or status of Negroes and whites in the counties of economic area eight are markedly lower than the national level, and in general seem to be lower than the counties of any other Arkansas economic area.

Economic Dependency and Negro Suffrage. -- While it must be stressed that little evidence was collected which suggested that economic dependency of Negroes presently operated to hinder their registering and voting, we propose to describe the relation of selected social and economic characteristics of Negroes and whites and suffrage through the utilization of an index of political suffrage--ratios of registrants to total voting age population--by economic areas. The significance of this description rises out of the several economic characteristics, as well as significant variations in relative size of Negro population.

Looking first at the index of political suffrage, Table 11 reveals immediately that the ratios of Negroes to total Negro voting age population are markedly lower than comparable white ratios, for both

TABLE 11

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN 1950, AND NEGRO AND WHITE RATIOS OF REGISTERED VOTERS TO TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION, 1952 and 1955: BY COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS ECONOMIC AREAS

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties [1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Ratio of Registered Voters to Voting Age Population			
		1955		1952	
		Negro	White	Negro	White
Metropolitan Area					
Pulaski	23.5	0.07	0.44	0.07	0.45
Non-Metropolitan Areas:					
1					
Benton	-	-	0.53	-	0.57
Washington	0.1	-	0.45	-	0.56
Carroll	-	-	0.53	-	0.63
Madison	-	-	0.58	-	0.92
Boone	-	-	0.58	-	0.71
Newton	-	-	0.64	-	0.76
Marion	-	-	0.57	-	0.58
Searcy	-	-	0.49	-	0.64
Baxter	-	-	0.54	-	0.54
Fulton	-	-	0.50	-	0.49
Izard	0.9	-	0.51	-	0.40
Stone	-	-	0.60	-	0.52
Van Buren	1.0	0.01	0.60	-	0.68
Cleburne	-	-	0.46	-	0.46
2					
Crawford	1.3	-	0.54	-	0.47
Franklin	1.5	-	0.62	-	0.59
Johnson	0.4	-	0.50	-	0.50
Pope	2.0	0.01	0.52	-	0.49
Sebastian	1.2	0.02	0.51	0.02	0.51
Logan	2.8	0.01	0.46	0.02	0.46
Yell	3.9	0.01	0.63	-	0.57
3					
Randolph	0.8	0.01	0.53	-	0.51
Sharp	0.1	-	0.53	-	0.45
Independence	2.7	-	0.48	0.01	0.50
White	2.5	0.01	0.42	-	0.45
Faulkner	11.8	0.03	0.57	0.03	0.51
Conway	28.3	0.15	0.54	0.13	0.57

TABLE 11

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties[1]	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Ratio of Registered Voters to Voting Age Population			
		1955		1952	
		Negro	White	Negro	White
Non-Metropolitan Areas:					
4					
Perry	4.0	0.02	0.65	0.02	0.58
Saline	5.5	0.03	0.58	0.02	0.53
Garland	2.7	0.08	0.50	0.07	0.49
Montgomery	0.4	-	0.74	-	0.58
Scott	1.3	0.01	0.55	-	0.48
Polk	0.1	-	0.56	-	0.52
Pike	4.8	0.01	0.46	0.01	0.49
Hot Springs	7.1	0.06	0.58	0.04	0.54
Sevier	-	0.03	0.45	0.03	0.44
5					
Little River	33.5	0.12	0.44	0.09	0.41
Miller	25.8	0.09	0.48	0.12	0.48
Howard	21.6	0.06	0.45	0.06	0.46
Hempstead	42.9	0.10	0.38	0.08	0.38
Lafayette	46.7	0.14	0.40	0.10	0.34
Nevada	36.9	0.10	0.40	0.09	0.38
Columbia	43.1	0.06	0.37	0.06	0.38
6					
Clark	29.4	0.08	0.44	0.06	0.43
Ouachita	43.3	0.13	0.44	0.15	0.46
Union	34.9	0.09	0.47	0.08	0.48
Dallas	40.1	0.14	0.47	0.11	0.48
Calhoun	34.4	0.02	0.59	0.15	0.47
Grant	8.1	0.04	0.64	0.01	0.62
Cleveland	24.4	0.08	0.53	0.09	0.46
Bradley	33.8	0.13	0.47	0.09	0.42
Drew	37.9	0.10	0.38	0.35	0.11
Ashley	39.0	0.10	0.44	0.09	0.42

TABLE 11

Economic Areas: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties 1	Negro Percent of Total Population 1950	Ratio of Registered Voters to Voting Age Population 1955		1952	
		Negro	White	Negro	White
Non-Metropolitan Areas:					
7					
Clay	-	-	0.41	-	0.41
Greene	-	-	0.50	-	0.48
Lawrence	0.8	-	0.48	0.01	0.49
Craighead	0.3	0.01	0.48	0.01	0.48
Poinsett	-	0.01	0.46	-	0.43
Jackson	12.4	0.09	0.44	0.09	0.49
Cross	31.9	0.06	0.35	0.04	0.38
Woodruff	37.6	0.10	0.34	0.09	0.09
Monroe	54.6	0.10	0.32	0.09	0.33
Prairie	16.3	0.12	0.40	0.08	0.40
Lonoke	24.4	0.05	0.46	0.06	0.41
Arkansas	22.6	0.07	0.49	0.08	0.47
8					
Mississippi	24.8	0.09	0.31	0.06	0.31
Crittenden	69.3	0.05	0.23	0.03	0.22
St. Francis	60.5	0.12	0.29	0.08	0.24
Lee	61.5	0.13	0.21	0.11	0.20
Phillips	63.3	0.14	0.22	0.12	0.22
Desha	50.6	0.19	0.33	0.15	0.30
Lincoln	53.2	0.15	0.26	0.16	0.25
Jefferson	55.6	0.13	0.31	0.14	0.31
Chicot	49.6	0.21	0.29	0.16	0.25

- Less than 0.1 percent

1/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. State Economic Areas, op. cit., (See footnote 6 Table C, p. 81

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950, op. cit., (See footnote 5 :omputed from Table 41, pp. 65-77; and, Table 3

1952 and 1955. Economic dependency accounts for only part of the explanation of low Negro registration when compared with the registration for the white population.

Another observation is an apparent decrease in the white ratio of registrants to voting age population among the non-metropolitan economic areas as the Negro proportion of the county populations comprising the economic areas increases. That is, in economic areas 1, 2, 3, and 4, the white ratios of registrants to voting age population is higher than the white ratios for the counties of economic areas 5, 6, 7, and 8. In other words, the political suffrage index of whites is higher in those economic areas of Arkansas where there are relatively few Negroes. This fact suggests the possible influence of economic factors on white suffrage for the economic level of Negroes is partly a function of the economic status of the area in which they live.

However, the ratios of Negro registrants to the Negro population of voting age do not as clearly reveal such a pattern of variation by economic area as indicated for white registrants. Actually there seems to be a tendency for Negro ratios to increase as the Negro proportion of the total county population increases. The counties of economic area eight, in general, seem to indicate larger Negro ratios than the counties of any other economic area, and this economic area is approximately 50.0 percent Negro.

There is considerable difficulty in explaining this apparent differential pattern of Negro and white registration among the state economic areas. The structure of the Negro and white population of Arkansas, in terms of age and sex, are undoubtedly dissimilar. The Negro population of Arkansas appears to be younger and to have a lower sex ratio than the white population. These structural differences arise out of differential reproductive behavior, mortality, and migration of the two color groups. For example, Table 7 indicates that the Negro percentages of the total county voting age populations are consistently lower than the Negro percentages of the total county populations, thereby giving some support to the notion of Negro-white demographic differences and their possible significance in terms of relative size of the respective potential electorates.

The higher Negro ratios in counties of relatively high Negro population concentration reveal the possible influence of the race relation patterns of the area. The low economic and educational levels of Negroes in area eight should logically dictate lower registration (paying poll taxes) than other areas of less heavy Negro population concentration. However, the higher Negro ratios in area eight may be a function of Negro political leadership developed to counteract extensive restrictive racial practices, which in turn tends partially to neutralize the limiting effects of low economic status on suffrage. Nevertheless, it may be said that the Negro and white index of political participation varies by state economic areas, and that Negro and white patterns of registration among the economic areas appear to be dissimilar. Negro registration is markedly lower than white registration generally, but the former seems to increase with increased proportions of Negro population while the latter seems to decrease with increased proportion of Negro population. No significant differences in these general observations are found for 1952 and 1955.

The definitely inferior economic status of the Negro group compared to that of the white group in Arkansas also may be considered a clue to a more elusive aspect of economic dependency. The general lack of political participation by low-status economic groups is closely linked with economic, social, and psychological limitations or deprivations. The pressures and techniques for keeping informed and participating in the political processes are dependent upon reading, writing, verbal and reasoning facility, and self-confidence, as well as economic status. Moreover, the degree of naivete and credulity concerning the ability to control one's environmental conditions varies according to economic status.

Those areas of the state which are characterized by a relatively large body of Negroes in the total population tend to exhibit lower levels of Negro and white income, lower levels of educational status for both color groups, higher mobility patterns and population losses, and lower levels of white registration--but apparently higher levels of Negro registration--than do those state areas with few or no Negroes.

Moreover, the former areas have traditionally been distinctly characterized by the extreme brand of southern agrarianism and harsh racial controls. Logically, any deterrence to Negro registration and voting would have been found in those areas. Indeed, in these areas there are some indications that subtle economic threats and social pressures were brought to bear upon teachers and other school employees during recent months with regard to the circulation of petitions on proposed amendments and initiated acts pertaining to de-segregation in education.

A Negro principal is alleged to have attempted to force teachers in her school to sign petitions designed to get segregation amendments on the November 1956 ballot. Most of the teachers refused and the principal sought their dismissal on the grounds of insubordination, but the school board apparently failed to give complete support. Several of the teachers are said to have resigned as a result of the incident. Our informant suggested the possibility that the principal acted on her own initiative, apparently, expecting to incur the approval of white citizens and school officials.

There were instances reported in which the superintendent spoke to Negro faculties and encouraged their support for certain school measures in local elections. The instances reported took the form of logical appeals without any threats of economic or job reprisals.

In response to the inquiry to what extent and in what areas of Arkansas do economic dependency of Negroes and/or social pressures serve as a deterrent to registration and voting, the following may be stated: We are able to offer little tangible evidence of immediate and direct economic dependency or social pressures presently affecting the registering and voting of Negroes in Arkansas. Generally, the Negro of Arkansas is an economically dependent group, exhibiting markedly lower economic status than the white group. This significantly greater economic dependency of the Negro group is nevertheless felt to be associated with the strikingly lower incidences of Negro registration and voting.

General Apathy and Negro Suffrage. -- As often and emphatically as our respondents stated that Negro economic dependency is not presently a direct factor in the relative status of their suffrage, they also explained the existing lower relative status of Negro suffrage in terms of general apathy of the Arkansas Negro masses.

It is important to note here that the phrase "general apathy and/or lack of political consciousness" unwarrantly assumes the general acceptance by the target group of a particular ideology of political behavior, or in other words, some commonly understood and desired ideal, norm or standard of political participation. The ideology of this assumed ideal or standard may crudely be expressed as the belief that political participation is a personal and individual responsibility and duty; that some moral ends are realized in political participation; that the "rule of law" is to be accepted; and that it is possible to fulfill impersonal abstract principles for the collective good by participation.

A possible opposing ideology of political behavior could be roughly expressed in terms of the particular and the personal, in terms of a general feeling of the inaccessibility of the power system, and in terms of the notion of the political process being the instrument of the power classes.

The ideological dimension within which the phrase general apathy and political consciousness is used, needs rather explicit formulation when comparing political behavior of Negroes and whites. For out of the cultural heritage and historical background of the Negro in the South there is no a priori reason for acceptance of what may be termed the predominantly "middle class, anglo-saxon" ideals of mass participation in politics by Arkansas Negroes.

Returning to the main thread, our respondents' delineation of the factors underlying this alleged general apathy and alienation of Arkansas Negroes from the political process was vague and tended to be articulated in generalities. Examples of the ideas expressed are: the shortcomings of present and past Negro political leadership, low cultural and social level of the Negro masses, low educational levels of the masses, the belief in the futility of Negroes voting because the whites would do as they desired anyway, and the failure of "qualified" and "high-class" Negro persons to assume their proper civic responsibilities.

However, our data suggest the following tentative and/or speculative explanations as basically underlying the alleged general apathy of the Arkansas Negro's evident subordinate suffrage status. First, the Arkansas Negro is not as actively interested in the political process as the Arkansas white person because of basic differences in intensity and continuity of emotional involvement. Thus, due to relatively lesser emotional involvement and discontinuous interest the Arkansas Negro participates by registering and voting less than does the Arkansas white.

Our data are replete with accounts and descriptions of Negroes actively affecting the outcome of political elections on state and local levels when they have become emotionally involved and interested. In elections where the Negro feels that he is directly and immediately threatened his relative registration and voting allegedly tends to approach that of whites. For such issues as dry or wet laws, studiously defined to the Negro by the liquor interest as a threat, Negro registration and voting relatively approximates that of whites. Elections of county and city officials, hinging on promises of paved streets, lighted streets and parks, improved schools, and removal of offensive law enforcement officers, defined individually and collectively by the Negro as of immediate and personal importance seem to be invariably featured by higher Negro registration and voting.

Second, our data suggest that the Arkansas Negro has only limited participation in the total political processes of the state. It is somewhat unrealistic to limit discussion of relative suffrage status to mere registration and voting. Important facets of relative suffrage status, and intimately related to registration and voting, are at least;

(1) participation in decision-making or in policy setting,

(2) patronage,

(3) the institutional machinery with respect to elective offices, and

(4) the nature of leadership.

A superficial consideration of these functional aspects of the political process as exercised by the Arkansas Negro, and their combined effect on emotional involvement, interest, and participation, make more understandable the nature of the commonly accepted general apathy underpinning the remarkably inferior Negro suffrage status.

There is literally no Negro participation in the decision-making process or at the policy setting level in Arkansas politics. Within the past two years several Negroes have been appointed by the Governor to the state "State Democratic Committee". The nature and extent of their participation is indeterminate and has never been publicly spelled out, and their participation is generally felt to be of a token nature. Also, there are only two counties, Garland and Miller, with Negro participation in the county party organization. It is not amiss to note here that in only one or two areas of the state were Negroes utilized in the actual balloting stages of elections; that is, as poll watchers, judges, counters, and similar duties.

As a consequence, therefore, and related to other suggested factors involved in the relative status of Negro suffrage, there is practically no participation of Negroes in the political patronage system of the state. Recently, Governors have appointed Negroes as members of honorary-type boards of "Negro-related" institutions; such positions being entitled to little or no financial compensation, nor carrying functional political power and prestige. The quantity and quality of patronage for a group would seem realistically to be interrelated with emotional involvement and interest in political participation.

Negroes may and do run for local elective offices. However, and of crucial significance to the election outcome, they are not integrally involved in the institutional machinery regulating party selection and support of candidates. Nevertheless one Negro recently won a municipal position in a city-wide election, and there have been Negro candidates for local offices in several sections of the state. Thus there is little sanction of activity calculated to engender political interest of Negroes equal to that of white citizens.[7]

In summary, these factors restricting political participation of Arkansas Negroes, and the concomitant emotional involvement and interest associated with political participation, are offered as a likely explanation of the assumed general apathy and lack of political consciousness of Negroes in Arkansas. Direct economic dependency and/or other social pressures from whites do not presently seem to hinder Negro registration and voting, although the fundamentally inferior economic status of Negroes can be assumed to be indirectly associated with his participation in the over-all Arkansas political process.

Emerging out of this description of socio-economic factors presently involved in the inferior suffrage status of Arkansas Negroes is the implication that any deliberate attempt to improve his relative suffrage status should place highest priority on those factors more directly concerned with decreasing general political apathy. Especially important would be the increasing and widening of the opportunities for Negro participation in the political process over and above mere registration and voting.

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[7] See treatment of leadership in section on Organized Efforts.

ORGANIZED EFFORT TO INCREASE NEGRO REGISTRATION

Since 1948 Negro interest in political activities has increased considerably largely due to organized efforts to increase Negro voting. The organization of the State Negro Democratic Association has been one of the chief instruments in bringing about this increased interest. This organization sponsors county organizations with the expressed purpose of encouraging Negroes to pay their poll tax and to vote. Another function is to supply Negro political leaders with information on candidates, amendments, and initiated acts.

Another organized effort has been the work of the N.A.A.C.P. through its Executive Secretary and local chapter presidents. Presidents and Secretaries of local N.A.A.C.P. chapters in their meetings often emphasize the importance of the ballot. Since these leaders are not usually on the public payroll, they frequently spearhead drives in their and other organizations to increase Negro participation in the political processes. Also, they are alert to discover incidents of discrimination. In some cities, Negro business and professional people are organized into Civic Improvement Associations which have made contributions to the improvement of the local communities through political participation.

One of the most influential organizations in the rural communities has been the Negro church. If the church has a minister active in political activities, Negro participation and interest in voting have increased tremendously. The importance of the Negro minister in rural areas and small urban centers is not to be gainsaid. While the "traditional-type" minister still exerts leadership in many Negro communities, our observations reveal considerable dissatisfaction with the often indifference of ministers to civic problems. For Negroes the church is often the only community center in which political rallies can be held, and for whites the minister is a possible influence for exerting a measure of control over the Negro community. Yet, in the small rural communities the Negro minister is such a powerful political figure among Negroes that candidates have often secured their support through donations to the church and through contributions directly to the ministers.

Some organized effort has been exhibited by the Negro Farm Bureau and the Masons. The extent of their influence has been severely limited because of small memberships. Schools and P.T.A.'s have, on occasion, encouraged Negroes to register and to vote, but have not attempted to become a political force in the Negro community.

Possibly one great influence for increasing Negro registration has been the periodic appeals of local newspapers for all citizens to pay their poll taxes and vote. The significance of these appeals is found in the fact that Negroes rarely, if ever, run into difficulty in their efforts to pay poll taxes.

Since 1948, organized labor has encouraged all workers to pay poll taxes. The appeal of labor is directed toward Negro workers as well as white workers. The effectiveness of Labor's poll tax drives was reflected in the gubernatorial race of 1950.

Finally, several Negro leaders indicated the periodic influence of the alcoholic interests in the state especially in those counties with proposed liquor legislation to outlaw the sale of the beverage. In the affected counties, liquor store sales personnel are reported to have urged Negroes to pay their poll taxes or leave their dollars with the clerk who would pay it for them. In some counties, the Beverage Association is reported to have paid poll taxes for some Negroes with the admonition that if you do not vote right, it will be impossible for you to secure our product.

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No.

ARKANSAS

No. use

County	1958 Population Total	1958 Population White	1958 Population Negro	1957 Registration Total	1957 Registration White	1957 Registration Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Arkansas	13,704	10770	2934	8,008	7,308	700	21.4	8.7
Ashley	14,042	8980	5062	8,050	6868	1182	36.0	14.7
Baxter	6,814	6811	3	3597	3597	0	.04	0
Benton	24,000	23957	43	12308	12284	25	.2	.2
Boone	10,133	10133	0	5869	5869	0	0	0
Bradley	9,212	6468	2744	5566	4443	1123	29.8	20.2
Calhoun	3,884	2607	1277	2907	2607	300	32.9	10.3
Carroll	8,367	8354	13	4195	4195	0	.2	0
Chicot —	12,563	5639	6924	6286	3761	2525	55.1	40.2
Clark	13,271	10043	3228	7083	5872	1211	24.3	17.1
Clay	14,806	14800	6	5337	5337	0	.04	0
Cleburne	6,670	6668	2	2839	2839	0	.03	0
Cleveland	4,892	3831	1061	2886	2536	350	21.7	12.1
Columbia	16,404	10801	5603	7544	6534	1010	34.2	13.4
Conway	10,214	8018	2196	7585	6189	1396	21.5	18.4
Craighead	28,213	27255	958	14239	13929	310	3.4	2.2
Crawford	13,193	12779	414	6584	6489	98	3.1	1.4
Crittenden —	24,997	8502	16495	6923	5778	1145	66.0	16.5
Cross	13,006	8965	4041	4642	4036	606	31.0	13.1
D Dallas	7,146	4642	2504	4268	3240	1028	35.0	24.1
Desha	13,584	7073	6511	6852	4693	2159	47.9	31.5
Drew	10,058	6940	3118	5000	4500	500	31.0	10.0
Faulkner	14,617	13137	1480	9223	8767	456	10.1	4.9
Franklin	7,376	7285	91	4547	4518	29	1.2	.6
Fulton	5,388	5383	5	2647	2647	0	.09	0
Garland	30,978	27227	3751	17347	16647	700	12.1	4.0
Grant	5,242	4872	370	3665	3479	186	7.0	5.1
Greene	16,491	16451	40	8144	8134	10	.24	.12
Hempstead	14,687	9443	5244	7034	5884	1150	35.7	16.3
Hot Springs	12,872	11297	1575	8859	8559	300	12.2	3.4
Howard	8,010	6604	1406	4112	3852	260	17.6	6.3
Independence	14,082	13675	407	6862	6787	75	2.9	1.1
Izard	5,806	5744	62	2933	2910	23	1.1	.78
Jackson	14,236	12169	2067	7368	6553	815	14.6	11.1
Jefferson	44,765	23591	21174	20970	15308	5662	47.3	27.0
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	144	4892	4877	15	1.5	.31

Hot Springs	12,872	11297	1575	8859	8559	300	12.2	3.4
Howard	8,010	6604	1406	4112	3852	260	17.6	6.3
Independence	14,082	13675	407	6862	6787	75	2.9	1.1
Izard	5,806	5744	62	2933	2910	23	1.1	.78
Jackson	14,236	12169	2067	7368	6553	815	14.6	11.1
Jefferson	44,765	23591	21174	20970	15308	5662	47.3	27.0
Johnson	9,753	9607	144	4892	4877	15	1.5	.31
Lafayette	7,367	4363	3004	3830	2725	1105	40.8	28.9
Lawrence	11,796	11632	164	5536	5506	30	1.4	.54
Lee —	12,785	5213	7572	4171	2805	1366	59.2	32.7
Lincoln —	9,329	4521	4808	3871	2569	1302	51.5	33.6
Little River	6,661	4554	2107	3730	3230	500	31.6	13.4
Logan	12,424	12215	209	6041	5996	45	1.7	.74
Lonoke	15,124	11857	3267	7755	6597	1158	21.6	14.9
Madison	6,652	6643	9	3645	3645	0	.14	0%
Marion	5,009	5007	0	2792	2792	0	0	0
Miller	19.432	14432	5000	10740	9172	1568	25.7	14.6
Mississippi	42,713	30738	11975	16841	12919	3922	28.0	23.3
Monroe	10,615	5685	4930	4389	3453	936	46.4	21.3
Montgomery	3,927	3903	24	2625	2625	0	.61	0
Nevada	8,548	5970	2578	4021	3285	736	30.2	18.3
Newton	4.510	4509	1	2465	2465	0	.02	0
Ouachita		~~1201~~ 7401	~~7020~~ 4020	11421	7401	4020		35.2
Perry	3,431	3298	133	2147	2117	30	3.9	1.4
Phillips —	25,729	10503	15226	9512	5900	3612	59.2	37.9
Pike	5,890	5596	294	3242	3139	103	4.9	3.2
Poinsett	19,783	18029	1754	9003	8653	350	8.9	3.9
Polk	8,740	8740	0	4803	4803	0	0	0
Pope	13,795	13369	426	7059	6969	90	3.1	1.3
Prairie	7,677	6485	1192	3832	3632	200	15.5	5.2
Pulaski	128,075	99194	28881	72190	61771	10419	22.6	14.4
Randolph	9,067	8965	102	4428	4403	25	1.1	.56
St. St. Francis —	19,366	8632	10734	7162	5262	1900	55.4	26.5
Saline	15,176	14202	974	9415	9328	87	6.4	.92
Scott	5,876	5782	94	3275	3230	45	1.6	1.4
Searcy	5,911	5908	3	2766	2766	0	.05	0
Sebastian	40,499	37,821	2678	21045	20209	836	6.6	4.0
Sevier	7,394	6784	610	3406	3205	201	8.2	5.9
Sharp	5,204	5199	5	2823	2823	0	.1	0
Stone	4,252	4249	3	2770	2770	0	.07	0
Union	30,212	21778	8434	17928	15158	2770	27.9	15.5
VanBuren	5,629	5570	59	3300	3280	20	1.0	.60
Washington	31.353	31044	309	13933	13921	12	1.0	.09
White	21.843	21117	726	9780	9480	300	3.3	3.1
Woodruff	9,972	6423	3549	4140	3224	916	35.6	22.1
Yell	8,457	8122	335	4975	4902	73	4.0	1.5
STATE				563978	499955	64023		

7pt (Source: Report of JIMMIE "RED" JONES, Auditor of State of Arkansas, 1958

PREPARED BY

JIMMIE 'RED' JONES
AUDITOR OF STATE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

	TOTAL POLL TAX SOLD 1957	POLL TAX SOLD - WHITE	TOTAL POPULATION 21 & OVER - WHITE	POLL TAX SOLD - COLORED	TOTAL POPULATION 21 & OVER - COLORED	AUTO LICENSE PREFIX	RANK BY TOTAL POLL TAX	PER CENT OF POP. 21 & OVER BUYING POLL TAX
ARKANSAS*	8008	7308	10770	700	2934	29	20	58
ASHLEY	8050	6868	8980	1182	5062	22	19	56
BAXTER	3597	3597	6811	0	3	59	59	53
BENTON	12308	12284	23957	25	43	12	9	51
BOONE	5869	5869	10133	0	0	43	35	58
BRADLEY	5566	4443	6468	1123	2744	45	36	60
CALHOUN*	2907	2607	2844	300	1277	73	65	71
CARROLL	4195	4195	8354	0	13	52	48	50
CHICOT	6286	3761	5639	2525	6924	34	33	50
CLARK	7083	5872	10043	1211	3228	32	26	53
CLAY	5337	5337	14800	0	6	20	38	36
CLEBURNE	2839	2839	6668	0	2	60	67	43
CLEVELAND	2886	2536	3831	350	1061	69	66	59
COLUMBIA	7544	6534	10801	1010	5603	18	23	46
CONWAY	7585	6189	8018	1396	2196	40	22	74
CRAIGHEAD	14239	13929	27255	310	998	5	7	50
CRAWFORD	6584	6489	12779	95	414	33	32	50
CRITTENDEN	6923	5778	8502	1145	16495	8	29	28
CROSS	4642	4036	8965	606	4041	26	43	31
DALLAS	4268	3240	4642	1028	2504	54	47	36
DESHA	6852	4693	7073	2159	6511	24	31	60
DREW*	5000	4500	6940	500	3118	41	39	50
FAULKNER	9223	8767	13137	456	1480	23	15	63
FRANKLIN	4547	4518	7285	29	91	55	44	62
FULTON	2647	2647	5383	0	5	66	72	49
GARLAND*	17347	16647	27227	700	3751	9	5	56
GRANT	3665	3479	4872	186	370	67	57	70
GREENE	8144	8134	16451	10	40	17	18	50
HEMPSTEAD*	7034	5884	9443	1150	5244	25	28	48

HOT SPRINGS	8859	8559	11297	300	1575	35	17	69
HOWARD*	4112	3852	6604	260	1406	51	51	51
INDEPENDENCE*	6862	6787	13675	75	407	30	30	49
IZARD*	2933	2910	5744	23	62	64	64	51
JACKSON	7368	6553	12169	815	2067	21	24	52
JEFFERSON	20970	15308	23591	5662	21174	3	3	47
JOHNSON	4892	4877	9607	15	144	41	41	50
LAFAYETTE	3830	2725	4363	1105	3004	53	55	52
LAWRENCE*	5536	5506	11632	30	164	36	37	47
LEE	4171	2805	5213	1366	7572	27	49	33
LINCOLN	3871	2569	4521	1302	4808	42	53	41
LITTLE RIVER*	3730	3230	4554	500	2107	58	56	56
LOGAN*	6041	5996	12215	45	209	37	34	49
LONOKE	7755	6597	11857	1158	3267	19	21	51
MADISON	3645	3645	6643	0	9	57	58	55
MARION	2792	2792	5007	0	0	71	69	56
MILLER	10740	9172	14432	1568	5000	16	11	55
MISSISSIPPI	16841	12919	30738	3922	11975	2	6	39
MONROE	4389	3453	5685	936	4930	38	46	41
MONTGOMERY	2625	2625	3903	0	24	74	73	67
NEVADA	4021	3285	5970	736	2578	47	52	47
NEWTON	2465	2465	4509	0	1	70	74	55
OUACHITA	11421	7401	1201	4020	7020	15	10	60
PERRY	2147	2117	3298	30	133	75	75	63
PHILLIPS	9512	5900	10503	3612	15226	10	13	37
PIKE	3242	3139	5596	103	294	63	63	55
POINSETT*	9003	8653	18029	350	1754	11	16	45
POLK	4803	4803	8740	0	0	48	42	57
POPE	7059	6969	13369	90	426	31	27	51
PRAIRIE*	3832	3632	6485	200	1192	50	54	50
PULASKI	72190	61771	99194	10419	28881	1	1	56
RANDOLPH*	4428	4403	8965	25	102	46	45	49
ST FRANCIS	7162	5262	8632	1900	10734	14	25	37
SALINE*	9415	9328	14202	87	974	28	14	62
SCOTT*	3275	3230	5782	45	94	62	62	56
SEARCY	2766	2766	5908	0	3	61	71	47
SEBASTAIN	21045	20209	37821	836	2678	4	2	52

SEVIER	3406	3205	6784	201	610	56	60	46
SHARP	2823	2823	5199	0	5	68	68	54
STONE	2770	2770	4249	0	3	72	70	65
UNION	17928	15158	21778	2770	8434	7	4	59
VAN BUREN*	3300	3280	5570	20	59	65	61	59
WASHINGTON	13933	13921	31044	12	309	6	8	44
WHITE	9780	9480	21117	300	726	13	12	45
WOODRUFF	4140	3224	6423	916	3549	39	50	42
YELL	4975	4902	8122	73	335	49	40	59
TOTALS	563978	499955	863415	64023	232182			

* Columns 2 & 4 of these counties are estimates only. No Poll Books from these counties were received before this was prepared.

THIS IS NOT A CERTIFIED COPY.

312 Mayo St.
Tallahassee, Fla.
Sept. 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since the deadline for the state reports on Negro registration and voting has already gone by, I am sending you my report even though I am dissatisfied with it. If you will react to it, and, if there is time perhaps I can fill in some of the gaps.

Dr. Roady's material speaks for itself. I believe you said that it was raw data you wanted. This has a lot of meat in it. He is out of town right now so I can't check it with him, but I believe the counties he selected for intensive studies were those with precincts predominantly Negro in them.

I did not get to do as much "detective work" as I had hoped to. My activities were confined to talking to three informants, two Negro and one white, who travel the state and talk to Negro leaders in the various counties. The two Negroes are officers in the Florida Voters League. I feel it necessary to label the "incidents" which I have cited as third-hand reports. They hardly meet the usual standards of scientific evidence!

In talking to these people I got the definite feeling that there really isn't much to report in Florida. They seem to feel that the major part of the problem is convincing Negroes not to be afraid. My impression is that in most counties where there is resistance to voting it is a token resistance that discourages only the faint-hearted but can be challenged. This was illustrated in 1954 in a county where Negroes had never registered before, individual applicants having been discouraged and scared off. A group of about 100 Negroes went to the courthouse in a body and found that they had no trouble in registering. In 1956 over 900 Negroes registered in that county.

I am enclosing a clipping from yesterday's Tallahassee Democrat which is rather revealing, and a letterhead of the Florida Voters League which may indicate why such things happen.

I hope this is satisfactory. If not, let me know and I will try to supplement it.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis M. Killian

Congratulations
Congratulations
IT'S WISE TO WIRE!

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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HAROLD FLEMING=
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST
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74

CURRENT REGISTRATION FOR GENERAL ELECTION BY PARTY AND RACE DEMOCRATIC WHITE 1246579 NEGRO 137868 REPUBLICAN WHITE 200029, NEGRO 10768 OTHER NOT BY RACE 11506 TOTAL 1606750. THESE FIGURES LATER THAN ONES YOU HAVE CAN BE COMPARED TO SAME FIGURES FOR PERSONS 21 YEARS AND OVER=

LEWIS KILLIAN=

1246579 137868 200029 10768 11506 1606750 21=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Received 12/17/56

The Florida State University
Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

December 13, 1956

Miss Margaret Price
Research Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

In response to your letter of November 13, 1956, I have gotten Dr. Roady to prepare a statement answering your questions. I am enclosing it.

I will add one comment. We do not think it advisable to pinpoint instances of intimidation although we are convinced that these have occurred. We do not have the sort of evidence that would hold up in a public forum if someone wished to take issue with us over a particular incident. We think that our informants are reliable, but the information they gave us was confidential and I have no assurance that we could get them to substantiate what they have told us publicly. Furthermore, we feel that intimidation of this kind is so insignificant compared to other factors inhibiting Negro voting that they should not be highlighted. As Dr. Roady indicates in his statement, even some Negro leaders feel that apathy and ignorance are the main problems encountered in getting out the Negro vote in Florida. The one county to which Dr. Roady specifically refers (nine Negroes registered, but eight requested that their names be removed before election day) was Liberty County.

These are the only comments I have to add to Dr. Roady's excellent analysis of the situation.

Sincerely,

Lewis M. Killian

Lewis M. Killian
Associate Professor

LMK:dfh

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM TO SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

FROM: Dr. Elston E. Roady
Department of Political Science
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

1. The information below is in response to your letter of 13 November directed to Dr. Lewis M. Killian of this faculty. He asked me to submit my comments since I had done some research work for him last summer on this same project.

2. There are no constitutional or statutory requirements that make registration more difficult in Florida for Negroes than for Whites. The law does require separate accounting of the races and permits separate balloting booths and separate entrances to voting areas if the local officials deem it necessary. According to my Negro informants it is not difficult for Negroes to register and vote in sixty-three of the sixty-seven Florida counties. The problems in the four counties are related to local prejudice and tradition which serve as a basis for very vigorous White resistance to Negro participation and also explain a keenly felt fear by Negroes of the consequences if they were to attempt to exercise their political rights.

There may be some efforts at the 1957 General Assembly to put limitations on the suffrage but it is my view that such efforts will not be successful. The "talk" as of this date mentions revival of the poll tax (dropped by Florida in 1939), new provisions in the registration process making it more difficult for registrants, and giving local officials wider discretionary powers.

Negro leaders have expressed deep concern over the lack of enthusiasm for their efforts to get out the vote. These Negro leaders complain about apathy and ignorance. At the present time in Florida the Negro citizen can participate equally as fully as the White citizen except for the four counties already noted. If the Negro leaders succeed in getting a higher percentage of their group registered and voting, perhaps some additional counties might develop anti-Negro bias which would prevent them from voting. I think this is a strong probability in a few additional counties.

The question by the Council concerning instances of candidates seeking the Negro vote suggests that such might not be the norm. It certainly is not unusual in Florida for candidates to seek the Negro vote and this has been truexxxx in some counties for a long period of time. Duval county -- largest number of Negro registrants -- has seen a variety of efforts by local politicians to attract the Negro vote. The sheriff's race in Duval county has been the leading contest wherein the candidates vied for the Negro vote. However, in Leon (Tallahassee), Escambia (Pensacola), Marion (Ocala), Orange (Orlando), Seminole (Sanford), Broward (Ft. Lauderdale), Volusia (Daytona Beach), Dade (Miami), and Hillsborough (Tampa) there have been many instances of candidates seeking the Negro vote. The Negro has been accepted as part of the electorate in most Florida counties and his vote solicited and in only four has he been totally rejected.

Violence and intimidation as techniques to keep Negroes from exercising their political rights are rarely used in Florida. The magnitude of "unreported" threats varies with your informant. I am reasonably certain that in four counties the threat is always used. Violence many years ago in two counties set the stage for the present feeling of fear expressed by Negro respondents, yet there have been no reports in recent years. This year in one county nine Negroes registered but eight requested that their names be removed before election day and the ninth was in New York State election day and did not vote. The circumstances as reported in the press leave very little doubt as to why the Negroes requested that their names be removed. The violations of state law committed by certain persons in the "beyond the pale" four counties are known by men in responsible governmental positions. It is my very distinct impression that "the earth do move" and even in the extreme counties steps will be made to begin to correct these matters.

It is my opinion that Florida Negro leadership is quite capable of increasing the Negro voting potential. They have been devoting much time and energy to the struggle against Jim Crowism especially as it relates to the public schools and public transportation and have, therefore, not had much time or energy left to devote to political education and encouragement. They now believe the courts can and will handle those matters and are launching a determined drive to educate the Negro tohhis suffrage responsibilities. One of the leading Negro leadership groups whose motto is "A Voteless Citizen IS A Voiceless Citizen," is aiding materially in this drive. The NAACP, the churches, and Voter Leagues started the registration and voting drive just prior to the November general election this year. I do not believe the leaders will turn from this goal of getting the eligible Negroes to register and then to vote even though considerable pressures are brought against them.

A manifestation of the Negro political effort was the very dramatic shift of Negroes from Stevenson in 1952 to Eisenhower this year. However, the Florida Negroes did not abandon the Democratic Party; they tended to follow their leaders and demonstrate that they not only could shift their voting allegiance but that they would if they thought it necessary. I list below two examples of this shift in Negro voting for President:

1) Duval County's Precinct 3A (largest Negro precinct in Florida with 2945)

	1952	1956
Stevenson	c. 90%	46%
Eisenhower	10%	54%

2) Leon County's Precincts 9 and 11 (Precincts with heaviest Negro registrants)

	1952		1956	
	9	11	9	11
Stevenson	1785	1602	1604	1213
Eisenhower	1137	689	1695	1464

The Negro vote for president (estimate) was about seven percent of the total vote cast. Slightly less than nine percent of those registered for the general election were Negroes. The rate of Negro participation was about 75%, slightly higher than the rate of White participation.

Elston E. Roady
Elston E. Roady
12-9-56

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Broward County

1950 Census

	White	Negro	
21 Years and Over	44,558 -	12,234	
Total	56,792		
Percent Negro			21.5
Percent White			78.5
Percent total population 21 years and over			67.7
Total population Broward County 1950 Census	83,933		
Negro total	21,359		
White total	62,574		
Percent Negro			25.4
Percent White			74.6

*** *** *** *** ***

Special Census 1955(USDC)

Total population Broward County Special Census	159,052	
Negro total	35,973	
White total	123,079	
Percent Negro		22.6
Percent White		77.4
21 Years and over (estimate)	107,678	
From special census (adjusted 20-24 age group)	103,326*	
Negro total	18,867	
White total	84,459	
Percent Negro		18.3
Percent White		81.7

60,343 White Electors Registered Broward County 1956.
This represents 71.4 percent of potential white electors.

6,086 Negro Electors Registered Broward County 1956.
This represents 32.3 percent of potential Negro electors.

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Broward County

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
(Precincts with Negro registrants)										
1	788(68.3)	365(31.7)	1153(59.9)	41	504 (72.9)	103 (14.9)	3	1	39	691
2	392(34.7)	737(65.3)	1129(50.8)	22	458 (79.8)	79 (13.8)	2	1	12	574
6	892(94.5)	52(5.5)	944(57.3)	64	336 (62.1)	98 (18.1)	3	0	40	541
14	0	1511(100.)	1511(50.2)	4	728 (96.0)	7 (.9)	2	4	13	758
15	0	1222(100.)	1222(53.6)	12	626 (95.6)	6 (.9)	3	2	6	655
27	814(99.8)	2(.2)	816(69.9)	33	493 (86.5)	28 (4.9)	0	0	16	570
34	873(73.7)	312(26.3)	1185(54.2)	29	488 (76.0)	7 9 (12.3)	0	3	43	642
35	618(93.9)	40(6.1)	658(67.6)	39	256 (57.5)	112 (25.2)	3	1	34	445
36	973(77.7)	280(22.3)	1253(61.9)	64	561 (72.3)	106 (13.7)	1	1	43	776
43	1565(99.9)	1(.1)	1566(62.7)	20	817 (83.2)	45 (4.6)	7	0	93	982
46	630(58.2)	453(41.8)	1083(58.4)	30	496 (78.4)	53 (8.4)	4	0	50	633
47	2204(82.4)	472(17.6)	2676(49.6)	83	934 (70.4)	177 (13.3)	6	8	118	1326

****

45,275	White Democratic Electors Registered Broward County
5,447	Negro Democratic Electors Registered Broward County
50,722	Total Democratic Electors Broward County

Governor:

30,600 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

60.3 Percent registered Electors actually voting

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Dade County

1950 Census

	White	Negro
21 Years and Over	313,924 -	42,682
Total	356,606	
Percent Negro		12.0
Percent White		8810
Percent total population 21 over		72.0
Total population Dade County 1950 Census	495,084	
Negro total	65,395	
White total	429,689	
Percent Negro		13.2
Percent White		86.8

*** *** *** *** ***

Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Dade County (estimate)	713,757	
Negro total	82,271	
White total	631,486	
Percent Negro		11.5
Percent White		88.5
21 Years and over (estimate) (72.0 x 713,757)	513,905	
Negro total ((12.0 - 1.7) x 513,905)	52,932	
White total	460,973	
Percent Negro		10.3
Percent White		89.7

285,093 White Electors Registered Dade County 1956.
This represents 61.8 percent of potential white electors.

18,016 Negro Electors Registered Dade County 1956.
This represents 34.0 percent of potential Negro electors.

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Dade County

(Precincts with four or more Negroes registered)

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
1	1419(97.1)	43(2.9)	1462(44.3)	45	443 (68.4)	104 (16.0)	5	2	49	648
1C	1377(99.4)	9(.6)	1386(48.8)	29	526 (77.7)	45 (6.6)	7	4	66	677
1D	911(90.6)	94(9.4)	1005(52.5)	21	384 (72.7)	33 (6.3)	6	9	75	528
3A	3742(98.6)	53(1.4)	3795(39.9)	96	1041 (68.8)	213 (14.1)	16	11	137	1514
3B	919(30.6)	2087(69.4)	3006(44.6)	39	1105 (82.5)	89 (6.6)	5	57	43	1340
3D	1970(62.6)	1175(37.4)	3145(44.4)	58	1044 (74.8)	145 (10.4)	5	53	90	1395
4C	1363(91.4)	128(8.6)	1491(49.9)	41	452 (60.8)	151 (20.3)	3	12	85	744
4D	577(99.3)	4(.7)	581(56.6)	20	284 (86.3)	32 (9.7)	2	5	18	329
7	1395(72.5)	530(27.5)	1925(39.3)	25	527 (69.6)	129 (17.0)	2	24	50	757
8A	413(25.7)	1196(74.3)	1609(43.1)	4	565 (81.5)	43 (6.2)	4	58	19	693
8B	1137(62.4)	686(37.6)	1823(47.6)	41	614 (70.7)	124 (14.3)	8	33	48	868
18A	911(36.2)	1603(63.8)	2514(48.7)	29	898 (73.4)	179 (14.6)	7	60	51	1224
18B	1088(71.2)	440(28.8)	1528(50.1)	35	537 (70.1)	128 (16.7)	5	23	38	766
19	697(56.7)	533(43.3)	1230(49.5)	22	407 (66.8)	110 (18.1)	3	22	45	609
20A	389(32.4)	844(67.6)	1233(43.8)	7	458 (84.8)	23 (4.3)	0	34	18	540
20B	1155(77.6)	334(22.4)	1489(46.7)	32	451 (64.8)	145 (20.8)	3	13	52	696

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

continued: Dade County

23A	1009(98.9)	11(1.1)	1020(49.7)	22	280 (55.2)	113 (22.3)	5	4	83	507
25B	3100(99.9)	4(.1)	3104(48.7)	36	1184 (78.3)	44 (2.9)	5	23	221 (14.6)	1513
26	2893(99.7)	8(.3)	2901(51.0)	29	1152 (77.9)	39 (2.6)	9	16	234 (15.8)	1479
27	2917(99.6)	13(.4)	2930(49.1)	29	1117 (77.7)	59 (4.1)	10	22	201 (14.0)	1438
41	1601(99.7)	5(.3)	1606(52.1)	50	511 (61.1)	149 (17.8)	4	17	105	836
42	1117(75.1)	370(24.9)	1487(49.2)	40	447 (61.1)	134 (18.3)	9	23	79	732
46	158(13.4)	1018(86.6)	1176(43.1)	9	402 (79.3)	22 (4.3)	0	43 (8.5)	31	507
47	325(21.8)	1167(78.2)	1492(45.8)	13	550 (80.5)	38 (5.6)	5	46 (6.7)	31	683
48	375(30.9)	839(69.1)	1214(47.4)	15	460 (80.0)	48 (8.3)	3	11	38	575
49	426(32.6)	881(67.4)	1307(42.1)	15	419 (76.2)	45 (8.9)	7	28	36	550
52	658(68.3)	305(31.7)	963(44.8)	15	294 (68.2)	48 (11.1)	9	13	52	431
67A	1317(99.6)	5(.4)	1322(53.5)	30	595 (84.2)	44 (6.2)	3	4	31	707
77	1633(80.1)	406(19.9)	2039(55.5)	69	801 (70.8)	190 (16.8)	7	11	54	1132
78	1581(69.6)	690(30.4)	2271(50.9)	31	1016 (87.8)	50 (4.3)	5	23	32	1157
83F	773(87.0)	115(13.0)	888(51.6)	32	362 (79.0)	36 (7.9)	5	6	17	458
85A	890(99.2)	7(.8)	897(58.4)	48	339 (64.7)	84 (16.0)	3	4	46	524
85B	1760(92.1)	152(7.9)	1912(58.0)	62	818 (73.8)	156 (14.1)	6	12	55	1109
86	4100(99.3)	27(.7)	4127(58.3)	158	1847 (76.7)	255 (10.6)	7	16	124	2407

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Dade County

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
87	999(39.9)	1502(60.1)	2501(45.5)	48	901 (79.2)	123 (10.8)	4	35	27	1138
88	1096(75.2)	362(24.8)	1458(47.0)	46	465 (67.9)	133 (19.4)	2	7	32	685
90	786(94.4)	47(5.6)	833(54.5)	40	223 (49.1)	167 (36.8)	3	1	20	454
91	3299(94.6)	190(5.4)	3489(49.6)	168	1035 (59.8)	401 (23.2)	8	13	105	1730
92	444(82.2)	96(17.8)	540(48.7)	15	139 (52.9)	90 (34.2)	3	3	13	263

*** *** *** *** ***

250,441 White Democratic Electors Registered Dade County
15,463 Negro Democratic Electors Registered Dade County
265,904 Total Democratic Electors Dade County

Governor:

156,477 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial
Primary of May 8, 1956.

58.8 Percent registered Electors actually voting

DADE COUNTY REGISTRATION BY PRECINCTS
COMPILATION OF REGISTRATION, APRIL 7TH, 1956, FOR DADE COUNTY, FLA.
COMPILED BY CARL HOLMER, JR., SUPERVISOR OF REGISTRATION
DADE COUNTY, MIAMI, FLORIDA.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PRECINCTS 145

PREC.	TOTAL REG.	PREC.	TOTAL REG.	PREC.	TOTAL REG.
1-A	1462	21	1400	60-B	2632
1-B	4185	22	2246	60-C	2753
1-C	1386	23-A	1020	61	2190
1-D	1005	23-B	3641	62	1784
2-A	3677	23-C	1533	63	1858
2-B	2810	24	2830	64	1308
2-C	2674	25-A	3701	65	1264
2-D	985	25-B	3104	66	837
3-A	3795	25-C	495	67-A	1322
3-B	3006	26	2901	67-B	2456
3-C	1795	27	2930	68	2939
3-D	3145	28	3162	69	1879
3-E	3201	29	2789	70	2241
3-F	1561	30	2231	71	2059
3-G	2509	31	1379	72	2999
3-H	2603	32	802	73-A	1636
4-A	3673	33	2470	73-B	1496
4-B	3275	34	1649	74-A	2141
4-C	1491	35	2786	74-B	1309
4-D	581	36	2121	75	2293
5-A	3633	37-A	1256	76-A	1945
5-B	3169	37-B	1726	76-B	1615
5-C	3645	38	2214	77	2039
6-A	3770	39	1896	78	2271
6-B	1193	40	2399	79-A	1993
6-C	1710	41	1606	79-B	2941
6-D	2894	42	1487	80-A	2696
7	1925	43	904	80-B	1679
8-A	1609	44	1612	81	2079
8-B	1823	45	1037	82-A	2487
9-A	3588	46	1176	82-B	2381
9-B	3127	47	1492	82-C	2352
9-C	2739	48	1214	83-A	4507
10-A	2210	49	1307	83-B	3335
10-B	1715	50	833	83-C	2157
11	3200	51	699	83-D	1681
12	1960	52	963	83-E	2604
13	1897	53	948	83-F	888
14	1945	54	1222	84-A	1410
15	1767	55	1540	84-B	787
16	1571	56	2005	85-A	897
17	2326	57	2824	85-B	1912
18-A	2514	58	2544	85-C	1577
18-B	1528	59-A	2224	85-D	2541
19	1230	59-B	2318	86	4127
20-A	1233	59-C	1908	87	2501
20-B	1489	60-A	2621	88	1458
				89	607
				90	833
				91	3489
				92	540
Total Registration By Precincts					303,119

RECAPITULATION OF REGISTRATION

MALE	156,404
FEMALE	146,715
	303,119
WHITE	285,090
COLORED	18,029
	303,119
DEMOCRATS (WHITE)	250,441
DEMOCRATS (COLORED)	15,463
	265,904
REPUBLICANS (WHITE)	33,320
REPUBLICANS (COLORED)	2,553
	35,873
PEOPLES PROG. PARTY (WHITE)	23
PEOPLES PROG. PARTY (COLORED)	2
	25
OTHER PARTIES (WHITE)	1,300
OTHER PARTIES (COLORED)	7
	1,307
FREEHOLDERS	214,172
NON FREEHOLDERS	88,947
	303,119

TOTAL REGISTRATION

CITY OF MIAMI	113,496
CORAL GABLES	15,085
MIAMI BEACH	26,324

HIGHEST REGISTRATION FOR GENERAL ELECTION

1889	188
1890	157
1892	208
1896	723
1900	1,408
1904	1,289
1908	1,351

ABOVE FIGURES INCLUDE DADE, PALM BEACH & BROWARD COUNTIES.

PALM BEACH COUNTY WAS CREATED IN 1909.

1912	1,913

BROWARD COUNTY WAS CREATED OUT OF DADE & PALM BEACH COUNTIES IN 1915.

1916	3,106
1920	15,065
1924	16,998
1928	39,541
1932	46,885
1936	63,884
1940	107,904
1944	116,326
1948	171,829
1952	288,086
1954	284,758
1956	303,119

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SRC/Florida
1956

Escambia County

1950 Census

	White		Negro
21 Years and Over	52,167	-	14,521
Total		66,688	
Percent Negro			21.8
Percent White			78.2
Percent total population 21 years and over			59.2
Total population Escambia County 1950 Census		112,706	
Negro total		25,123	
White total		87,583	
Percent Negro			22.3
Percent White			77.7

**** **** **** **** **** ****

Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Escambia county estimate	157,385	
Negro total	30,751	
White total	126,634	
Percent Negro		19.5
Percent White		80.5
21 Years and over (estimate) (59.2 x 157,385)	93,172	
Negro total . . . 7 (21.8 - 2.8 x 93,172)	17,702	
White total	75,470	
Percent Negro		19.0
Percent White		81.0

47,698 White Electors Registered Escambia County 1956.
This represents 63.2 percent of potential white electors.

6,517 Negro Electors Registered Escambia County 1956.
This represents 36.8 percent of potential Negro electors.

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1956

Escambia County

(precincts with Colored Democratic Registrants)

Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
1	641(99.1)	6(.9)	647(66.9)	140 (32.3)	180 (41.6)	77 (17.8)	1	2	33	433
52	865(99.5)	4(.5)	869(71.9)	180 (28.8)	181 (29.0)	211 (33.8)	1	0	52	625
6	628(90.9)	63(9.1)	691(70.3)	104 (21.4)	181 (37.2)	177 (36.4)	1	0	23	486
7	179(7912)	47(20.8)	226(36.7)	17 (20.5)	52 (62.7)	13 (15.7)	0	0	1	83
8	198(98.0)	4(2.0)	202(67.8)	28 (20.4)	25 (18.2)	73 (53.3)	1	0	10	137
9	277(98.9)	3(1.1)	280(74.3)	46 (22.1)	38 (18.3)	117 (56.3)	0	0	7	208
11	303(86.6)	47(13.4)	350(67.1)	45 (19.1)	51 (21.7)	117 (49.8)	2	0	20	235
12	466(94.9)	25(5.1)	491(45/4)	44 (19.7)	81 (36.3)	63 (28.3)	3	1	31	223
13	598(78.4)	165(21.6)	763(54.0)	73 (17.7)	212 (51.5)	79 (19.2)	3	0	45	412
14	447(93.5)	31(6.5)	478(51.9)	33 (13.3)	133 (53.6)	43 (17.3)	4	1	34	248
15	350(90.2)	38(9.8)	388(60.6)	41 (17.4)	111 (47.2)	57 (24.3)	1	0	25	235
16	148(98.7)	2(1.3)	150(78.0)	15 (12.8)	42 (35.9)	44 (37.6)	0	0	16	117
17	886(96.2)	35(3.8)	921(62.4)	128 (22.3)	152 (26.4)	230 (40.0)	2	1	62	575
18	271(98.9)	3(1.1)	274(71.9)	31 (15.7)	36 (18.3)	113 (57.4)	1	2	14	197
19	586(86.7)	90(13.3)	676(67.0)	108 (23.8)	144 (31.8)	176 (38.9)	3	0	22	453
20	368(80.3)	90(19.7)	458(79.7)	47 (12.9)	133 (36.4)	156 (42.7)	0	0	29	365
21	188(90.4)	20(9.6)	208(78.8)	24 (14.6)	62 (37.8)	69 (42.1)	0	0	9	164
22	678(73.7)	242(26.3)	920(63.9)	99 (16.8)	216 (36.7)	233 (39.6)	4	0	36	588
24	1397(98.1)	27(1.9)	1424(71.1)	184 (18.2)	604 (59.7)	143 (14.1)	5	0	76	1012
25	849(99.1)	8(.9)	857(64.8)	118 (21.3)	134 (24.1)	245 (44.1)	2	0	56	555
28	484(59.8)	326(40.2)	810(54.4)	43 (9.8)	340 (77.1)	33 (7.4)	2	0	23	441
29	272(20.3)	1066(79.7)	1338(51.8)	19 (2.7)	625 (90.2)	33 (4.8)	2	2	12	693
30	548(96.8)	18(3.2)	566(68.9)	79 (20.3)	240 (61.5)	41 (10.5)	2	0	28	390

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1956

Escambia County

Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
31	291(38.6)	463(61.4)	754(57.8)	43 (9.9)	359 (82.3)	23 (5.3)	3	2	6	436
32	339(86.5)	53(13.5)	392(57.7)	42 (18.6)	88 (38.9)	48 (21.2)	4	1	43	226
34	501(83.1)	102(16.9)	603(58.2)	47 (13.4)	199 (56.7)	69 (19.7)	1	0	35	351
36	706(86.5)	110(13.5)	816(67.8)	72 (13.0)	197 (35.6)	230 (41.6)	5	1	48	553
37	755(93.2)	55(6.8)	810(62.2)	85 (16.9)	156 (31.0)	187 (37.1)	4	0	72	504
38	483(85.3)	83(14.7)	566(62.4)	93 (26.3)	142 (40.2)	67 (19.0)	2	1	48	353
41	255(71.6)	101(28.4)	356(52.5)	44 (23.5)	90 (48.1)	28 (15.0)	2	1	22	187
42	472(82.1)	103(17.9)	575(55.3)	55 (17.3)	157 (49.4)	58 (18.2)	5	1	42	318
44	1417(88.8)	178(11.2)	1595(62.8)	176 (17.6)	613 (61.2)	127 (12.7)	3	2	80	1001
47	1300(99.8)	3(.2)	1303(58.3)	191 (25.1)	230 (30.3)	219 (28.8)	10	4	106	760
48	720(69.1)	322(30.9)	1042(58.3)	94 (15.5)	335 (55.1)	120 (19.7)	5	2	52	608
49	499(58.4)	355(41.6)	854(55.2)	55 (11.7)	292 (62.0)	80 (17.0)	5	0	39	471
50	842(92.2)	71(7.8)	913(66.0)	138 (22.9)	320 (53.1)	83 (13.8)	3	0	59	603
52	1413(81.7)	316(18.3)	1729(67.1)	216 (18.0)	692 (57.6)	190 (15.8)	4	2	98	1202
53	576(91.0)	57(9.0)	633(68.9)	86 (19.7)	165 (37.8)	142 (32.6)	6	0	37	436
54	584(89.2)	71(10.8)	655(52.1)	60 (17.6)	148 (43.4)	88 (25.8)	1	2	42	341
55	256(49.0)	266(51.0)	522(58.6)	40 (13.1)	238 (77.8)	14 (4.6)	0	0	14	306
56	787(99.2)	6(.8)	793(67.6)	93 (17.4)	255 (47.6)	110 (20.5)	3	0	75	536
57	999(99.1)	9(.9)	1008(66.6)	176 (26.2)	238 (35.5)	164 (24.4)	2	1	90	671
59	1213(97.0)	37(3.0)	1250(65.6)	168 (20.5)	344 (42.0)	214 (26.1)	1	2	91	820
60	430(64.7)	235(35.3)	665(63.6)	64 (15.1)	269 (63.6)	60 (14.2)	3	1	26	423
61	453(90.8)	46(9.2)	499(53.1)	39 (14.7)	131 (49.4)	54 (20.4)	4	0	37	265
62	740(82.6)	156(17.4)	896(68.8)	89 (14.4)	435 (70.6)	51 (8.3)	2	0	39	616
67	681(92.9)	52(7.1)	733(59.6)	89 (20.4)	120 (27.5)	171 (39.1)	7	2	48	437
68	1004(94.7)	56(5.3)	1060(55.4)	146 (24.9)	149 (25.4)	202 (34.4)	9	3	78	587
69	783(92.9)	60(7.1)	843(66.7)	145 (25.8)	187 (33.3)	184 (32.7)	1	1	44	562

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Escambia County

Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
71	1412(99.5)	7(.5)	1419(60.3)	184	481	132	2	0	56	855
				(21.5)	(56.3)	(15.4)				
72	471(87.7)	66(12.3)	537(69.5)	73	207	53	3	0	37	373
				(19.6)	(55.5)	(14.2)				
74	492(58.7)	346(41.3)	838(61.0)	67	351	50	1	0	42	511
				(13.1)	(68.7)	(9.8)				
75	492(96.7)	17(3.3)	509(65.8)	94	127	78	2	0	34	335
				((28.1)	(37.9)	(23.3)				
76	68(13.1)	452(86.9)	520(49.4)	29	213	6	0	0	9	257
				(11.3)	(82.9)	(2.3)				

*** *** *** *** *** ***

46,807	White Democratic Electors Registered Escambia County
6,324	Negro Democratic Electors Registered Escambia County
53,131	Total Democratic Electors Escambia County

Governor:

35,175 Total Vote Cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

66.2 Percent registered Electors actually voting

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Gadsden County

Estimate of Persons 21 Years and Over and Participation in Voting

1950 Census White Negro

21 Years and over.............................. 11,183 - 10,930

Total.................... 22,113

Percent Negro 21 years .. 49.4~~2~~/

Percent White 21 years... 50.~~5~~76

Percent of Total Population 21 years over......... 60.65

Total population for Gadsden county 1950 census............. 36,457

Negro 20,468

White 15,989

Percent Negro.................... 56.14

Percent White.................... 43.85

*** *** *** ***

Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Gadsden county 1955 estimate............ 43,000

Negro.................... 24,700

White.................... 18,300

Percent Negro.................... 57.44

Percent White.................... 42.55

21 Years and over (estimate)............................ 26,058

(60.6 x 43,000)

Negro.xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

(Negro gain over 1950 of 1 % plus. ration1950 of Negroes 21 years and over and below was almost 50:50 - ergo. 1950 percent Negro of 21 years and over was 49.4 to which we add .5 to account for increase equalling 49.9 Negro.......),,,,,.. 13,002

White...............

(50.1 using reverse of above formula)............... 13,056

6391 White Electors Registered Gadsden 1956...
This represents 48.95 percent of potential white electors

5 Negro Electors Registered Gadsden 1956
This represents .03 percent of potential negro electors*

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SRC/Florida
1956

Gadsden County

Pct	Democratic Electors White	Colored	Total	Percent Voting	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-
1	1,470	1	1,471	71.51%	219	426 (40.5%)	198 (18.8%)	-	-	(19.9%) 209 - (1,052)T
2	51	2	53	58.5%	13	5 (9.4%)	5 (9.4%)	-	-	(15.1%) 8 (31)T
3	142	0	142	62.0%	11	17 (19.3%)	43 (48.9%)	0	0	17 (88)Tot (19.3%)
4	754	3	757	71.6%	141	211 (38.9%)	116 (21.4%)	0	0	74 (542)Tot. (13.65%)
5	34	1	35	60.0%	5	6 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	0	0	4 (21)Totl (19%)
6	82	0	82	61.0%)	4	7 (14.0%)	19 (38.0%)	0	1	19 (50)Tot. (38.0%)
7	202	0	202	71.8%)	26	23 (15.9%)	47 (32.4%)	0	0	49 (145)Tot. (33.8%)
8	147	0	147	69.4%	7	10 (9.8%)	15 (14.7%)	0	0	70 (102)Tot. (68.6%)
9	1,348	0	1,348	69.4%	83	198 (21.2%)	103 (11.0%)	0	0	552 (936)Total (59.0%)
10	167	0	167	72.5%	15	37 (30.6%)	29 (24.0%)	0	0	40 (121)Total (33.05%)
11	65	0	65	64.6%	6	16 (38.1%)	10 (23.8%)	0	0	10 (42)Total (23.8%)
12	485	0	485	59.2%	70	38 (13.2%)	72 (25.1%)	0	0	107 (287)Total (37.3%)
13	1,118	1	1,119	60.6%	134	151 (22.3%)	208 (30.7%)	0	1	184 (678)Total (27.1%)
14	80	0	80	70.0%)	16	9 (16.1%)	18 (32.1%)	0	0	13 (56)Total (23.2%)
15	177	0	177	80.2%	27	17 (12.0%)	31 (21.8%)	0	0	67 (142)Total (47.2%)

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1956

Gadsden County

6,358	White electors Gadsden County-Democrats
3	Negro electors Gadsden County-Democrats
6,361	Total Democratic electors Gadsden County

GOVERNOR

4,293 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956.

67.5% Percent of electors registered actually voting

County SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION:

4,186 Total Vote cast

65,8% Percent registered electors actually voting

TAX ASSESSOR:

4,121 Total votes cast

64.8% Percent registered electors actually voting

UNITED STATES SENATOR:

4,099 Total Vote cast

64.4% Percent registered electors actually voting

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SRC/Florida
1956

Hillsborough County

1950 Census

	White - Negro	
21 Years and Over	140,750 - 24,941	
Total	165,691	
Percent Negro		15.1
Percent White		84.9
Percent total population 21 years and over		66.3
Total population Hillsborough County 1950 Census	249,894	
Negro total	38,314	
White total	211,580	
Percent Negro		15.3
Percent White		84.7

*** *** *** *** *** ***

Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Hillsborough County (estimate)	323,023	
Negro total	45,590	
White total	277,433	
Percent Negro		14.1
Percent White		85.9
21 Years and over (estimate) (66.3 x 323,023)	214,164	
Negro total (14.9 x 214,164)	29,769	
White total	184,395	
Percent Negro		14.9
Percent White		85.1

94,454 White Electors Registered Hillsborough County 1956.
This represents 51.2 percent of potential white electors.

8,365 Negro Electors Registered Hillsborough County 1956.
This represents 28.1 percent of potential Negro electors.

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Hillsborough County

Pct	Democratic Electors White	Colored	Total	Vote for Governor Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
(Precincts with four or more Negro Democrats)										
1	285(71.1)	116(28.9)	401(43.6)	18	98 (56.0)	39 (22.3)	1	3	16	175
6	774(90.5)	81(9.5)	855(74.7)	64	440 (68.9)	98 (15.3)	1	8	28	639
7	819 (73.3)	299(26.7)	1118(59.2)	46	434 (65.6)	105 (15.9)	3	12	62	662
11	959(60.6)	624(39.2)	1583(58.1)	75	620 (67.4)	100 (10.9)	10	12	103	920
11A	58(5.3)	1031(94.7)	1089(60.4)	47	580 (88.1)	5 (.8)	5	7	14	658
12	719(99.0)	7(1.0)	726(57.)	35	255 (61.6)	88 (21.3)	2	4	30	414
13	268(22.5)	922(77.5)	1190(48.2)	53	451 (78.7)	42 (7.3)	6	6	13	573
14	305(71.4)	122(28.6)	427(60.7)	17	163 (62.9)	54 (20.8)	2	2	21	259
15	572(97.8)	13(2.2)	585(59.1)	25	182 (52.6)	99 (28.6)	3	6	31	346
17	584(50.9)	563(49.1)	1147(53.3)	41	391 (64.0)	42 (6.9)	5	29	103	611
18	669(81.3)	154(18.7)	823(53.7)	38	199 (45.0)	80 (18.1)	8	20	97	442
19	1506(96.8)	50(3.2)	1556(57.1)	29	396 (44.6)	280 (31.5)	10	19	154	888
20	1262(89.1)	155(10.9)	1417(59.2)	54	342 (40.8)	344 (41.0)	3	10	86	839
21	338(30.4)	774(69.6)	1112(53.6)	47	460 (77.2)	44 (7.4)	3	3	39	596
22	1063(68.0)	501(32.0)	1564(57.6)	57	593 (65.8)	87 (9.7)	8	31	125	901
23	255(31.1)	564(68.9)	819(55.2)	33	330 (73.0)	34 (7.5)	2	7	46	452

Hillsborough County

continued: -2-

Pct										
24	536(87.6)	76(12.4)	612(52.5)	9	165 (51.4)	40 (12.5)	4	17	86	321
25	816(90.6)	85(9.4)	901(51.7)	19	252 (54.1)	81 (17.4)	3	19	92	466
26	658(96.3)	25(3.7)	683(61.8)	21	224 (53.1)	75 (17.8)	4	18	80	422
43	396(70 .8)	163(29.2)	559(60.1)	40	214 (63.7)	69 (20.5)	1	0	12	336
47	1521(99.8)	23(.2)	1524(69.4)	87	735 (69.5)	189 (17.9)	1	3	43	1058
48A	1107(88.1)	150(11.9)	1257(61.7)	64	473 (61.0)	142 (18.3)	2	5	89	775
50	418(95.2)	21(4.8)	439(69.5)	28	185 (60.7)	76 (24.9)	0	2	14	305
52	988(96.0)	52(4.0)	1040(68.0)	56	458 (64.8)	148 (20.9)	0	4	41	707
53	2447(94.7)	137(5.3)	2584(59.5)	112	812 (52.8)	422 (27.5)	4	12	175	1537
55	1923(91.7)	175(8.3)	2098(58.2)	108	602 (49.3)	366 (30.0)	3	6	135	1220
56	1504(78.1)	421(21.9)	1925(37.6)	108	514 (71.0)	381 (52.6)	5	12	85	724
60	612(98.9)	7 (1.1)	619(43.0)	36	169 (63.5)	165 (62.0)	0	1	60	266
61	411(98.3)	7 (1.7)	418(67.7)	22	143 (50.5)	89 (31.4)	1	3	25	283
62	359(89.3)	43(10.7)	402(71.4)	37	110 (38.3)	109 (38.0)	1	5	25	287
69	647(85.1)	113(14.9)	760(58.3)	64	163 (36.8)	164 (37.0)	0	2	50	443
70	758(76.3)	236(23.7)	994(60.9)	95	227 (37.5)	204 (33.7)	2	9	68	605

Hillsborough County

continued: -3-

Pct										
71	464(87.7)	65(12.3)	529(57.5)	33	69 (22.7)	123 (40.5)	2	2 9	68	304
79	425(95.7)	19(4.3)	444(44.1)	22	55 (28.1)	112 (57.1)	0	1	6	196

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87,625 White Democratic Electors Registered Hillsborough County.
7,721 Negro Democratic Electors Registered Hillsborough County.
95,346 Total Democratic Electors Hillsborough County.

Governor:

61,975 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

65.0 Percent registered Electors actually voting

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Leon County

1950 Census White Negro

21 Years and Over . . . . 19,281 - 11,213

Total 30,494

Percent Negro 21 Years. 36.8

Percent White 21 Years. 63.2

Percent of Total Population 21 Years & Over.. 59.1

Total population for Leon county 1950 census 51,590

Negro total 20,381

White total 31,209

Percent Negro 39.5

Percent White 60.5

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1955 Special Census (USDC)

Total population for Leon county special census 1955... ~~59,995~~ 59,179

Negro total . . . . ~~22,300~~ 21,997

White total . . . . ~~37,695~~ 37,182

Percent Negro . . . . ~~37.2~~ 37.2

Percent White 62.8 62.8

21 Years and over (estimate). 35,457
(59.1 x 59,995) From official special census. ~~34,046 (this~~)
(Adjusted 20-24 age group estimate) 33,234 *

Negro total . . . . ~~2~~ 11,230
Negro percent 33.8

White total 22,004
White percent 66.2

14,647 White Electors Registered Leon County.
This represents 66.6% percent of potential white electors

3,343 Negro Electors Registered Leon County.
This represents 29.8% percent of potential negro electors

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Leon County

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
1	761(88.7)	97(11.3)	858 (76.5)	48	329(50.2)	46(7.0)	0	0	233(35.5)	656
2	689(81.3)	159(18.7)	848 (78.4)	49	404(60.8)	31(4.7)	1	1	179(26.9)	665
3	3,007(95.8)	133(4.2)	3,140 (86.1)	333	1,744(64.5)	143(5.3)	0	2	483(17.9)	2705
4	117(70.1)	50(29.9)	167 (78.4)	12	85(64.9)	9(6.9)	1	0	24(18.3)	131
5	242(69.3)	107(30.7)	349 (80.5)	30	118(42.0)	53(18.9)	1	0	79(28.1)	281
6	2,878(94.3)	174(5.7)	3,052 (83.1)	279	1,379(54.4)	157(6.2)	2	3	715(28.2)	2535
7	228(95.8)	10(4.2)	238 (84.0)	28	71(35.5)	40(20.0)	1	0	60(30.0)	200
8	122(46.7)	139(53.3)	261 (73.9)	19	133(68.9)	9(4.7)	2	1	29(15.0)	193
9	3,277(76.1)	1,032(23.9)	4309(83.3)	357	2,156(60.1)	191(5.3)	2	7	875(24.4)	3588
10	674(95.5)	32(4.5)	706 (77.2)	33	380(69.7)	24(4.4)	0	5	103(18.9)	545
11	2,275(63.4)	1316(36.6)	3591 (81.0)	224	1698(58.4)	242(8.3)	3	6	734(25.2)	2907
12	155(100.)	0	155 (85.8)	18	28(21.1)	23(17.3)	0	0	64(48.1)	133
Absentee Votes -				21	338(73.6)	24(5.2)	0	1	75(16.3)	459
T:	14,425	3,249	17,674	1,451	8,863 (59.1)	992 (6.6)	13	26	3,653 (24.4)	14,998

14,425 White electors registered Leon County.
3,249 Negro electors registered Leon County.

17,674 Total Democratic electors Leon County.

Governor:

14,998 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

84.9% Percent registered Democratic Electors actually voting.

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Madison County

1950 Census

	White -	Negro
21 Years and over	4,480 -	3,151
Total	7,631	
Percent Negro		41.3
Percent White		58.7
Percent total population 21 yrs over		53.8
Total population Madison County 1950	14,197	
Negro total	6,477	
White total	7,720	
Percent Negro		45.6
Percent White		54.4

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Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Madison County 1955 estimate	14,421	
Negro total	6,452	
White total	7,969	
Percent Negro		44.7
Percent White		55.3
21 Years and Over (estimate) (53.8 x 14,421)	7,759	
Negro total (41.3 - 1.3) x 7,759	3,104	
White total	4,655	
Percent Negro		40.0
Percent White		60.0

5,252 White Electors Registered Madison County 1956.
NOTE:------This represents 112.8 percent of potential white electors*

993 Negro Electors Registered Madison County 1956 .
This represents 32.0 percent of potential negro electors.

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Madison County

	Democratic Electors			Vote forGovernor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
1	642(65.6)	336(34.4)	978(59.8)	176 (30.1)	195 (33.3)	153 (26.2)	4	0	57	585
2	1340(88.4)	175(11.6)	1515(62.1)	341 (36.5)	142 (15.2)	356 (38.0)	2	1	93	935
3	557(99.1)	5(.9)	562(61.9)	88 (25.3)	20 (5.7)	201 (57.8)	5	0	34	562
4	266(83.6)	52(16.4)	318(63.8)	26 (12.8)	37 (18.2)	111 (54.7)	0	2	27	203
5	865(79.3)	226(20.7)	1091(66.9)	157 (21.5)	136 (18.6)	352 (48.2)	1	0	84	730
6	221(81.5)	50(18.5)	271(64.9)	30 (17.0)	24 (13.6)	112 (63.6)	0	1	9	176
7	450(88.9)	56(11.1)	506(67.0)	119 (35.1)	72 (21.2)	107 (31.6)	2	1	38	339
8	434(86.3)	69(13.7)	503(69.2)	122 (35.1)	59 (17.0)	148 (42.5)	2	2	15	348
9	78(89.7)	9(10.3)	87(52.9)	2	6	34 (73.9)	0	0	4	46
10	40(85.1)	7(14.9)	47(70.2)	11 (33.3)	6 (18.2)	13 39.4)	0	0	3	33
11	255(97.0)	8(3.0)	263(74.1)	57 (29.2)	20 (10.3)	103 (52.8)	1	0	14	195
12	104(100.0)	-	104(52.9)	3	2	48 (88.9)	1	0	0	54

Absentee Votes: 184

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5,252 White Electors Democratic Registered Madison County
993 Negro Democratic Electors Registered Madison County

6,245 Total Democratic Electors Madison County

Governor: 4,176 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

66.9 Percent registered Electors actually voting

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Marion County

1950 Census White Negro

21 Years and Over . . . . 15,261 - 8,387
Total 23,648

Percent Negro 21 Years over . . . 35.5

Percent White 21 Years over . . . 64.5

Percent total population 21 Years over 61.9

Total population Marion County 1950 census . . 38,187

Negro total 14,594

White total 23,593

Percent Negro 38.2

Percent White 61.8

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Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Marion county 1955 estimate 45,010

Negro total 16,026

White total 28,984

Percent Negro 35.6

Percent White 64.4

21 Years and Over (estimate) 27,861
(61.9 x 45,010)

Negro total 9,891

White total 17,970

Percent Negro 35.5

Percent White 64.5

15,803 White Electors Registered Marion County 1956.
This represents 87.9 percent of potential white electors.

4,275 Negro Electors Registered Marion County 1956.
This represents 43.2 percent of potential Negro electors.

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Marion County

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White %	Colored %	Total %	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
1	2812(64)	1583 (36.0)	4395 (57.5)	1264 (50.0)	951 (37.6)	115 (4.6)	9	2	186 (7.4)	2527
2	231(63.9)	132(36.1)	363(77.4)	95 (43.6)	86 (39.4)	26 (11.9)	0	1	10 (4.6)	218
3	131(57.7)	96(42.3)	227(56.8)	30 (23.3)	58 (45.0)	29 (22.5)	0	0	12	129
4	182(51.3)	173(48.7)	355(54.1)	84 (43.8)	63 (32.8)	36 (1818)	4	0	5	192
5	143(97.3)	4(2.7)	147(56.5)	38 (45.8)	12 (14.5)	25 (30.1)	0	0	8	83
6	23(100.6)	0	23(39.1)	6 (66.7)	0	0	0	0	3	9
7	183(68.5)	84(31.5)	267(58.4)	89 (57.1)	42 (26.9)	7	0	0	18	156
8	266(78.0)	75(22.0)	341(58.4)	102 (51.3)	51 (25.6)	41 (20.6)	0	0	5	199
9	424(88.9)	53(11.1)	477(61.8)	76 (25.8)	149 (50.5)	56 (19.0)	0	1	13	295
10	160(100.0)	0	160(53.1)	46 (54.1)	15 (17.6)	9 (10.6)	0	0	15	85
11	251(99.6)	1(.4)	252(68.7)	96 (55.5)	16 (9.2)	47 (27.2)	0	0	14	173
12	118(100.0)	0	118(54.2)	35 (54.7)	8 (12.5)	8 (12.5)	0	0	13	64
13	195(77.4)	57(22.6)	252(63.1)	76 (47.8)	47 (29.6)	16 (10.1)	1	0	19	159
14	119(93.0)	9(7.0)	128(60.9)	52 (66.7)	14 (17.9)	8 (10.3)	0	0	6	78
15	59(100.0)	0	59(67.8)	18 (45.0)	10 (25.0)	9 (22.5)	0	0	3	40
16	244(82.2)	53(17.8)	297(57.2)	123 (72.4)	22 (12.9)	12 (7.1)	1	0	12	170
17	458(89.1)	56(10.9)	514(62.3)	189 (59.1)	35 (10.9)	63 (19.7)	0	0	33	320

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

MARION COUNTY

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant-	Collins-	Lowry-	Price-	Streets-	Warren-	Total
18	155(68.9)	70(31.1)	225(49.3)	65 (58.6)	29 (26.1)	15 (13.5)	0	0	2	111
19	476(85.6)	80(14.4)	556(53.2)	121 (40.9)	118 (39.9)	44 (14.9)	1	0	12	296
20	199(53.2)	175(46.8)	374(62.0)	76 (32.8)	83 (35.8)	55 (23.7)	4	0	14	232
21	815(80.3)	200(19.7)	1015 (59.7)	280 (46.2)	189 (31.2)	91 (15.0)	2	2	42	606
22	440(81.9)	97(18.1)	537(55.9)	148 (49.3)	75 (25.0)	32 (10.7)	1	0	44	300
23	234(96.7)	8(3.3)	242(67.8)	84 (51.2)	8 (4.9)	61 (37.2)	0	0	11	164
24	575(80.6)	138(19.4)	713(59.5)	132 (31.1)	152 (35.8)	106 (25.0)	0	0	34	424
25	104(93.7)	7(6.3)	111(62.2)	42 (60.9)	16 (23.2)	8 (11.6)	0	1	2	69
26	195(61.9)	120(38.1)	315(50.8)	86 (53.8)	39 (24.4)	28 (17.5)	1	0	6	160
27	65(100.0)	0	65(46.2)	14 (46.7)	4 (13.3)	5 (16.7)	0	0	7	30
28	4124(97.0)	127(3.0)	4251(68.6)	1988 (68.2)	404 (13.8)	249 (8.5)	5	5	266 (9.1)	2917
29	371(73.8)	132(26.2)	503(52.7)	136 (51.3)	64 (24.2)	42 (15.8)	2	1	20	265
31	177(58.4)	126(41.6)	303(60.4)	61 (33.3)	52 (28.4)	29 (15.8)	2	0	39 (21.3)	183
32	99(86.8)	15(13.2)	114(71.1)	33 (40.7)	17 (21.0)	22 (27.2)	0	0	9	81
34	74(85.1)	13(14.9)	87(47.1)	18 (43.9)	19 (46.3)	0	0	0	4	41
35	817(87.5)	117(12.5)	934(60.5)	339 (60,0)	128 (22.7)	28 (5.0)	0	0	70	565
36	366(53.1)	323(46.9)	689(56.2)	124 (32.0)	162 (41.9)	69 (17.8)	4	0	28	387

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Marion County

15,285	White Democratic Electors Marion County
4,124	Negro Democratic Electors Marion County
19,409	Total Democratic Electors Marion County

Governor:

12,059 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

62.1% Percent registered Electors actually voting

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Orange County

Estimate of Persons 21 Years and Over and Participating in Voting

1950 Census

	White	Negro
21 Years and Over	63,527 -	14,321
Total	77,848	
Percent Negro 21 Years . .	18.4	
Percent White 21 Years . .	81.6	
Percent of Total Population 21 Years and over. .	67.7	
Total population for Orange county 1950 census	114,950	
Negro total	22,766	
White total	92,184	
Percent Negro	19.8	
Percent White	80.2	

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Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Orange county 1955 estimate 175,600

Negro total 27,500

White total 148,100

Percent Negro 15.7

Percent White 84.3

21 Years and over (estimate) 118,881
(67.7 x 175,600)

Negro

~~(Ratio of Negroes over 21 to Negroes under 21 in 1950 was 18.4:18.2, the ratio in the estimate of 1955 was 15.7:84.3 or -2.7 loss for Negroes ergo~~: Negro ratio 21 years and over to those under 21 years in 1950 was 18.4:81.5. Negro ratio 21 years and over to those under 21 years in 1955 estimate was 15.7:84.3 or -2.7 loss/. 18.4-2.7
15.7 x 118,881

Negro... ~~21,274~~
18,665

(White gain 2.7 ergo: 84.3 x 118,881 White... 100,216

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Orange County

51,548 White Electors Registered Orange County
This represents ~~45.4~~ percent of potential white electors.
(51.4)
2,872 Negro Electors Registered Orange County
This represents (15.4) percent of potential negro electors.

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
17	1,420(95.4)	69(4.6)	1,489(71.1)	193	677(63.9)	131(12.4)	2	3	53	1,059
18	276(42.3)	377(57.7)	653(62.8)	45	293(71.5)	43(10.5)	0	2	27	410
19	278(47.3)	310(52.7)	588(64.8)	31	288(75.6)	38(9.8)	0	2	22	381
20	712(78.7)	193(21.3)	905(63.3)	126	299(52.2)	105(18.3)	1	1	41	573
21	511(38.0)	832(62.0)	1,343(65.2)	109	647(74.0)	87(9.9)	3	1	28	875
	(Above allin the city of Orlando)									
22	841(94.8)	46(5.2)	887(65.4)	133	206(35.5)	182(31.4)	1	1	57	580
22A	1,633(96.8)	54(3.2)	1,687(63.4)	222	458(42.8)	286(26.7)	5	2	97	1,070
24	1,248(99.9)	1(.1)	1,249(66.9)	175	495(59.3)	107(12.8)	1	0	57	835
26	1,329(79.3)	347(20.7)	1,676(65.6)	173	749(68.2)	114(10.4)	2	5	56	1,099
27	581(92.1)	50(7.9)	631(75.3)	81	329(69.3)	45(9.5)	0	3	17	475
29	804(99.3)	6(.7)	810(64.3)	112	234(44.9)	130(25.0)	3	1	41	521
30	206(99.5)	1(.5)	207(72.0)	39	80(53.7)	22(14.8)	0	0	8	149
31	1,301(90.4)	138(9.6)	1,439(73.9)	295	428(40.2)	275(25.8)	2	2	62	1,064
33	450(92.0)	39(8.0)	489(73.0)	82	164(45.9)	81(22.7)	0	0	30	357
34	190(95.5)	9(4.5)	199(62.8)	30	61(48.8)	25(20.0)	0	0	9	125
35	1,632(99.4)	10(.6)	1,642(64.5)	283	291(27.5)	382(36.1)	1	1	101	1,059
39	254(94.8)	14(5.2)	268(77.6)	36	144(69.2)	20(9.6)	0	2	6	208
40	101(97.1)	3(2.9)	104(76.0)	10	29(36.7)	37(46.8)	0	0	3	79
41	1,285(99.6)	5(.4)	1,290(64.6)	174	442(53.1)	165(19.8)	1	0	51	833
42	283(96.3)	11(3.7)	294(62.6)	49	66(35.9)	58(31.5)	1	0	10	184
43	1,633(99.7)	5(.3)	1,638(64.6)	228	509(48.1)	253(23.9)	4	3	61	1,058

* (only precincts with Negroes registered)

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Orange County

42,708 White electors Orange County-Democrats
2,536 Negro electors Orange County-Democrats

45,244 Total Democratic electors Orange County

Governor

31,327 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

69.2% Percent registered electors actually voting

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Palm Beach County

1950 Census

	White	Negro
21 Years and Over	57,518 -	22,253
Total	79,771	
Percent Negro 21 Years over		27.9
Percent White 21 Years over		72.1
Percent total population 21 years and over		69.6
Total population Palm Beach County 1950 Census	114,688	
Negro total	34,797	
White total	79,891	
Percent Negro		30.3
Percent White		69.7

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1955 Special Census (USDC):

Total population Palm Beach County special census 1955	157,086	
Negro total	42,739	
White total	114,347	
Negro percent		27.2
White percent		72.8
21 Years and over (estimate)	109,332	
From special census (adjusted 20-24 age group)	105,575*	
Negro total	26,123	
White total	79,452	
Percent Negro		24.7
Percent White		75.3

57,559 White Electors Registered Palm Beach County 1956. This represents **72.4** percent of potential white electors.

6,267 Negro Electors Registered Palm Beach County 1956. **This represents 24.0 percent of potential Negro electors.**

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Palm Beach County

(Precincts with Colored Democratic Registrants)

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
1	518(84.6)	94(15.4)	612(56.5)	38 (11.0)	187 (54.0)	104 (30.1)	3	0	14	346
2	612(99.4)	4(.6)	616(64.0)	46 (11.7)	205 (52.0)	74 (18.8)	1	20	48	394
3A	0	695(100)	695(58.8)	6 (1.5)	383 (93.6)	5 (1.2)	2	7	6	409
7A	0	1641(100)	1641(50.9)	15 (1,8)	791 (94.6)	10 (1.2)	9	4	7	836
23	1088(97.1)	32(2.9)	1120(49.4)	40 (7.2)	385 (69.6)	87 (15.7)	0	1	40	553
24	1141(98.6)	16(1.4)	1157(51.3)	40 (6.7)	398 (67.0)	107 (18.0)	2	4	43	594
25	1493(86.8)	227(13.2)	1720(55.3)	59 (6.2)	675 (70.9)	134 (14.1)	2	5	77	952
27	0	953(100)	953(48.3)	1	452 (98.3)	5	0	0	2	460
30	693(89.9)	78(10.1)	771(53.6)	14 (3.4)	348 (84.3)	19 (4.6)	0	1	31	413
35	464(96.5)	17(3.5)	481(69.2)	22 (6.6)	80 (24.0)	207 (62.2)	0	2	22	333
36	1154(92.2)	98(7.8)	1252(67.4)	50 (5.9)	296 (35.1)	383 (45.4)	2	1	112	844
37	425(94.)	27(6.0)	452(50.7)	19	65 (28.4)	116 (50.7)	2	1	26	229
38A	0	915(100)	915(34.4)	4	287 (91.1)	6 (1.9)	5	2	11	315
39	288(81.4)	66(18.6)	354(62.1)	13	68 (30.9)	123 (55.9)	0	0	16	220
40	152(84.0)	29(16.0)	181(63.5)	9	31 (27.0)	59 (51.3)	0	0	16	115

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Palm Beach County

~~Governor~~

46,720 White Democratic Electors Registered Palm Beach County
5,918 Negro Democratic Electors Registered Palm Beach County

52,638 Total Democratic Electors Palm Beach County

Governor:

29,136 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

51.4 Percent registered Electors actually voting

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Putnam County

Estimate of Persons 21 Years and Over and Participating in Voting

1950 Census White Negro

21 Years and Over . . . . 9,463 - 5,199

Total 14,662

Percent Negro 21 yrs+.. 35.5%

Percent White 21 yrs+.. 64.5%

Percent total population 21 yrs and over... 62.1%

Total population Putnam County-1950 Census.. 23,615
Negro . . . . 8,608 - 36.5%

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White . . . . 15,007 - 63.5%

Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Putnam County 1955 estimate. . 28,600

Negro 9,200

White 19,400

Percent Negro . . . . 32.2% (- 4.3%)

Percent White . . . . 67.8% (+ 4.3%)

21 Years and Over (estimate) 17,761

(62.1 x 28,600)

Negro 21 years and over ...
(Negro gain total population of 592 or 6.4%
White gain total population of 4,393 or 22.6%

Ratio of Negroes over 21 to Negroes under 21 in1950 was c. 36:64 the ratio in the estimate of 1955 was 32:68 or -4 loss for Negroes. erge: 1950 Negroes 21 years and over 36.5% minus 4% loss equals 32.5% Negroes 1955 21 years and over.....

Negro. . . . 5,772

White 21 years and over...
(White gain (see above) 4% over 1959. ergo 67.5%.......
White..... 11,989

10,342 White Electors Registered Putnam County.
This represents 86.3% percent of potential white electors.

1,729 Negro Electors Reigtered Putnam County.
This represents 30.0% percent of potential negro electors.

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Putnam County

Pct	White	Colored	Total		Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
	Democratic Electors										
1	870-87.6%	123-12.4%	993	62.1%	162	221(35.8)	137(22.2)			95	617
2.	160(97.6)	4(2.4)	164	69.5	11	31(27.2)	35(30.7)			37	114
3	508(94.4)	30(5.6)	538	54.5	52	57(19.5)	119(40.6)			65	293
4	230(75.4)	75(24.6)	305	67.9	23	97(46.9)	32(15.5)			55	207
5	193(33.9)	377(66.1)	570	40.9	11	141(60.5)	49(21.0)			31	233
6	249(84.1)	47(15.9)	296	68.6	38	59(29.1)	62(30.5)			42	203
7	160(99.4)	1(.6)	161	64.0	23	27(26.2)	31(30.1)			20	103
8	295(93.7)	20(6.3)	315	73.0	68	74(32.2)	67(29.1)			21	230
9	688(80.8)	164(19.2)	852	61.5	104	117(22.3)	181(34.5)			122	524
10	132(91.7)	12(8.3)	144	67.4	19	30(31.0)	41(42.3)			7	97
11	1,375(97.4)	37(2.6)	1,412	70.0	282	228(23.1)	286(29.0)			190	987
12	316(100.0)	0	316	47.2	37	25(17.0)	50(33.6)			37	149
13	418(99.5)	2(.5)	420	65.0	80	69(25.3)	69(25.3)			54	273
14	555(83.1)	113(17.0)	668	57.0	85	114(30.0)	111(29.1)			71	381
15	575(76.3)	179(23.8)	754	52.3	65	143(36.3)	128(32.5)	2	1	55	394
16	346(95.1)	18(4.9)	364	62.6	43	90(39.5)	52(22.8)			42	228
17	208(67.5)	100(32.5)	308	55.8	30	59(34.3)	45(26.2)	1		37	172
18	276(92.0)	24(8.0)	300	67.7	73	65(32.0)	32(15.8)			33	203
19	119(71.7)	47(28.3)	166	73.5	12	47(38.5)	25(20.5)			38	122
20	235(100.0)	0	235	61.3	13	18(12.5)	86(59.7)			27	144
21	436(98.0)	9(2.0)	445	55.7	67	36(14.5)	87(35.1)			58	248
22	255(97.7)	6(2.3)	261	74.0	28	13(6.7)	123(63.8)	1		28	193
23	325(100.0)	0	325	75.1	54	28(11.5)	129(52.9)			33	244
24	118(98.3)	2(1.7)	120	66.7	19	6(7.5)	39(48.8)	1		15	80
25	163(77.6)	47(22.4)	210	62.0	35	29(22.3)	40(30.8)			26	130
26	125(100.0)	0	125	68.9	20	51(59.3)	10(11.6)			5	86
27	747(97.4)	20(2.6)	767	72.0	134	68(12.3)	251(45.5)			99	552

Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Putnam County

10,077 White electors Putnam County-Democrats
1,459 Negro electors Putnam County-Democrats
11,536 Total Democratic electors Putnam County

Governor:

7,463 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

64.7% Percent registered electors actually voting

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Suwannee County

1950 Census

	White	Negro
21 Years and Over	6,769 -	2,606
Total	9,375	
Percent Negro 21 Years over		27.8
Percent White 21 Years over		72.2
Percent Total Population 21 Years Over.		55.2
Total Population Suwannee County	16,986	
Negro total	4,985	
White total	12,001	
Percent Negro		29.3
PercentWhite		70.4

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Estimate 1955 (July)

Total population Suwannee County 1955 estimate	16,407	
Negro total	3,984	
White total	12,423	
Percent Negro		24.3
Percent White		75.7
21 Years and Over (estimate) (55.2 x 16,407)	9,057	
Negro total (27.8 - 3.0) x 9,057 24.8	2,246	
White total	6,811	
Percent Negro		24.8
Percent White		75.2

5,268 White Electors Registered Suwannee County 1956.
This represents 77.3 percentof potential white electors.

557 Negro Electors Registered Suwannee County 1956.
This represents 24.8 percent of potential Negro electors.

Suwannee County

Pct	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
1	345(82.5)	77 (17.5)	422(73.9)	59 (18.9)	59 (18.9)	164 (52.6)	0	0	30	312
2	649(94.2)	40 (5.8)	689(85.1)	199 (34.0)	119 (20.3)	204 (34.8)	1	0	63	586
3	244(98.0)	5 (2.0)	249(86.7)	60 (27.8)	40 (18.5)	86 (39.8)	0	0	30	216
4	473(69.8)	205 (30.2)	678(81.6)	119 (21.5)	174 (31.5)	203 (36.7)	0	0	57	553
5	557(87.7)	78 (12.3)	635(85.4)	117 (21.6)	77 (14.2)	262 (48.3)	1	0	85	542
6	173(85.2)	30 (14.8)	203(79.8)	24 (14.8)	38 (23.5)	87 (53.7)	0	0	13	162
7 7	149(96.1)	6(3.9)	155(91.0)	31 (22.0)	18 (12.8)	85 (60.3)	1	0	6	141
8	129(99.2)	1(.8)	130(90.8)	14 (11.9)	4 (3.4)	80 (67.8)	1	0	19	118
9	153(98.1)	4(1.9)	157(82.8)	17 (13.1)	17 (13.1)	91 (70.0)	0	0	5	130
10	169(97.7)	4(2.3)	173(83.8)	25 (17.2)	8 (5.5)	101 (69.7)	0	0	11	145
11	71(67.6)	34(32.4)	105(81.9)	22 (25.6)	22 (25.6)	41 (47.7)	0	0	1	86
12	300(95.2)	15(4.8)	315(84.8)	43 (16.1)	25 (9.4)	154 (57.7)	0	0	45	267
13	111(96.5)	4(3.5)	115(84.3)	25 (25.8)	11 (11.3)	58 (59.8)	0	0	3	97
14	123(93.9)	8(6.1)	131(80.9)	13 (12.3)	6 (5.7)	76 (71.7)	0	0	11	106
15	146(89.0)	18(11.0)	164(87.2)	27 (18.9)	9 (6.3)	103 (72.2)	1	0	3	143
16	167(99.4)	1(.6)	168(91.1)	39 (25.5)	13 (8.5)	95 (62.1)	0	1	5	153
17	137(100.0)	0	137(84.7)	22 (19.0)	11 (9.5)	76 (65.5)	1	0	6	116
18	68(98.6)	1(1.4)	69(89.9)	9 (14.5)	2 (3.2)	50 (80.6)	0	0	1	62

Suwannee County

	Democratic Electors			Vote for Governor						
Pct	White	Colored	Total	Bryant	Collins	Lowry	Price	Streets	Warren	Total
19	196(96.1)	8(3.9)	204(90.7)	44 (23.8)	12 (6.5)	118 (63.8)	0	0	11	185
20	62(98.4)	1(1.6)	63(98.4)	6 (9.7)	2 (3.2)	50 (80.6)	0	0	4	62
21	120(100.0)	0	120(87.5)	14 (13.3)	3 (2.9)	83 (79.0)	1	0	4	105
22	432(100.0)	0	432(97.9)	63 (14.9)	35 (8.3)	301 (71.2)	0	0	24	423
23	147(91.3)	13(8.7)	160(88.8)	20 (14.1)	8 (5.6)	91 (64.1)	0	0	23	142
24	150(97.4)	4(2.6)	154(85.7)	32 (24.2)	12 (9.1)	73 (55.3)	0	0	15	132
Absentee Votes				30	59	109	0	1	36	235

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5,268 White Electors Democratic Registered Suwannee County
557 Negro Democratic Electors Registered Suwannee County

5,825 Total Democratic Electors Suwannee County

Governor:

5,219 Total Vote cast Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of May 8, 1956

89.6% Percent registered Electors actually voting

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

Comparison of 1954 Democratic Registration in the General Election with the 1956 Democratic Registration in the May 8, 1956 Primary

COUNTY	WHITES		WHITE GAIN OR LOSS	COLORED		COLORED GAIN OR LOSS
	1954	1956		1954	1956	
ALACHUA	19,026	22,652	3,626	2,542	2,667	125
BAKER	2,609	x 3,355	x 746	182	x 339	x 157
BAY	17,893	16,565	1,328*	2,378	1,537	841*
BRADFORD	4,464	x 4,540	x 76	657	x 834	x 177
BREVARD	11,580	13,957	2,377	1,760	2,056	296
BROWARD	38,114	45,275	7,161	4,326	5,447	1,121
CALHOUN	4,200	4,546	346	130	261	131
CHARLOTTE	2,634	3,140	506	177	199	22
CITRUS	3,499	3,980	481	473	549	76
CLAY	5,321	6,758	1,437	830	1,163	333
COLLIER	2,909	4,157	1,248	519	732	213
COLUMBIA	7,396	8,406	1,010	956	1,630	674
DADE	241,594	250,441	8,847	17,596	15,463	2,133*
DESOTO	3,321	3,575	254	734	776	42
DIXIE	1,686	2,128	442	91	212	121
DUVAL	102,344	91,229	11,115*	24,452	21,681	2,771*
ESCAMBIA	42,621	46,807	4,186	6,457	6,324	133*
FLAGLER	1,229	1,403	174	9	13	4
GADSDEN	5,953	6,391	438	6	5	1*
GILCHRIST	1,242	1,509	267	11	27	16
GLADES	788	837	49	261	254	7*
GULF	2,906	3,156	250	377	427	50
HAMILTON	3,381	3,646	265	206	420	214
HARDEE	6,519	7,033	515	248	245	3*
HENDRY	2,414	2,920	506	521	761	240
HERNANDO	3,271	3,813	542	459	513	54
HIGHLANDS	7,974	7,541	433*	1,273	1,215	58*
HILLSBOROUGH	73,568	87,625	14,057	4,738	7,721	2,983
HOLMES	7,027	6,366	661*	128	109	19*
INDIAN RIVER	4,377	4,957	580	279	369	90
JACKSON	14,726	15,627	901	2,707	3,117	410
JEFFERSON	2,806	2,981	175	140	241	101
LAFAYETTE	2,200	1,753	447*	--	--	--
LAKE	16,248	14,004	2,244*	1,569	1,240	329*
LEE	12,861	14,978	2, 117	1,406	1,642	236
LEON	15,059	17,672	2,613	3,672	3,074	598*
LEVY	4,653	4,967	314	233	51	182*
LIBERTY	1,837	1,589	248*	---	1	1
MADISON	4,938	5,272	434	653	945	292
MANATEE	14,869	16,748	1,879	1,196	1,562	366
MARION	14,396	15,285	889	3,835	4,124	289
MARTIN	4,200	4,721	521	522	681	159

Dr. Elston Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

continued: -2-

COUNTY	WHITES 1954	WHITES 1956	WHITE GAIN OR LOSS	COLORED 1954	COLORED 1956	COLORED GAIN OR LOSS
MONROE	8,831	10,923	2,092	1,204	1,610	406
NASSAU	5,219	6,073	854	951	1,187	236
OKALOOSA	11,661	12,771	1,110	410	645	235
OKEECHOBEE	1,570	1,910	340	265	355	90
ORANGE	40,885	42,708	1,823	2,402	2,536	134
OSCEOLA	4,661	5,299	638	226	291	65
PALM BEACH	42,965	46,720	3,755	5,698	5,918	220
PASCO	12,196	8,000	4,196*	636	500	136*
PINELLAS	61,239	58,558	2,681*	3,153	2,751	402*
POLK	39,477	44,999	5,522	3,541	4,522	981
PUTNAM	9,238	10,077	839	1,066	1,459	393
ST. JOHNS	10,726	8,823	1,903*	2,280	1,829	451*
ST. LUCIE	7,679	8,461	782	1,440	1,786	346
SANTA ROSA	9,820	10,500	630	613	575	38*
SARASOTA	11,331	8,464	2,867*	656	358	298*
SEMINOLE	7,082	8,419	1,337	1,608	2,069	461
SUMTER	4,982	5,096	114	550	820	270
SUWANNEE	8,293	5,355	2,938*	400	450	50
TAYLOR	5,004	5,820	816	88	77	11*
UNION	2,187	2,495	308	--	--	--
VOLUSIA	29,908	33,172	3,264	4,297	5,416	1,119
WAKULLA	2,399	2,695	296	138	329	191
WALTON	9,148	9,108	40*	806	1,079	273
WASHINGTON	4,307	5,275	968	600	711	111
	1,093,735	1,148,585	114,115	122,040	128,437	23,223
		1,146026**	--30,853*		128,693**	22,985**
			83,262			--9,394
			86,065**			13,829
						13,591**

* IndicatesNet Loss.

** Indicates difference between official Secretary of State figures and official figures from county Supervisors of Registration.

Dr. Elston E. Roady
SRC/Florida
1956

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Statewide Voter Participation-Florida
Percentage Registered Democratic Electors Voting in Gubernatorial Contest of May 8, 1956

COUNTY	DEMOCRATIC ELECTORS REGISTERED			GOVERNOR	WINNER AND THE PERCENTAGE VOTING		Winner's
	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	VOTE CAST			Per-cent
Alachua	22,652	2,667	25,319	13,090	Collins	51.7	40.3
Baker	3,312	347	3,659	2,810	Lowry	76.8	41.7
Bay	16,565	1,537	18,102	14,925	Collins	82.4	34.6
Bradford	4,524	853	5,377	4,239	Lowry	78.8	34.3
Brevard	13,957	2,056	16,013	8,430	Collins	52.6	59.7
Broward	45,275	5,447	50,722	30,600	Collins	60.3	78.0
Calhoun	4,546	261	4,807	3,338	Warren	69.4	73.1
Charlotte	3,140	199	3,339	2,431	Collins	72.8	56.2
Citrus	3,980	549	4,529	3,241	Collins	71.6	40.0
Clay	6,758	1,163	7,921	4,938	Collins-Lowry	62.3	*31.3
Collier	4,157	732	4,889	3,526	Collins	72.1	56.2
Columbia	8,406	1,630	10,036	6,801	Lowry	67.8	35.5
Dade	250,441	15,463	265,904	156,477	Collins	58.8	72.1
DeSoto	3,575	776	4,351	2,977	Lowry	68.4	43.3
Dixie	2,128	212	2,340	1,844	Lowry	78.8	52.8
Duval	91,229	21,681	112,910	83,417	Collins	73.9	38.1
Escambia	46,807	6,324	53,131	35,175	Collins	66.2	47.7
Flagler	1,403	13	1,416	1,287	Lowry	90.9	38.9
Franklin	2,551	512	3,063	2,529	Lowry	82.6	39.6
Gadsden	6,358	3	6,361	4,293	Warren	67.5	33.1
Gilchrist	1,509	27	1,536	1,291	Lowry	84.0	51.3
Glades	837	254	1,091	915	Collins	83.9	44.6
Gulf	3,156	427	3,583	3,123	Lowry	87.2	37.7
Hamilton	3,646	420	4,066	2,631	Lowry	64.7	44.5
Hardee	7,033	245	7,278	4,113	Lowry	56.5	39.6
Hendry	2,920	761	3,681	2,864	Collins	77.8	45.6
Hernando	3,813	513	4,326	3,211	Warren	74.2	39.8
Highlands	7,541	1,215	8,756	5,191	Collins	59.3	57.9
Hillsborough	87,625	7,721	95,346	61,975	Collins	65.0	57.5
Holmes	6,366	109	6,475	5,444	Lowry	84.1	53.7
Indian River	4,957	369	5,326	4,271	Collins	80.2	54.0
Jackson	15,627	3,117	18,744	10,375	Warren	55.4	36.9
Jefferson	2,981	241	3,222	2,460	Lowry	76.4	41.9
Lafayette	(1,753 est.)	---	1,753 est	1,691	Lowry		
Lake	14,004	1,240	15,244	13,140	Collins	86.2	40.2
Lee	14,978	1,642	16,620	10,294	Collins	61.9	52.3
Leon	17,672	3,074	20,746	14,998	Collins	72.3	59.1
Levy	4,967	51	5,018	3,720	Lowry	74.1	45.8
Liberty	1, 589	1	1,590	1,432	Lowry	90.1	53.8
Madison	5,272	945	6,217	4,176	Lowry	67.2	42.8
Manatee	16,748	1,562	18,310	12,206	Collins	66.7	57.1
Marion	15,285	4,124	19,409	12,059	Bryant	62.1	52.6
Martin	4,721	681	5,402	4,164	Collins	77.1	69.7
Monroe	10,923	1,610	12,533	6,591	Collins	52.6	66.3
Nassau	6,073	1,187	7,260	5,119	Collins	70.5	30.4
Okaloosa	12,771	645	13,416	10,096	Lowry	75.3	42.2
Okeechobee	1,910	355	2,265	1,812	Lowry	80.0	39.8
Orange	42,708	2,536	45,244	31,327	Collins	69.2	56.6

Statewide Participation continued: 2-

Osceola	5,299	291	5,590	4,539	Collins	81.2	45.9
Palm Beach	46,720	5,918	52,638	29,136	Collins	55.4	63.8
Pasco	8,000	500	8,500	6,805	Collins	80.1	42.7
Pinellas	58,558	2,751	61,309	34,726	Collins	56.6	68.3
Polk	44,999	4,522	49,521	34,651	Collins	70.0	48.3
Putnam	10,077	1,459	11,536	7,463	Lowry	64.7	31.7
St. Johns	8,823	1,829	10,652	9,063	Collins	85.1	44.0
St. Lucie	8,461	1,786	10,247	7,716	Collins	75.3	60.5
Santa Rosa	10,500	575	11,075	7,769	Lowry	70.1	44.8
Sarasota	8,464	358	8,822	6,601	Collins	74.8	68.4
Seminole	8,419	2,069	10,488	7,357	Collins	70.1	48.9
Sumter	5,096	820	5,916	3,999	Lowry	67.6	44.6
Suwannee	5,268	557	5,825	5,219	Lowry	89.6	54.5
Taylor	5,820	77	5,897	3,885	Lowry	65.9	50.1
Union	2,495	---	2,495	1,763	Warren	70.7	54.5
Volusia	33,172	5,416	38,588	24,588	Collins	63.7	71.3
Wakulla	2,695	329	3,024	2,273	Warren	75.2	38.5
Walton	9,108	1,079	10,187	6,288	Lowry	61.7	43.4
Washington	5,275	711	5,986	4,926	Lowry	82.3	42.4

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COLLINS	434,274	51.7
LOWRY	179,019	21.3
BRYANT	110,469	13.1
WARREN	107,990	12.9
STREETS	5,086	.6
PRICE	3,245	.4
Total	840,083	

** ** ** ** ** **

Total Democratic Registration 1,277,220

Negro total 128,437
White total 1,148,585

Percent Negro 10.1
Percent White 89.9

Percent Registered Democrats Voting 1956 Primary... 65.8

FLORIDA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alachua	9,430	3,153
Baker	818	361
Bay	4,028	2,012
Bradford	1,408	859
Brevard	3,544	2,160
Broward	12,234	6,958
Calhoun	594	231
Charlotte	469	268
Citrus	879	580
Clay	1,230	1,193
Collier	1,402	741
Columbia	3,357	1,645
Dade	42,682	19,048
De Soto	1,229	807
Dixie	387	181
Duval	55,832	27,368
Escambia	14,521	6,733
Flagler	872	64
Franklin	904	521
Gadsden	10,930	5
Gilchrist	203	29
Glades	584	262
Gulf	1,129	481
Hamilton	1,983	507
Hardee	404	375
Hendry	1,034	135
Hernando	869	622
Highlands	2,054	1,243
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856
Holmes	326	130
Indian River	1,764	427
Jackson	5,843	3,430
Jefferson	3,272	183
Lafayette	176	0
Lake	5,110	1,363
Lee	3,017	1,818
Leon	11,213	4,046
Levy	2,107	603
Liberty	333	1
Madison	3,153	1,010
Manatee	4,425	1,686
Marion	8,387	4,324
Martin	1,374	706
Monroe	2,043	1,652
Nassau	2,123	1,223
Okaloosa	1,177	606
Okeechobee	406	348
Orange	14,321	3,137
Osceola	958	358
Palm Beach	22,253	6,520
Pasco	1,713	624
Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Polk	15,492	4,989
Putnam	5,199	1,770
St. Johns	5,053	2,051
St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Santa Rosa	928	730
Sarasota	2,896	783
Seminole	6,881	2,242
Sumter	1,703	790
Swannee	2,606	565
Taylor	1,945	91
Union	2,453	6
Volusia	10,415	5,761
Wakulla	833	345
Walton	1,051	954
Washington	1,056	743

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN FLORIDA IN 1956

1. At the time of the primary elections in the Spring of 1956, Negroes were registered to vote in 65 of Florida's 67 counties. There is no way of ascertaining, of course, whether they actually voted in all of these counties. There are strong indications that in two of the counties in which a small number of Negroes were registered none of them voted.

   The progressive extension of Negro suffrage in the state is indicated by the following table:

   NUMBER OF COUNTIES WITH NO NEGRO REGISTRANTS, 1940-1956

   1940 - 51
   1944 - 36
   1946 - 4
   1948 - 4
   1950 - 5
   1952 - 4
   1954 - 3
   1956 - 2

2. The number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exagerrated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties, Negro electors constitute a very, very small proportion of the Negro population and probably of the Negroes eligible to register. This is seen in the case of the following counties:

County	No. of Non-white in Population (1950)	(over 21)	% Non-white (1950)	No. of Negroes Reg. (1956)
Flagler	1,534	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	20,468	10,930	56.1	3
Levy	3,603	2107	33.9	51
Liberty	581	333	18.1	1
Taylor	3,181	1945	30.5	77

3. Comparison of Negro and white registration in 12 counties with the number of persons 21 years of age and older indicates that, generally, the proportion of potential white electors who register is two or more times as large as the proportion of potential Negro electors who register. If these counties are representative of the state as a whole, it must be said that Negroes in Florida exercise the right to vote to a much smaller extent than do white citizens even though there are Negro electors in nearly every county in the state.

4. The following devices to deter Negroes from registering and voting were reported as having been used:

    a. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to such forms of intimidation as cross-burnings, bomb-throwings, and having their houses shot into. All but one of the registrants withdrew their names from the rolls. This received extensive press coverage.
    b. It is reported that in another county Negroes are not permitted to come into the business section of the towns on election day. This is a plantation county and most of the Negro population is rural.
    c. One Supervisor of Registration told Negroes attempting to register, "Come on in and register," but sat with his legs stretched across the door so that they would almost have to assault him to get in his office.
    d. Loungers around a courthouse told Negroes, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterwards."

5. The limited number of discrete devices used to deter registration and the indirect nature of most of them suggests that it is other kinds of deterrents that limit Negro suffrage in Florida. In some counties, particularly those where Negro suffrage is most sharply limited, it may be that a general atmosphere of fear keeps Negroes from testing the limits to which they may go in exercising their civil rights. In some counties this seems to result from a pervasive economic dependence on the whitegroup which serves to "keep the Negroes in their place." In addition, lack of education, preoccupation with mere subsistence, and sheer political apathy probably operate to keep large numbers of both Negroes and whites from registering and voting.

Lewis M. Killian
Florida, Chief State
Consultant

Elston Roady -
2 —

Florida

REGISTRATION - 1956 GENERAL ELECTION

COUNTY	DEMOCRATS		REPUBLICAN		OTHERS
	WHITE	COLORED	WHITE	COLORED	White
Alachua	22,519	2,788	1,282	365	102
Baker	3,368	358	2	3	---
Bay	16,894	1,998	427	14	47
Bradford	4,668	844	32	15	5
Brevard	15,696	2,080	4,132	80	215
Broward	52,067	6,239 ⑤	20,051	719	1192
Calhoun	4,604	231	5	---	---
Charlotte	3,110	225	183	43	---
Citrus	4,087	563	183	17	29
Clay	6,985	1,178	252	15	26
Collier	4,394	732	90	9	5
Columbia	8,516	1,635	38	10	10
Dade	269,664	16,302 ②	39,285	2,746	1963
DeSoto	3,653	788	60	19	5
Dixie	2,204	181	3	---	---
Duval	107,698	25,356 ①	6,915	2,012	1216
Escambia	48,464	6,527 ④	1,315	206	234
Flagler	1,433	13	51	---	4
Franklin	2,547	513	10	8	2
Gadsden	6,406	3	36	2	2
Gilchrist	1,485	27	4	2	---
Glades	853	262	4	---	46
Gulf	3,165	438	29	43	2
Hamilton	3,685	488	4	19	---
Hardee	7,072	342	146	33	15
Hendry	3,599	135	38	---	2
Hernando	3,907	616	110	6	2
Highlands	7,851	1,224	642	19	5
Hillsborough	94,059	8,184 ③	8,517	672	461
Holmes	6,362	128	22	2	10
Indian River	5,495	405	1,030	22	74
Jackson	21,246	3,307	119	123	25
Jefferson	3,032	166	11	17	1
Lafayette	1,815	-----	5	---	2
Lake	15,148	1,267	2,531	96	96
Lee	15,817	1,714	2,173	104	91
Leon	15,285	3,870	415	176	5
Levy	4,913	576	58	27	7
Liberty	1,612	1	4	---	---
Madison	5,289	956	17	54	---
Manatee	18,107	1,618	4,215	68	305
Marion	16,085	4,163	650	161	65
Martin	4,691	694	352	12	---
Monroe	11,735	1,629	517	23	123
Nassau	5,925	1,207	36	16	5
Okaloosa	12,798	600	276	6	147
Okeechobee	1,902	347	6	1	---
Orange	48,833	2,844	11,919	293	583
Osceola	5,635	326	975	32	69
Palm Beach	52,700	6,054 ⑥	13,093	466	446
Pasco	10,722	620	1,942	4	91
Pinellas	66,477	2,992	51,087	485	2930
Polk	47,765	4,712	4,997	277	306
Putnam	10,387	1,488	308	282	30
St. Johns	9,425	1,891	536	160	49
St. Lucie	9,072	1,769	1,168	44	64
Santa Rosa	10,273	714	120	16	18
Sarasota	10,940	586	9,833	197	---
Seminole	9,221	2,137	1,126	105	114
Sumter	5,358	762	33	28	---
Suwannee	5,315	510	35	55	19
Taylor	5,796	70	27	21	4
Union	2,495	-----	6	---	---
Volusia	36,565	5,479 ⑦	6,344	282	215
Wakulla	2,695	329	18	16	8
Walton	9,680	942	136	12	8
Washington	5,315	725	43	8	6
Totals	1,246,579	137,868	200,029	10,768	11,506

Grand Total ----------------------------------1,606,750

Sent to Justice Dept
9/11/58

FLORIDA

County	1956 White Registration
Alachua	23,903
Baker	3,370
Bay	17,368
Bradford	4,705
Brevard	20,043
Broward	73,310
Calhoun	4,609
Charlotte	3,293
Citrus	4,299
Clay	7,263
Collier	4,489
Columbia	8,564
Dade	310,912
DeSoto	3,718
Dixie	2,207
Duval	115,829
Escambia	50,013
Flagler	1,488
Franklin	2,559
Gadsen	6,444
Gilchrist	1,489
Glades	903
Gulf	3,196
Hamilton	3,689
Hardee	7,233
Hendry	3,639
Hernando	4,019
Highlands	8,498
Hillsborough	103,037
Holmes	6,394
Indian River	6,599
Jackson	21,390
Jefferson	3,044
Lafayette	1,822
Lake	17,775
Lee	18,081
Leon	15,705
Levy	4,978
Liberty	1,616
Madison	5,306
Manatee	22,627
Marion	16,800
Martin	5,043
Monroe	12,375
Nassau	5,966
Okaloosa	13,221
Okeechobee	1,908
Orange	61,335
Osceola	6,679
Palm Beach	69,049
Pasco	12,755
Pinellas	120,494
Polk	53,068
Putnam	10,725
St. Johns	10,010
St. Lucie	10,304
Santa Rosa	10,411
Sarasota	20,773
Seminole	10,461
Sumter	5,391
Suwannee	5,369
Taylor	5,827
Union	2,495
Volusia	43,124
Wakulla	2,721
Walton	9,824
Washington	5,364

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Florida State University
Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Feb. 18, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

I am very sorry that I have not answered your latest query concerning the Florida registration figures sooner. I have no excuse other than the usual one--I've just been bogged down with other things. Even now, I am afraid that the answers to the questions do not clear things up a great deal. Dr. Roady and I have conferred, however, and we both think that these are the only answers which can be given.

1. As to the registrants classified as "Other", it is a safe assumption that they are all white.

2. It is highly probable that the increase in Florida population since 1950 accounts for the extraordinarily high percentage of registrants. Dr. Roady says that the latest statistics on Florida population, county by county, are based on 1955 estimates. These estimates were forwarded to SRC as part of our final report. Even they show unrealistically high proportions of registrants when used as a base. We have no estimates for 1956.

3. It is also quite likely that some of the registration records are inaccurate. They may include not only recent registrants but registrants who should have been removed from the lists some time ago but have not been.

I am sorry that we cannot give more satisfactory answers. I also hope that this reply is not too late to be of some value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis M. Killian

Lewis M. Killian

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN FLORIDA

By the Rev. Ben F. Wyland, Executive Secretary,
Florida Council for Racial Cooperation

In Florida we are facing two ways. We have political leaders who face the future and favor the Negro's basic right to vote and to advance himself. And then we have political leaders who face the past, determined to block the path of the Negro by threats and intimidation.

The Negro population in Florida is around 600,000. Of these, 369,463 are old enough to vote but only 148,636 have been able to avail themselves of that privilege. There are thus 220,827 who are politically non-existent, silent and unable to express their will.

Five counties in northern Florida use intimidation whenever necessary to prevent or discourage Negroes from registering. There are 16,533 Negroes old enough to vote in those counties, but only 110 have been able to register. Union County has 2,542 Negroes over 21 and not one is registered to vote; Gadsden County has 10,930 with five registered.

At one Courthouse, loungers told Negroes who came to register: "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward." In Liberty County, where there is one Negro registered, the Rev. Dee Hawkins and three others went down to register.

Mr. Hawkins said the supervisor was polite and told them to go ahead and register, but that night "all hell broke loose." The minister wrote me a letter saying "they are causing me to leave home. I was bombed-shot in my home." He fled from Liberty County.

Madison County, also in northern Florida, deserves special mention because it shows what can be done when Negroes act together and some white people display a little good sense. Fifteen years ago not one of the 3,151 Negroes over 21 was registered to vote in that county.

During the 1944 primary period, 586 Negroes went to the Courthouse in a body to register--and they were registered. The following year, many people wondered whether the new registrants would have the courage to vote. Many did vote, with the result that a white man flourished a gun and cried that no Negro would vote so long as he lived.

Other white men intervened and persuaded him not to use the gun on the Negro voters. Negro registration in the county has since increased to 1,010 and Negroes continue to vote without any show of violence against them.

There is a more favorable atmosphere in St. Petersburg, Pinellas County, but only 3,208 of the 12,118 Negroes over 21 have registered to vote. The situation is different in Jacksonville, where 27,368 Negroes have registered out of 52,832 old enough to vote.

However, Jacksonville has also shown what happens to Negroes when they try to exercise civic responsibility as well as civil rights. To vote means to have the right to hold office when qualified to do so, but not in Jacksonville.

Ernest D. Jackson, a well-known and highly qualified Negro attorney, decided to run for justice of the peace two years ago. He has a law degree from Howard University, is a disabled veteran, is a member of the Baptist Church, the American Legion, and the Masons, and is active in Boy Scout work--among other things.

He was nominated for justice of the peace, receiving 7,716 votes to 6,103 and 950 for two opponents. It appeared that he would be the first Negro elected to public office in Florida in modern times. So the county attorney ruled that the justice of the peace setup was illegal. The Circuit Court and the Florida Supreme Court upheld that opinion.

So the former system of having nine justices of the peace instead of five was reinstated. The County Democratic Committee nominated one of the men that Attorney Jackson had defeated in the primary. As a result, Jackson ran as a write-in candidate. He received 5,379 votes and was beaten by only 875 votes.

In Jackson's district, Negroes voted 10 to 1 for Adlai Stevenson over Eisenhower in 1952. After the Jackson incident, they voted 55 to 45 for Eisenhower in 1956.

Republican leaders also asked the Negro voters: "How can you vote for the party of Eastland?"

And that is becoming a good question all over the country, both North and South.

#

Special
Suffrage
Florida

COMMUNITY AUDIT ON CIVIL RIGHTS
OF DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA

Compiled Sept. to Dec. 1958

Committee on Political Rights

Mrs. H. Franklin Williams - Chairman
Mrs. Albert Bernstein
Mrs. Ada Lee
Mr. Garth Reeves
Mr. Elmer A. Ward
Mr. Stuart Simon, Counsel

I. Registration of Voters

A. Statistical Information

1. Number of negroes eligible to vote - 75,000 - 80,000
2. Number of Negroes registered to vote - 20,805
3. Percentage of registrants among those eligible - 25%
4. Number of whites eligible to vote - 525,000 - 530,000
5. Number of whites registered to vote - 340,168
6. Percentage of registrants among those eligible - 66%

B. Problem Areas

1. In the normal registration procedure the race of the registrant, i.e., whether he or she is "white" or "colored", is indicated on the individual registration certificate and also on the precinct voting list. Such racial indication on the precinct voting lists, which are generally available to interested persons, makes possible the distribution of campaign literature containing inflammatory racial appeals exclusively to white voters, as well as campaign literature containing coercive remarks or enticing political promises exclusively to Negro voters. Both white and Negro voters indicate that they have received campaign literature which would only have been sent if the sender was certain as to the racial status of the recipient.

   Recommendation:

   (a) That race of registrant be eliminated from registration procedure.

   (b) That race of registrant be eliminated from precinct voting list.

2. Registering Negro voters have their names placed in separate precinct books from white voters. These segregated books which appear at the appropriate polling places on election days are conducive to practices of segregation and discrimination in the actual voting procedure.

   (See II, B, 2 below)

   Recommendation:

   That there be no segregation in of registrants in precinct books.

3. Registration books are generally less accessible to Negro than to white voters.

   a. Generally speaking, the county registration records are split up geographically and sent out to the municipal city halls for short periods immediately prior to the closing of the voters rolls before elections. This permits voters at the County level to register, or to re-register by indicating their changes of address, at their local city halls, and thus saves them the long journey to the central County office to register. Negro voters, however, complain that they are often told at the municipal city hall in the city of their residence that the county rolls of colored voters have not been sent to the municipal level and that their county registration can only be effected in the downtown central County office.

   b. Since the central county office is only open to voters wishing to register during the day-time hours, it is often difficult, or inconvenient, for employed Negro voters to get to the downtown Miami area to affect their registration before the voting rolls close.

c. Negro voters complain that when they go to the downtown central county office to register they are often made to wait in line for lengthy periods before finally being registered. These voters feel that not enough persons are assigned to the registration of Negro voters, and that the waiting period before registration is thus extended unnecessarily.

d. Negro voters complain that the persons assigned to register them are frequently unfriendly in attitude and by this attitude make them feel merely "tolerated." They maintain that this attitude does not encourage Negro voters to exercise their responsibilities and rights as citizens. Many Negroes thus feel that the office of the County Supervisor of Registration is an instrument of community hostility toward Negro voter registration.

Recommendation:

That there should be some evening hours when the registration books are open.

C. Improvements in this area

1. No educational requirement for voting registration

2. Laws regulating registration do not positively require discriminatory practices; therefore, certain changes in attitude and in practice will remedy many of the problems.

II. Voting

A. Statistical Information

1. Percentage of registered Negro voters who vote - unknown

2. Percentage of registered white voters who vote - unknown

B. Problem Areas

1. Polls (precinct voting places) at which Negro voters may vote are invariably located at places beyond the colored residential areas. This imposes the burden of going to a more inconveniently situated polling place on the Negro voter.

2. Negro voters going into a polling place must first be identified in the segregated precinct registration books as a voter. Negro voters complain that after identification they are frequently directed to one or several voting machines that are used exclusively for Negro voters. Such segregated voting procedure lends itself to the easy determination of how the Negro vote went in a particular precinct.

3. Many Negro voters voting for the first or second time feel extremely unsure of themselves when they go to vote. Often they do not understand how the voting machine works and they find it necessary to ask questions. Frequently they receive short and unsatisfactory answers from the white clerks employed in the polling places. The County should undertake to provide sufficient instruction in the mechanics of voting to enable these new voters to fulfill their duties of citizenship properly.

4. Only white clerks are employed at the polls.

   Although Negro voters outnumber white voters in certain of the precincts, white clerks are nevertheless used exclusively at all polling places.

   Recommendation:

   (a) That some negro clerks be appointed in precincts where there are negro voters.

   (b) That new negro registrants be given the same opportunity to learn about their duties as Citizens as newly naturalized Citizens.

C. Improvements

1. Threats and attempts to coerce Negro voters were practiced less extensively in the 1958 elections than in 1956. This is not to say the problem does not still exist, however.

2. Two members of the Florida Commissionon Civil Rights reside in the Greater Miami Area. The function of this Commission is to report unconstitutional and undemocratic practices to the President's Commission on Civil Rights. This Committee hopes that this audit will be of some value to the Florida Commission on Civil Rights in terms of pointing out those problem areas requiring further investigation and study.

III. Political Parties

A. Statistical Information

1. Number of colored registered Democrats - 17,727
2. Number of colored registered Republicans - 3,058
3. Number of colored registered Independents - 22
4. Number of colored Democratic Committeemen - 3
5. Number of colored Republican Committeemen - 1

B. Problem areas

1. Qualified Negroes are seldom considered for party work by either party organization. The occasional Negro in a minor capacity remains the rule.

2. The infrequently utilized Negro party workers are invariably instructed to restrict their activities to Negro voters only.

3. The proportionately large number of Negro voters who are registered as Republicans or Independents find, when they go to the primary polls, that their party affiliation disfranchises them in the primary elections. Since Florida essentially remains a one-party state, the primary is more often than not of greater

consequence than the election. There is evidence that the Negro voters do not understand this and are being deliberately encouraged at the time of registration to declare party affiliation other than Democratic.

C. Improvements in this area

1. Certain of the political dinners in some of the large hotels are now integrated. Although Negroes may sometimes feel that their welcome is somewhat less than cordial, they are nonetheless invited and expected to attend.
2. The strength of the Negro voters as a result of better organization among themselves, has increased their usefulness and thus their welcome in the party organizations.
3. A well-qualified Negro lawyer was appointed to the Housing Commission a few months ago.

SUMMARY

submitted by

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL RIGHTS

ASSETS

Despite inconveniences and segregated practices, Negroes are registering to vote and voting in increasing numbers in local, state, and national primary and final elections. Negroes in slightly increasing numbers are being admitted to political party organisations, although only in minor capacities.

LIABILITIES

Color segregation takes place at the time of registration by voters pursuant to state statute. The registration process is generally made more convenient and easier for the white voter than for the Negro voter. The segregation occurring in the registration process frequently carries over into the voting process and tends to discourage Negro voters seeking to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens by voting.

For SRC files
Official Secretary of State Florida

Received Sept. 15, 1958

Suffrage

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE SECRETARY OF STATE
REGISTERED VOTERS - PRIMARY ELECTION - 1958

COUNTY	DEMOCRATS WHITE	DEMOCRATS COLORED	REPUBLICAN WHITE	REPUBLICAN COLORED	OTHER
ALACHUA	12,993	1,955	440	214	43
BAKER	3,421	397	2	----	----
BAY	18,704	1,888	455	16	51
BRADFORD	4,499	758	36	12	4
BREVARD	14,780	1,538	4,492	209	679
BROWARD	59,410	6,596	25,587	1,011	1,883
CALHOUN	4,031	265	7	----	5
CHARLOTTE	3,601	235	294	38	----
CITRUS	3,421	334	155	66	13
CLAY	5,150	890	252	20	6
COLLIER	3,585	323	579	4	13
COLUMBIA	5,199	865	51	106	73
DADE	294,012	17,727	43,826	3,058	2,350
DESOTO	3,911	891	84	24	3
DIXIE	1,942	67	6	3	4
DUVAL	100,370	24,626	5,282	1,827	896
ESCAMBIA	50,455	7,740	1,501	337	274
FLAGLER	1,475	19	57	----	4
FRANKLIN	2,864	514	33	9	1
GADSDEN	6,273	4	37	3	24
GILCHRIST	1,666	32	4	2	2
GLADES	733	144	2	2	----
GULF	3,221	455	13	47	----
HAMILTON	3,781	506	24	6	2
HARDEE	4,181	279	122	13	32
HENDRY	2,312	554	27	9	9
HERNANDO	3,115	486	133	----	6
HIGHLANDS	8,231	899	691	35	10
HILLSBOROUGH	96,002	9,047	9,114	775	534
HOLMES	6,670	136	28	4	12
INDIAN RIVER	5,520	493	1,188	28	98
JACKSON	9,381	1,982	59	108	21
JEFFERSON	3,028	412	10	20	----
LAFAYETTE	1,898	----	4	----	2
LAKE	14,261	1,267	2,101	96	99
LEE	12,524	1,055	1,835	77	74
LEON	14,711	3,892	343	197	7
LEVY	5,085	376	54	37	9
LIBERTY	1,701	----	5	----	----
MADISON	3,601	908	16	45	----
MANATEE	13,205	790	4,088	124	295
MARION	11,620	2,834	398	170	57
MARTIN	4,876	603	574	12	----
MONROE	9,693	1,632	163	16	40
NASSAU	4,992	1,243	49	20	12
OKALOOSA	14,984	676	337	8	138
OKEECHOBEE	2,138	360	9	7	----
ORANGE	45,637	2,772	10,721	374	500
OSCEOLA	6,030	322	1,072	32	69
PALM BEACH	52,688	5,849	14,321	442	532
PASCO	10,850	653	2,247	17	124
PINELLAS	72,497	3,771	61,726	839	3,461
POLK	50,038	5,233	5,723	366	370
PUTNAM	10,648	1,552	331	269	30
ST. JOHNS	9,909	1,997	696	173	62
ST. LUCIE	9,865	1,832	1,314	61	94
SANTA ROSA	10,227	733	163	16	35
SARASOTA	10,685	528	10,230	155	336
SEMINOLE	8,483	1,507	1,046	74	136
SUMTER	4,115	526	101	48	14
SUWANNEE	5,281	339	31	58	18
TAYLOR	4,451	59	32	8	19
UNION	2,592	----	6	----	2
VOLUSIA	36,195	4,525	7,155	331	245
WAKULLA	2,587	379	14	14	12
WALTON	5,390	701	89	9	11
WASHINGTON	5,517	728	47	10	6
TOTAL	1,226,911	132.699	221.632	12,111	13.861
GRAND TOTAL	1,607,214				

132699
12111
144810

1226911
221632
1448543

1607214
13861
1593353

COUNTIES	NUMBER OF PRECINCTS	PERMANENT REGISTRATION	VOTING MACHINES
ALACHUA	30	yes	yes
BAKER	7	yes	no
BAY	59	yes	yes
BRADFORD	8	yes	no
BREVARD	40	yes	partially
BROWARD	101	yes	yes
CALHOUN	14	yes	no
CHARLOTTE	8	no	yes
CITRUS	17	yes	no
CLAY	11	yes	yes
COLLIER	15	yes	partially
COLUMBIA	19	yes	no
DADE	145	yes	yes
DeSOTO	15	no	no
DIXIE	12	yes	no
DUVAL	129	yes	yes
ESCAMBIA	95	yes	yes
FLAGLER	7	yes	yes
FRANKLIN	6	yes	no
GADSDEN	15	yes	no
GILCHRIST	7	yes	no
GLADES	7	yes	no
GULF	10	yes	no
HAMILTON	12	no	no
HARDEE	19	yes	no
HENDRY	10	yes	yes
HERNANDO	14	yes	no
HIGHLANDS	22	yes	yes
HILLSBOROUGH	93	yes	yes
HOLMES	23	yes	no
INDIAN RIVER	11	yes	yes
JACKSON	32	yes	yes
JEFFERSON	11	no	no
LAFAYETTE	5	yes	no
LAKE	35	yes	yes
LEE	27	yes	no
LEON	12	yes	yes
LEVY	18	no	no
LIBERTY	6	yes	no
MADISON	15	yes	no
MANATEE	31	yes	yes
MARION	30	yes	yes
MARTIN	13	yes	yes
MONROE	17	yes	yes
NASSAU	12	yes	yes
OKALOOSA	20	yes	yes
OKEECHOBEE	6	yes	yes
ORANGE	58	yes	yes
OSCEOLA	14	yes	partially
PALM BEACH	47	yes	yes
PASCO	28	yes	yes
PINELLAS	87	yes	yes
POLK	47	yes	yes
PUTNAM	27	no	yes
ST.JOHNS	42	yes	partially
ST.LUCIE	15	yes	yes
SANTA ROSA	30	yes	yes
SARASOTA	21	yes	yes
SEMINOLE	16	yes	yes
SUMTER	12	yes	partially
SUWANNEE	24	yes	no
TAYLOR	17	yes	no
UNION	5	no	no
VOLUSIA	62	yes	yes
WAKULLA	13	no	partially
WALTON	33	yes	yes
WASHINGTON	11	yes	yes
TOTAL	1,880		

Compiled by R.A. Gray,
Secretary of State
July 3, 1958

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FLORIDA
FLORIDA—Continued

~~Counties~~ County	1958 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Alachua	80,500	60,400	20,100	15,602	13 433	2169	25.	13.9
Baker	6,800	5100	1700	3820	3 423	397 397	25.	10.4
Bay	63,600	53600	10,000	21063	19 159	1904	15.7	9.
Bradford	12,200	9100	3100	5305	4535	770	25.4	14.5
Brevard	86,200	75800	10400	21019	19 272	1747	12.1	8.3
Broward	265,900	218900	47000	92604	84 997	7607	17.7	8.2
Calhoun	7800	6700	1100	4303 ~~4038~~	4038	265	14.1	~~6.6~~6.2
Charlotte	7200	6300	900	4168	3895	273	12.5	6.5
Citrus	8400	6600	1800	3976	3576	400	19.	10.1
Clay	19700	17300	2400	6312	5402	910	12.2	14.4
Collier	13900	10300	3600	4491	4164	327	25.9	7.3
Columbia	18600	12400	6200	6221	5250	971	33.3	15.6
Dade	846800	732000	114800	358623	337838	20785	13.6	5.8
De Soto	11 600	9200	2400	4910	3995	915	20.7	18.6
Dixie	4400	3600	800	2018	1948	70	18.2	3.4
Duval	427200	324400	102800	132105	105 652	26453	24.1	20.
Escambia	166400	131000	35400	60033	51 956	8077	21.3	13.5
Flagler	5300	3800	1500	1551	1532	19	28.3	1.2
Franklin	5700	4100	1600	3420	2897	523	28.1	15.3
Gadsden	50100	21700	28400	6317	6310	7	56.7	.11
Gilchrist	3300	2900	400	1704	1670	34	12.1	2.
Glades	3100	1700	1400	881	735	146	45.2	16.6
Gulf	8900	6400	2500	3736	3234	502	28.1	13.4
Hamilton	8300	4500	3800	4317	3805	512	45.8	11.9
Hardee	13600	11 600	2000	4595	4 303	292	14.7	6.4
Hendry	7200	4900	2300	2902	2339	563	31.9	20.8
Hernando	9800	7100	2700	3734	3248	486	27.6	13.
Highlands	17400	13100	4300	9856	8922	934	24.7	9.5
Hillsborough	359300	305000	54300	114938	105116	9822	15.1	8.5
Holmes	11600	11 100	500	6838	6698	140	4.3	2.
Indian River	23100	18000	5100	7229	6708	521	22.1	7.2
Jackson	34100	23000	11 100	11530	9440	2090	32.6	18.1

Gulf	8900	6400	2500	5136	3237	502	28.1	13.4
Hamilton	8300	4500	3800	4317	3805	512	45.8	11.9
Hardee	13600	11600	2000	4595	4303	292	14.7	6.4
Hendry	7200	4900	2300	2902	2339	563	31.9	20.8
Hernando	9800	7100	2700	3734	3248	486	27.6	13.
Highlands	17400	13100	4300	9856	8922	934	24.7	9.5
Hillsborough	359300	305000	54300	114938	105116	9822	15.1	8.5
Holmes	11600	11100	500	6838	6698	140	4.3	2.
Indian River	23100	18000	5100	7229	6708	521	22.1	7.2
Jackson	34100	23000	11100	11530	9440	2090	32.6	18.1
Jefferson	9500	3700	5800	3470	3038	432	61.1	12.4
Lafayette	2800	2600	200	1902	1902	0	7.1	-0.-
Lake	52800	40900	11300	17725	16362	1363	21.6	7.7
Lee	40800	32900	7900	15491	14359	1132	19.4	7.3
Leon	78000	50800	27200	19143	15054	4089	34.9	21.4
Levy	9900	6700	3200	5552	5139	413	32.3	7.4
Liberty	2800	2200	600	1706	1706	0	21.4	[illegible]
Madison	14200	7800	6400	4570	3617	953	45.1	20.9
Manatee	56300	46100	10200	18207	17293	914	18.1	5.
Marion	47500	31500	16000	15022	12018	3004	33.7	20.
Martin	13100	10000	3100	6065	5450	615	23.7	10.1
Monroe	54000	49000	5000	11504	9856	1648	9.3	14.3
Nassau	14900	10700	4200	6304	5041	1263	28.2	20.
Okaloosa	56500	52100	4400	13005	15321	684	7.8	5.3
Okeechobee	5100	4000	1100	2514	2147	367	21.6	14.6
Orange	237600	201200	36400	59504	56358	3146	15.3	5.3
Osceola	16300	14600	1700	7456	7102	354	10.4	4.7
Palm Beach	214300	162700	51600	73300	67009	6291	24.1	8.6
Pasco	30800	27300	3500	13767	13097	670	11.4	4.9
Pinellas	296100	264600	31500	138833.	134223	4610	10.6	3.3
Polk	176000	142900	33100	61360	55761	5599	18.8	9.1
Putnam	33500	22000	11500	12800	10979	1821	34.3	14.2
St. Johns	31300	21600	9700	12775	10605	2170	31.	17.
St. Lucie	33600	24000	9600	13072	11179	1893	28.6	14.5
Santa Rosa	25200	23300	1900	11139	10390	749	7.5	6.7
Sarasota	59000	51700	7300	21598	20915	683	12.4	3.2
Seminole	46200	33000	13200	11110	9529	1581	28.6	14.2
Sumter	11500	8600	2900	4790	4216	574	25.2	12.
Suwannee	14100	10200	3900	5709	5312	397	27.7	7.
Taylor	14000	10700	3300	4550	4483	67	23.6	1.5
Union	10600	7100	3500	2598	2598	0	33.	-0-
Volusia	102100	80000	22100	48206	43350	4856	21.6	10.1
Wakulla	5100	3600	1500	2994	2601	393	29.4	13.1
Walton	14200	12400	1800	6189	5479	710	12.7	11.5
Washington	10900	9000	1900	6302	5664	738	17.4	11.7
STATE	4448000	3603100	844900	1,593353*	1,448543	144810	19.0	9.1

Source: Secretary of State of Florida, July, 1958. Population Figures: Florida State Board of Health, February, 1959.

* Total of Democratic and Republican registrants. ~~They~~ There were also 13861 voters with other affiliation or independent; as there is no racial break-down for these, they are excluded from the county figures and the state totals.

~~Population Figures: Florida State Board of Health, February, 1959.~~

7 NT (

30 Per Day Mostly Negroes

Registration Surge On In County, City

A pre-election registration surge in the county has rubbed off on the city registration books although the city election is not until February.

During the last two weeks, vote registration in the County has been averaging more than 30 persons a day, and in the City the daily average has been about 15 a day. Almost all the new registrations are Negroes.

Negro leaders said they knew of no special efforts to increase registrations other than the usual pre-election campaigns. They attributed the increased registrations in the City—usually a slack period—to people who were registering both places while they were at it.

'URGE OUR PEOPLE'

The Rev. K. S. Dupont, vice president of the Negro Inter Civic Council, said "We, of course, urge our people to register, but are not conducting any special campaign."

Dr. M. C. Williams, member of the Negro Civic League, said the usual voter registration campaigns being conducted for the general election. "Apparently lots of folks are registering both places while they have it on their minds," he said.

A spot check two weeks ago showed the following breakdown on County books: Democrats—white, 14,425 and Negro, 3,249. Republicans—white, 222 and Negro, 94. Total 17,990.

In the last two weeks, Miss Hattie Coles said 330 persons have been added to the County books to bring the total registration to 18,320. She said almost all the new registrations have been Negro.

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION

County registration books will close at 5 p.m. Oct. 6 for the November general election. For the first time in more than 50 years, there is Republican opposition in county races.

D. Peyton Yon, Republican, is opposing L. B. (Jack) Levins for the district 1 County Commission post and A. L. Wight, Republican, is opposing Miss Coles for supervisor of registration.

Gov. LeRoy Collins also will be opposed in November by William Washburne, Republican from Nokomis, Fla.

The next city election will be held in February with only one seat up for election — the post now held by Davis Atkinson, who was appointed to fill out the unexpired term of Fred S. Winterle. Atkinson is expected to be a candidate for a full term but no candidate has announced against him.

The total City registration is 8,350—6,600 are white and 1,750 are Negro.

In the last two weeks, 141 Negroes have registreed with City Clerk George C. White.

A Voteless People Is A Hopeless People

See That Your Neighbor Is A Voter

Florida Voters League

A Non-Partisan Statewide Organization
Striving for 100% Voters-Registration And
An Active And Informed Colored Electorate

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Tampa
DR. E. A. WARD, Vice Pres.
Miami
MRS. ELIZABETH ESPY, Secy.
Miami
L. V. DAVIS, Asst. Secy.
Gainesville
S. JAMES, SR., Treas.
Madison
C. BLYTHE ANDREWS, Vice Pres. Dist. 1
Tampa
ISADORE SINGLETON, Vice Pres. Dist. 2
Jacksonville
JOE JACKSON, Vice Pres. Dist. 3
Pensacola
SUMNER HUTCHERSON, Vice Pres. Dist. 4
Miami
REV. A. A. FIELDS, Vice Pres. Dist. 5
Sanford
DR. VON D. MIZELL, Vice Pres. Dist. 6
Ft. Lauderdale

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____

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August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for The Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary Statements Based on Interviews and Findings In Several Georgia Counties

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

Indifference on the part of Negroes in registering and voting is usually not an isolated phenomenon. Generally, it is tied in with threats, implied or overt, of economic reprisals; threats and fear of physical violence; inertia on the part of Negroes who often are not able to reverse their thinking in a reasonably short period of time in as much as they were deprived of the use of the ballot for years; lack of leadership and educational opportunities; and an unwillingness to challenge the political phase of the system of segregation. In addition, the system of segregation has deadened the initiative and civic interests of most Negroes. Yet, in spite of the validity of this statement, there is an increasing number of Negroes who realize that they are entitled to much more in American Democracy than they have been receiving. It is this group which is challenging the present submerged position of Negroes. Some Negroes respond affirmatively tb these appeals. Others are skeptical, indifferent or afraid to venture beyond the confines of the system of segregation. Whites in making modifications in the racial pattern do so as far as possible within the area of segregation. This accounts for separate registration and voting places in most instances. By this and other processes, Negroes are reminded that the concessions as made should not encourage them to seek further outlets.

As Negro registration and voting increase in spite of a pattern of police brutality, there is usually a decrease in police brutality as directed against Negroes. As police brutality decreases there is usually an increase in political activity and leadership among Negroes. As stated in one of the county studies the Negroes' participation in politics in many counties in Georgia (and in some other Southern states) is usually fraught with danger. Generally speaking, persons who don't know the racial set-up can't imagine what goes on in the mind of a Negro political leader who knows that the law enforcement officers and some other white citizens are avowedly against what he is doing. Further, he knows that it is difficult to select a jury that will convict any of its "white bretheren" who move violently against Negroes "who get out of their places". This is one reason why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff, and the mayor who often appoints the chief of police. They wish to reduce the threat and force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal physical security. When this happens their minds are relieved somewhat and they can forge on with their political leadership. However, when this does not happen there are those who are willing to continue to face danger as they insist on expanding their citizenship rights.

Increased political participation by Negroes usually follows the urbanized growth and development of cities and towns. A reasonable increase in population usually takes some of the pressure off the individual Negro who becomes more anonymous as a political participant as the population increases.

Negroes are usually more active politically as leaders as their economic status becomes more secure and somewhat independent of the economic dictates of some white people who weild substantial economic power. Negro political leaders are usually the ones whose economic security and progress depend more on racial good-will and support than otherwise.

Very often racial incidents, involving political participation and otherwise, have their effect in adjacent counties to the extent that some Negro political leaders observe the warning and lessen their political activities at least for a while. In some instances, Negroes have been permitted to register without any restraints but have been discouraged from exercising their right to vote by overt and subtle devices. On the other hand, some registrars will quickly permit Negroes to register because they have discovered that some of the Negroes will not vote because of inertia and further because they do not want to be accused of invading "the white man's territory". Some Negroes register because of pressure from members of their racial group. And some fail to vote because of pressure from white people.

Generally, when the Negro population in a county is larger than that of whites, there is more intense opposition to Negroes registering and voting. Usually when an exception is made it is because of compelling federal court rulings or because the politicians in office decide to permit a controlled number of Negroes to register and vote if such action will aid the persons in office. There has been a break-through in the solidarity of some of the so-called "Black Belt" counties in Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. One of the reasons for this variation has been the potential and actual force of the intervention of court decisions. Virtually, no current local factor or combination of such factors under the circumstances was likely to result in Negroes being afforded an opportunity to participate in political affairs. This is one reason why "court cases" are dreaded by many of the whites and why they move with violence, if necessary, against Negroes (or anybody else for that matter) who seem to be the type who will go to court to press their claims.

The practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters - who are not willing to take a chance on having "white people" discover how they voted. This process is alleged to be illegal and makes it possible for reprisals to be meted out to Negro voters after they have been accused of bloc voting. As organized labor penetrates more of the counties in Georgia it could well have a formidable ally in Negro voters on many political issues. However, as it stands, there is not much of a line of communication between organized labor and Negro voters in counties where organized labor is reasonably strong. Negro voters will have to further entrench themselves before organized labor will cooperate with them on a formal basis. Aside from shedding some of their prejudices, labor union members do not now want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance ~~with the~~ with the second developing because of an alliance with Negro voters. However, there are some labor leaders who feel that the strength gained by this alliance will more than balance the increased opposition.

There is no definitive line of communication between white and Negro voters by means of which they can clarify issues, appraise candidates and their platforms, and then vote in such a way as to enhance the meaning and practice of good government. Usually, the Negroes' political status is vulnerable in that they are not an integral part of the political power structure.

In most instances, Negroes who have had some access to educational opportunities are the ones who furnish most of the political leadership for their racial group. This is especially true if they also have an opportunity to achieve a reasonable degree of economic independence. Almost invariably, the counties which have furnished meager educational opportunities to Negroes are also the ones which have succeeded in keeping them subjugated politically, as well as otherwise. Their dictum has been that a Negro who wants an education and is given an opportunity to get it is likely to want other things. As one white person stated it: "If a Negro gets in by the window, he will next try to get in through the door" to an enlarged area of citizenship.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that increased political participation is a must if Negroes are to succeed in protecting and expanding other areas of their progress. The protective strength of entrenched, intelligent political action will augment and actively support the multiple technique approach involving legal, civic, educational, economic, interracial and intercultural processes.

Special
Suff.

RECEIVED JUL 25 1957

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Early County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes: Early County, with Blakely as its county-seat, is located in the extreme southwest portion of the Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties which may well be listed among those which are called the "hard-core" counties of the state. In such southwest counties as Early, Miller, Seminole and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30% to 50% of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster and Stewart the Negro percentage in the total population is over 50%. The pattern of excluding Negroes as registrants and voters in these counties, except Decatur and Dougherty, seems to be virtually the same in each. There is the ever-present threat of racial violence which has erupted on occasions, especially following elections. Police brutality as directed mainly against Negroes indicates to them that they can not depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them a normal amount of protection if they seek to enjoy their constituted civil liberties. In recent years economic pressures or reprisals have been directed against Negroes who were militant enought to demand educational and political rights for their racial group. There has been an almost complete denial to Negroes of the right to register and vote. In some instances, the sheriffs, who in these counties are the chief law enforcement officers, asked prospective Negro registrants questions about the Constitution of the United States. Why did these sheriffs purge potential Negro voters instead of letting it be done by the Board of Registrars? The sheriffs were white and also "the law" so the would be Negro registrants received two warnings at one time.

The counties to which reference has been made are about ten and one-half years behind time in complying with the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeal which on March 6, 1946 upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision in the Primus E. King case. Potential contempt of court charges have not deterred those who are in authority to any appreciable extent. In some instances, where they have considered it expedient, they have permitted token registration and voting. However, in the main they have resorted to stalling, threatening and harrassing tactics. These techniques, plus economic reprisals, have kept most of the Negroes from bringing legal action against the Boards of Registrars. However, some Negroes in Randolph County, which is in the midst of this "hard-core" cluster of counties, did bring legal action against the Board of Registrars. The registrars were found guilty of conspiring to deprive Negroes in Randolph County of the right to register and were fined as individuals. This legal procedure opened the registration books to qualified Negro registrants but the story does not stop here. During the last election many of the Negro registrants were harrassed as they attempted to vote. They were required to have three signatures of character witnesses on their slips (though this was not required of white voters). These Negro registrants could find one or two of the persons whose signatures they were required to get but they never could find all three of them. The next course of legal action must be against illegal tactics which are designed to interfere with the Negro registrants' right to vote after they have duly qualified as registrants.

Now - this report will deal specifically with Early County. Negroes are denied the right to register beyond a token number. When they go to the Court House to register they are permitted to sign up or list their names. Later, they are sent summons to appear at the Court House to answer questions before the Board of Registrars, "all of whom are farmers", with the chairman being barely "able to read his name". They are asked various kinds of questions and most of them are disqualified. Those who do not report are automatically disqualified. This is an effective technique of disqualifying Negroes because they usually think of going to the Court House for any reason with some degree of misgiving. Further, some feel that by appearing in the Court House to press their right to register might cause "some of the white folks" to take it out on them later if they appear as defendants. This situation is further complicated because it is asserted that Negroes in Early County, by and large, are not expected to drive their cars up to the Court House and park on the Court House Square. Although this allegation was denied it was conceded that some "Uncle Tom" Negroes do not park at the Court House Square. However, in considering the alleged restrictions about parking, Negroes have additional reasons to raise questions about the kind of treatment they will be accorded at the Early County Court House as they seek to qualify as registered voters.

When some Negroes do appear before the Board of Registrars what are a few of the reasons given when they are disqualified? After they questioned a prominent Negro citizen who lives in the town when he first went to register they stated that he had not lived there long enough to register and vote. Later, he went again to register. This time they said "you are the one who teach the people" about registering and voting and his reply was "no, I don't teach the people". Next, he was asked how many times he had been married. The answer was - twice, and he explained that his wife had legally divorced him. "No, you can't register", said one of the registrars. "You are living in adultery - you are a criminal." The reply was "my wife has divorced me. I am legally divorced. How am I to be considered a criminal"? Never-the-less he was not permitted to register. Undoubtedly, they wanted to humilate him so that he could not serve as an example as a registered Negro voter "in the eyes" of those he is leading.

A Negro landowner who had lived in Early County all of his life was turned down because he did not have a clear title to his land. A veteran went to register. He was given a pencil and asked to copy something. This was done. Later, during an election he went to vote and it was then that he was told that he was not registered. He was never told why he was not registered. This veteran has not been back to again attempt to register but he plans to do so. The registrars insisted that a Negro resident of Early County who has a B.S. degree from an accredited college would have to make a trip from Atlanta to Blakely to answer questions before they would consider further his efforts to register. Before he returned he was inducted in the United States Army and qualified as a member of the Army Intelligence Corps and thus he was authorized to carry a gun and did not have to wear his uniform to any appreciable extent. When he did return to Blakely he was married. He was asked how many times he had been married. His answer was - "once". "Are you in the Army"? "Yes". "Then, why do you have on civilian clothes"? "You must ask 'Uncle Sam' about that". "Do you have a gun"? "Yes", (and he pulled it out of his pocket.) "What are you doing with it"? "You must also ask 'Uncle Sam' about this", was the reply. At this point he was declared to be registered. These techniques of disqualifying "qualified" Negro registrants are typical and effective. Further, they are backed-up by threats of violence, violence and intimidation. A veteran in describing his experiences when he attempted unsuccessfully to register and vote concluded by saying: "The sheriff doesn't care what happens to Negroes". He also revealed instances of police brutality against Negroes. During the last election the sheriff about whom the remarks were made was defeated, and only three Negroes voted for him. He knows that Negroes did not vote for him because their votes were kept separate from the whites. The sheriff allegedly is going around now asking in a rather belligerent manner - "Why didn't some of the niggers vote for me". Two or three Negroes are planning to go before the County Commissioners to ask them to do away with separate ballot boxes which were used for the first time in the last election. "You know we got to live here with these people after elections", one of them said.

All of the factors which have been dealt with - and even more - account for only approximately 300 Negroes being registered in Early County. About 75% of this number vote and these votes are sought after by some candidates "even if they have to do so by night". The potential number of registered Negro voters in this county is estimated at between 3,000 and 5,000 out of a total population of 18,679.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: When I stated to a person who once lived and taught school in Early County that I was going to make a trip there, he appeared somewhat amazed. He told me about his going to a local filling station in Blakely to get some gas. A white man who was driving a delapidated car looked "enviously" at him and his rather nice looking car. Later, the white man drove across the lane and blocked the Negro's car so that it could not be driven out of the filling station. Sensing that the white man wanted to start something the Negro spoke to the white proprietor of the filling station about having the car moved so that he could get out. The proprietor would not say a word. Finally, the white man whose care was blocking the Negro's car said: "Back on out down that alley, where all niggers belong". I was told that Negroes were not allowed to drive their cars up to the Court House and park them on the Court House Square. (This was denied by a Negro person who lives in Blakely, although he admitted that some "Uncle Toms" feel that they should not park on the Court House Square.) Finally, I was told also about the Grannison Goolsby incident involving racial violence which will be dealt with later on. These matters are mentioned because they deal with reactions which have a symbolic and realistic role to play in the socio-economic pattern of this community.

Economic reprisals in Early County did not at first revolve around Negroes' efforts to register and vote. They developed as a result of their efforts to get better school facilities. Despite the fact that the white school was a modern one, the Negro school was a make-shift one and did not contain a single water toilet. Thirty-nine Negroes - sharecroppers, farm laborers, renters and owners, along with wommon laborers and two or three small business men - signed a petition for better school facilities. When the members of the Board of Education tried to argue that the Negroes' school facilities were good enough the petitioners produced data that they had gotten from the State Department of Education in Atlanta to support their charges as they prepared to file suit. This angered the members of the Early County Board of Education and some of them began to "talk rough". Other white people said that the local Negroes who signed the petition were being made fools of "by the niggers from Atlanta". The Jeannes supervisor, (a Negro woman) who seems to be heartily disliked and suspected of "racial treason", and other Negroes reported to the "white folks" on what was going on. They said some of the 39 signers were not interested in getting better school facilities but wanted integration. One or two "Uncle Tom" Negroes in their efforts to get the petitioners to back-up said that "we don't want another Goolsby case". (In 1916 a Negro named Grannison Goolsby killed a white man who had whipped his son. Many whites went on a rampage and burned a Negro lodge hall and churches and shot down Negroes as they happened to come up on them. Goolsby shot several white men before this gruelsome incident ended.) The 39 petitioners did not back-up and they got a new school. Whites, who did not want this school built, still take it out on two or three of the Negroes who signed the petition by continually applying economic pressure against them.

Except for two undertakers, a few small shop-keepers and ninety-two teachers there are no Negro white-collar workers in Early County. Farm labor and manual jobs form completely the employment pattern. There are no doctors, dentists, lawyers or Negro post office clerks or carriers. (No Negroes have applied to take the Civil Service Examinations for these jobs.) Considering the economic status of Negroes in Early County they do not have a representative number who have a reasonable degree of economic independence so that they can feel reasonably free to give political leadership to the masses.

Early County Negroes do not have an active ~~chapter of the~~ N.A.A.C.P. They have a branch "but we are kind of taking it easy now". This policy was "self-imposed". No one asked that this be done. (Perhaps, this is an example of the flexibility which William Faulkner has written about.)

III. Efforts To Increase Registering and Voting Among Negroes: At the present time there is no political organization among Early County Negroes. They once had units of the ~~Democratic Negro Voters League~~ Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs under Attorney A. T. Walden and the ~~Non-Partisan~~ Georgia Voters League under John W. Dobbs, both of Atlanta. These "units closed up because of lack of leadership". One of the 39 petitioners is vice-president of the Democratic Negro Voters League. They do have a Citizens Education group as a unit of the Georgia Teachers Educational Association but its function is not political.

At the present time it does not seem likely that a suit will be brought against the Board of Registrars to have them open up the books to qualified Negro registrants. The few Negro leaders have been harrassed enough for the time-being and they seem content to continue to patiently build up their registration and voting strength by getting one or two more Negroes registered from time to time.

One possible outlet appears feasible after the recently elected sheriff takes office. He has put out the word that he is grateful for the limited number of Negro votes which were a formidable factor in the new sheriff's victory. Negro leaders are going to see if he and the Tax Commissioner will not agree to an easing up on the restrictions since additional Negro registrants are likely to vote for those making the concessions. This should be a logical move since it appears that the sheriff who was voted out of office will again seek that office when his opponent's term is up. It is felt that this technique of negotiation can be worked quietly and will not stir up bitter reactions such as court action is likely to do. Furthermore, it is likely that the few Early County Negro leaders realize that the "pick-off" shooting of Dr. T. H. Brewer, a militant racial leader, in near-by Muscogee County by whites was not "accidental or unpremeditated" but was a clear-cut warning to other Negro leaders in the state who are trying to break through the present racial pattern.

Muscogee County is at the top of the cluster of "hard-core" southwest Georgia counties and was the origin point of the Primus E. King case which was the first breaking point in the disfranchisement pattern and behind which Dr. Brewer was a leading figure. (A police brutality case was the precipating factor behind Dr.

Brewer's death but it is alleged that there existed an understanding that he would be "picked-off" whenever a combination of circumstances permitted this to be done.) Perhaps, this is not a prime factor in the thinking of some of the Negro persons I interviewed in Early County. On the other hand, one person whom I interviewed voluntarily said after telling of efforts to help improve the position of his racial group: "I believe they would hate to kill me, it would create too much stir".

IV. Prospects: Unless negotiations with the sheriff-elect after he takes office and the Tax Commissioner prove fruitful there seems to be little likelihood that restrictions to Negroes registering and voting will be lifted anytime soon in Early County. The other alternative will be a suit in Federal Courts against the Board of Registrars. This is not likely to take place soon because the initiators of this maneuver would be some of the 39 who signed the school petition. And some of them are still trying to recover from the ill-effects of economic reprisals which have been directed against them.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Floyd County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Floyd County of which Rome is the county-seat is located in the northwest section of Georgia. There are approximately 56,141 persons in Floyd County with whites outnumbering Negroes about 5 to 1. Of this number 41,330 are eighteen years or over, with 6,046 or 14.6% being Negro and 35,284 or 85.4% being white. In 1956, 31,071 persons in Floyd County were registered. Of this number 2,730 or 9% were Negro and 28,341 or 91% were white. On a percentage basis 45% of the eligible Negro persons are registered and 72% of the eligible whites are registered. This relatively high percentage of Negro registrants is an interesting phenomenon and corresponds with the finding that Negroes are likely to become more articulate politically as the industralized population increases.

Negroes in Floyd County do not seem to have a perceptible Republican background and interest as is the case to an extent with some white residents in a few North Georgia counties. It was in 1946 that Negroes began registering in appreciable numbers in Floyd County. This action followed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946 which upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision on the Chapman V. King case (More familiarly known as the Primus E. King case) in which the white primary was legally outlawed. Incidentally, any legal hope that the supporters of the white primary had to the effect that it would be legally sustained in Georgia was shattered on April 1, 1946 when the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. As Negroes in Floyd County continued to increase their number of registrants some were challenged and attempts were made to purge their names from the registration list. A prominent, elderly white lawyer voluntarily came to their defense and in view of this threatened contempt proceedings the registrars ended their purge efforts.

Now, the registrars welcome potential Negro registrants and even let it be be known that more should register than is the case. At the request of Negro leaders of the Floyd County Civic and Political League (now inactive) the registrars arranged at one time to decentralize the registration places by "carrying the books" around to different schools for Negroes, thus making it more convenient for them to register. Recently, a Non-Partisan Voters League was organized to supplant the Floyd County Civic and Political League whose effectiveness had been diluted by strife, charges and counter-charges of dishonesty on the part of two or three of its leaders. Some of this began during the last gubernatorial campaign when some of the Negro political leaders agreed to support the candidacy of Cowen while "the main persons were for M. E. Thompson". Later, one Negro leader who was in the process of becoming politically powerful allegedly absconded with some money belonging to the Floyd County Civic and Political League and to the branch office of the insurance company for which he worked. Had his leadership continued it is thought that he could have had an estimated 5,000 Negro registrants following him. As it happened many Negroes were shocked and demoralized. They seem to feel that it was a mistake to place their political destiny mainly in the hands of one leader. Now, they are attempting to recoup their forces under the direction of the Non-Partisan Voters League which consolidates the leadership of several persons. Although they are putting forth efforts to continue to increase Negro registration their main problem is to get Negro registrants to vote in representative numbers. For some reason "they won't vote in large numbers like we desire" said one of the leaders. Another said, after commenting on the ease with which Negroes in Floyd County may register, "the trouble comes in trying to get them to vote". It is estimated that only about 700 Negroes voted in the last election. In an effort to offset this apathy the Non-Partisan Voters League is sponsoring rotating citizenship meetings every two weeks in churches for Negroes. About 30 to 40 persons hear talks on the value and benefits of registering and voting. It is thought that the attendance at these meetings will increase as the time for the fall elections draws near.

Negro voters have to use a segregated ballot box and they enter and leave the Court House to themselves. Ballots were counted on a racial basis during the first one or two elections that Negro voted in. Now, when the ballots are being counted they are mixed up with others and not counted on a racial basis. Some Negroes help man the polls where Negroes vote.

In 1952, a year before Dr. Rufus E. Clement successfully ran for election as a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, an elderly Negro qualified to run for a similar post in Rome, Georgia. He was about 72 years of age and had formerly taught school when the requirements were not rigid in that it was thought that he had not gone beyond the 7th or 8th grade in school. He was the operator of a hand laundry when he qualified as a candidate. Some of the Negro political leaders thought that he was not qualified for the post and thus refused to support him. As a matter of fact he was spoken against in open mass meetings by some Negroes who also contended that the time was not ripe for a Negro to seek suchaa position in Floyd County. They thought that the "whites should appoint a liaison person" who could present their views to the City Board of Education. Some Negro voters contended that there was no need to vote for the Negro candidate "because the white folks are going to run things anyway". If Negro voters had supported him on a comparable percentage basis as the white voters did he probably would have been elected.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Floyd County is becoming increasingly industralized. Rome, its county-seat, is a bristling, growing, expanding city, with only a few vestiges of its former dominant agricultural background. Negroes and whites continue to migrate to Rome in search of employment and the comforts which are usually afforded in an industralized community. Employment for Negroes conforms to the stereotype pattern which is characteristic of a segregated economy. Never-the-less, they still find relatively better employment outlets than they had in the predominantly agrioultrual areas, from whence came most of them. Their economic position would be much more secure if they could find semi-skilled and skilled employment in the factories and textile mills. (Basically, this keeps them out of labor unions which have gained a sizeable footing in this county, in spite of some vigorous support for anti-union measures. A few Negroes in menial factory jobs have membership in unions, but not many. In some instances white skilled unionists in the building trades have walked off their jobs when skilled Negro building tradesmen appeared to do the work they had contracted to do. These Negro tradesmen work largely on an individual basis "and never get into any of the big jobs". In one case some white painters actually started boycotting a white painting firm because it was using Negro painters. They cancelled an order for paint with a demand that the Negro painters be discharged. The owner of the concern is alleged to have said "to hell with them, I am running my business". There are no Negro clerks or carriers in the United States Post Office in Rome, Georgia.)

(In spite of these factors, Negro workers within the range of their restrictive employment are making some progress. They are helping to create the economic basis for the growth of a Negro middle-class which will be able to offer more political and civic leadership for the masses. Already this trend is evident. Four insurance companies have branch offices in Rome. Except for the teaching profession, they offer more white collar employment for Negroes than any other area. There are two dentists and one physician in Floyd County. There are no lawyers. The physician has access to the city hospital and meets regularly with staff as a participating member. He hopes that his experience in this respect will result in attracting other Negro physicians to Rome.)

Most of the Negro ministers who have churches in Rome live there. This enables them to give leadership during the week as well as on Sunday. Some take advantage of this opportunity although "the training of the ministers is somewhat limited". A few have been criticized because they have solicited support for their churches from persons in politics, thus obligating themselves. In Rome, Negro and white ministers meet together without any distinction on the first Monday in each month as the Interdenominational-Interracial Ministers' Alliance. A Negro minister is the vice-president. Sometime they discuss political issues. However, one critic of the group asserted that less than one-third of the city's white ministers belong to the organization and "Negro members are largely onlookers". The members will "touch" on political matters; oppose having a representative represent the United States at the Vatican; move against the sale of beer in Floyd County which is dry, "but they will politely stay off interracial situations". Despite these reactions this is the only direct, organizational line of communication I have discovered among white and Negro ministers in Georgia. There are those who feel that as they get to better know each other the areas of interracial cooperation will widen.

Since Negroes have been voting in Floyd County, police brutality (which was once intense and rampant) has subsided. Earlier, one of the Negro leaders appeared before the City Council to make complaints about police brutality. In commenting on his activities in this regard he said: "I just mean business, I don't have but one time to die". Two Negro policemen have been appointed since Negroes began voting. Others are expected to be appointed before the fall elections. The sheriff of Floyd County is regarded as being a fine person "and a Mason". He and other office holders have attended meetings and talked to Negro voters.

The N.A.A.C.P. has been inactive for several years. This seems to be due more to a lack of leadership and interest than to any type of pressure. This inactivity was a factor before the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision involving the public schools.

Negro residents in Rome are pressing for more school facilities. This is one of their areas of need, although some progress has been made along this line. Rome surpasses most Georgia cities its size in paving its streets and laying sewage. Negroes (a large number as home owners) live in all areas of the city, and whites and Negroes live in block units on the same paved streets in all parts of the city.

One or two Negro leaders contend that the present street paving program is "just a sign of growth". A few others contend that there is also a recognition of the political value in such a program of community development.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: Negro political leaders are seeking to create a unity through the instrumentality of the newly created Non-Partisan Voters League. They hope to offset the forces of disunity which virtually destroyed the Floyd County Civic and Political League and by this technique regain more of their followers. This is a vital step. Next, they are sponsoring rotating citizenship clinics in churches every two weeks on Friday night. During these meetings, talks are made on the value, benefits and responsibilities of registering and voting. Later, the current candidates for office will be invited to speak during these meetings and it is believed that this will generate more interest in voting in the fall elections. Plans will also be worked out to create an automobile pool to transport voters to and from the polls. Negro high school students are taken to register when they reach eighteen years of age.

IV. Prospects: As the Floyd County Negro becomes more urbanized he will develop a keener appreciation of the use of the ballot as a technique of survival. With the continuous development of a substantial middle-class with a reasonable degree of economic independency, there should emerge a Negro political leadership which is more intelligently articulate and forthright. These factors will become more pronounced as the public educational base expands and reaches more of the Negro people. Later, it will probably occur to organized labor that it could have an ally in the Negro voter. Therefore, some labor leaders are likely to discreetly, yet effectively, establish a line of communication between these two important segments of the population. These two groups, aided by 6hurch support, could more effectively help to further curb police brutality which in Rome, Georgia is anti-union, as well as anti-racial. As this is done the Negro will be more willing to extend the frontiers of political action as a participant and will not be "too satisfied with things as they are".

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Laurens County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes: Laurens County with Dublin as the county-seat, is located near the center of the state. It is one of the largest counties in its physical size and also with its population of 33,606 with 40.2% being Negroes. In 1954 there were 12,230 white persons registered as compared to 2,201 Negroes. Negro registration was 15.2% of the total Negro population. To have had this number of Negroes on the registration lists was a remarkable achievement considering the toll which was taken when the purge of Negro registrants took place in 1948. At this time the number of registered Negro voters in Laurens County numbered 2,250. After the purge only 785 Negroes remained registered - and the white registrants were not "bothered" at all. Negro registrants were sent notices to appear before the registrar who struck many names for various reasons, mainly on alleged inability to properly interpret parts of the United States Constitution. Those who were sent notices but did not report were automatically disqualified without any further consideration.

This harrassing procedure diminished the morale of the registrants who were purged and those who were not. Yet, some were appreciative of the fact that they had broken the pattern of almost complete exclusion which was the vegue at the time of the United States Supreme Court's refusal to review the Primus E. King (Chapman v. King) case as ruled on by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946. These rulings supported Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision against Georgia's white primary which was provided for by the Neill Primary Law of 1917.

Bolstered by these court rulings some prominent and well-educated Negroes in Dublin made an effort to register and were denied the right to do so. This refusal was backed by the complete authority of the sheriff who has been characterized as "the badest man" in this section of the country. He had received much publicity when he beat up a white lawyer who had come down from Macon, Georgia to represent some rural Negro and white laborers who had been arrested when they met together with some C.I.O. organizers in an effort to form a union. The sheriff who has helped greatly in keeping labor unions out of Laurens County, was summoned to Washington, D. C. to appear before a Senatorial Investigating Committee. It is generally understood that one of the strongest pleas made in behalf of the sheriff was that of a Dublin, Georgia Negro minister, who also was a staunch N.A.A.C.P. leader. The sheriff was not indicted for violating the civil rights of the white lawyer whom he beat or of the Negro and white laborers whom he arrested.

As time moved on some of the sheriff's fiscal and administrative policies alienated some of his white supporters among whom was influential State Senator Hershel Lovett. This resulted in the creation of the Gay Faction and the Lovett Faction in Laurens County politics. Both factions "eyed" the Negro registrants which on April 23, 1956 numbered approximately 2,201. The leaders of both factions sought to work through a very prominent Negro business man, H. H. Dudley, in their efforts to get to the Negro voters. Dudley finally decided to go with the Gay faction much to the dismay of the Lovett faction. This was a difficult decision for Dudley to make because he had been a fellow-member of Lovett's in the Dublin Chamber of Commerce for 20 years. Lovett told Dudley he was making a mistake in turning his back on some of the most prominent persons in Laurens County. Dudley pointed out that Negroes had supported this group but had not gotten anything or any recognition in return. Whereas the incumbent mayor and sheriff, supported by the City Council, decided that $350,000 would be spent in running sewage and water mains in Negro neighborhoods and Jefferson Street, the main street for Negroes, was to be paved.

Plans were perfected to get more Negroes registered. "The sheriff knew that the best white people had turned against him" and he was advised to help get more Negroes registered. He was advised to talk with the Tax Commissioner "to get him to agree to slaken up everything" for prospective Negro registrants just like he had already done for whites. As a matter of fact, a few Negroes were permitted to register who marked an X in signing their names. When critisms developed because of this practice the following answer was given: "If they make an X mark to get money out of the bank and if they give in their taxes by making a mark, then they should be permitted to register by making a mark". Later on in this report some interesting facts will be given about how the number of Negro registrants increased by 1,560 in fourteen days.

All persons regardless of race go to the same places to register in Laurens County. With the election machinery in the county under the control of the sheriff there is no distinction in voting places or ballot boxes for Negro and white voters. In the city of Dublin the whites vote at the Court House while the Negroes are voting at the City Hall. Negroes work at the polls for their racial group, along with some white persons. Since separate ballot boxes are kept for Negroes they can be and are usually accused of bloc voting when the election returns are made known. One of the Negro political leaders answered this charge. "Why are Negroes bloc voters", said he, "and whites are not" although in this section they consistently bloc vote, for the Democratic Party, against Civil Rights, and for most of their Congressmen?

The election returns in the last general election in Laurens County reveal that Negro voters weilded the balance of power in so far as the election of several important candidates was concerned. On the other hand, they divided their votes so as to reduse the strength of charges that they did bloc voting. The Negro vote in Dublin, where a distinction was made in tabulating the votes on a racial basis, was split 552 as against 561 for the Clerk of Courts. The sheriff would have lost if 1,142 Negro votes in Dublin and 170 in Buckeye (where only Negroes live) had not been cast for him. There were other Negro voters in other sections of Laurens County but they were not racially differentiated. Only 62 Negro city votes went to the sheriff's opponent and he received 75 in Buckeye. The incumbent sheriff would have received 4,664 votes as against 4,742 for his opponent had it not been for Negro voters. His opponent received 1,987 votes from whites in Dublin as against 1,702 which went to his opponent. White and Negro voters in Laurens County favored the incumbent tax commissioner by 1,853 and 961 votes respectively. Buckeye's voters favored the tax commissioner 140 to 93. Negro voters supported the City Court Soliciter candidate who lost with 829 votes in Dublin, 145 in Buckeye as against 283 votes for his opponent in Dublin and 93 in Buckeye. Votes by Negroes were divided among the candidates for coroner as follows in Dublin - 345, 67, 158 and 170 - with most of this support going to the successful candidate. In Buckeye the votes were divided as follows - 47, 108, 14 and 30. The candidate who receive a majority of Buckeye's votes ran third on the ticket. Negro and white voters did not seem to have much interest in the race for county school superintendent judging by the relatively few votes cast by each group for the competing candidates. Both racial groups voted heavily for the judge of City Court, county-treasurer, and ordinary even though they were unopposed. The Mayor of Dublin, though not up for re-election, has never been elected by more than a plurality of 600 votes. Negro voters can more than off-set this one way or another.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Except in a very few places Negroes in Dublin have never had sewage, and running water. A few years back they did get electricity but still do not have any street lights to speak of. "Negroes have been paying taxes for sewage for years" but have had none to any extent. Very few Negroes in Laurens County have ever been able to bathe in bath tubs, go to indoor toilets or use telephones in their homes. This situation is changing as they become able to install these facilities. They appreciate the value of voting which recently resulted in their getting sewage and water mains. Further, "the entire community" has been benefited because sanitation standards can be raised.

They hope to get more paved streets to follow the paving of Jefferson Street, which is their main residential street. As time goes on they hope to get parks, playgrounds, swimming pool and other community improvements. "Negroes (in Dublin) have not been inclined to want Negro policemen." They have heard "about how hard Negro policemen have been on their rackets, et cetera" in Macon, Atlanta and Savannah and "this has not pleased them." Police brutality has decreased. The mayor has instructed policemen not to strike anyone they arrest unless it is quite necessary to do so. As police brutality decreases as a result of political pressure by Negroes, they are inclined to feel more secure as they press for more citizenship rights.

Many Negroes in Laurens County have been land and property owners for years. Some affiliated with the Republican Party. Years age they had drugstores, grocery stores, undertaking businesses, a farmers' cooperative store in downtown Dublin, and other forms of businesses. There were skilled building craftmen and farm owners, a few school teachers and doctors. The first six letter carriers were all Negroes (now there are none) and they were among those few persons who sent their children off to high school and college. For years the leading churches have had their ministers live in the city. Thus, Negroes in Laurens County have a political and economic heritage - though somewhat limited - and were fairly well-prepared to heed the call of their present political leaders who fortunately have some economic independence in that they do not work for white employers.

There is a reasonably active chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. in Laurens County. However, it did not appear to have any official connection with efforts to increase Negro registration last spring. One of the Negro political leaders said while being interviewed that the N.A.A.C.P. was necessary to prod the white man from time to time. On the other hand, he felt that in view of the white man's present antagonism toward the N.A.A.C.P. that some phases of racial progress could be fostered with out its aid.

As more Negroes registered two of their main leaders - H. H. Dudley and Reverend C. H. Harris - were put on the county jury. There was much discussion among the Court House whites, as well as others, as to whether these two members would sit in the balcony where other Negroes sat or downstairs with the rest of their fellow jurors. These two Negro members agreed that they would go to jail rather sit in the balcony. Once in jail they were not to seek bond. The minister was to work with the people in jail in a ministerial capacity. The other person was to make appeals to Negroes to register and vote. However, this type of action did not prove to be necessary. Although the sheriff told them that "some people don't want you here" they understood that he did not object. However, a candidate for a judge's post tried to relieve them of jury duty but they did not want to be relieved. This man is now in the race for the post of judge and Negroes are not going to support him. There was an encouraging angle to these two Negroes' experiences as jurors. Dublin's most distinguished and oldest member of the bar came over to welcome them as jurors and congratulated them on being willing "to serve your county" in this capacity.

The Negro political leaders are aware of racial pressures that have been somewhat intensified because of and in spite of their increased registration and voting record. They understand that some white people resent being obligated to Negroes. Some "straws in the wind" are being watched by the Negroes. For instance Dublin has no Negro ball players on its team this season although it had at least two last year. It is felt that racial pressure is accountable for this shift in policy in as much as the attendance of Negroes at games when there were Negro players made profits increase. This season when Negro attendance fell off, one or two white persons with an interest in the team seemed to have resented the former Negro fans' attitude and "accused" their leaders of "leading a boycott" against the team. The next incident involved Negroes using a school which had been built for them in Brewton, which is not far from Dublin ~~in~~ Laurens County. After putting $90,000 into the school building it was decided that it would be used for Negroes when it was completed although it is more in a white area than in one for Negroes. When nearby white landowners complained against Negro occupancy of the school building the chairman of the State Board of Education, and the State School Building Authority, George P. Whitman, Jr. a Griffin appointee, recommended that further funds be cut off. Incidentally, this situation remain unchanged until the chairman's actions were disclosed in the Atlanta Daily World after Whitman qualified as one of the candidates for a seat in the Georgia Legislature representing Fulton County. Since Whitman (as well as all other candidates in Fulton County) is seeking Negro votes he maneuvered to have the State Board of Education, and the State School Building Authority release the money to the Brewton School with the understanding that the Laurens County Board of Education has the power to determine the policy under which it will be spent. Negro political leaders in Laurens County are watching developments before entering the controversy in an active sense.

When Negroes in Laurens County were registering in larger numbers there wese whites who talked about the development of trouble between the races. This did not deter the leaders - not even the venerable Reverend C. H. Harris who is 76 years old. Another distinguished leader said: "I have already overlived my time on earth and will meet whatever they bring". Still, another said, "If they assinate me it would set off one of the finest race riots imaginable." All this is mentioned to indicate that Negro leaders who urge their racial bretheren to register and vote in many sections of Georgia (as well as in many of the other Southern states) are not performing routine functions. Quite often their lives may be at stake. Yet, knowing this they often forge ahead with their leadership. To be sure these Laurens County Negro political leaders remembered how Isaiah Nixon, a Negro, was murdered by white men in nearby Montgomery County in 1948 because he dared to register and vote. They also remembered that the murderers were acquitted of this heinous crime.

Anti-labor union sentiment is rampant in Laurens County. The sheriff has vigorously and successfully fought unionizing efforts. He knows now that many of the people for whom he fought to keep out unions have turned against him. His political advisers, among whom are two or three Negroes, have advised him to switch to labor so as to gain their support. This will give him a "populist support" such as Tom Watson had in the early stages of his political career. If such a political pattern is created, it could well be the beginning of an alignment which will upset political control by county-unit minorities in Georgia.

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III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: When it became more apparent that the Lovett vs. Gay political factions were going to again be involved in another heated election, plans were laid by each faction to get more votes of Negroes. Already 2,201 Negroes were registered as compared to 12,230 whites, thus making a combined registration of 14,431 in a total population of 53,606. Each side "eyed these votes" and further realized that there was much untapped potential political strength among Negroes in Laurens County in as much as their registration at this time was only 15.2% of their 40.2% of the total population. The Negro leader who could help influence Negro voters was approached by representatives of both factions and he decided to align his forces with the Gay faction. He and a well-respected minister spearheaded the formation of the "All Citizens Voters League of Laurens County". This organization held public meetings every Monday night in one of the churches. All precincts with an appreciable Negro population were organized and door to door visits were made by these workers who were mostly Negro housewives who by and large were not working. They were paid 50 cents for each Negro registrant whom they took to the Court House and City Hall to register. Some of the workers made as much as $150.00 a week. These workers were also paid 50 cents for each person whom they carried to the polls to vote. Accurate records were kept of their earnings and they signed receipts when they received their pay. Nothing was paid to those persons who registered and voted. In 14 days 1,550 additional Negro registrants were listed in the registration records. This brought the total registration of Negroes up to a total of 3,550 in Laurens County. This was unprecendented and generated some alarm and concern. Some influential white persons said, "we got to stop these niggers from registering". They attempted do so and as a result some

Negroes were challenged as they sought to register. H. H. Dudley, one of their influential leaders, sent Reverend C. H. Harris, pastor of the Second African Baptist Church and president of the voters league to the registrars' offices. He was instructed not to say anything or do anything but sit down and observe what was being done to disqualify Negroes who sought to register. The purging efforts were stopped.

Candidates came to mass meetings which were sponsored by the All Citizens Voters League of Laurens County. As has been indicated several candidates were elected by the margin of the votes which Negroes cast for them. Mass meetings are now being held as the September primary date approaches "and Congressman Vinson will be present at some of these meetings".

The Dublin Courier-Herald gave news and editorial coverage to the registration drive among the Negroes of Laurens County. On April 25, 1956 there was a double column heading to the effect that: "Negroes Flocking to Register Here". The article reported that on the previous day 79 registered at the City Hall and 110 registered in the county' and 12 whites registered". An interview with H. H. Dudley was reported in the news article. He said that Negroes were after "a greater registration so they can help put people in office that will be fair to all. We are urging that our voters be independent voters and that there will be no bloc voting"...."Our organization, headed by the ministers of the town, will seek some laws by which to prosecute both the vote-seller and the vote-buyer." Reverend Harris was quoted as saying: "We are trying to get our people to understand that they have a part of the civic program, and as citizens we have no motive other than we are trying to get our people to participate in civic affairs." The writer of the article concluded by saying: "According to information from City Offices, many of those who apply for registration in the city, after having qualified in the county office, are unable to write their names for registration". It was at this point that a Negro stated that if some Negroes borrowed money and paid their taxes by marking an X then they should be allowed to register and vote in the same manner.

On April 28, 1956 the Dublin Courier-Herald reported that with in the "past four days" a total of 382 Negroes have registered in the county and 294 in the city as against 92 whites in the county and 19 in the city. The writer of the article said that although Laurens County Negro leaders said that their campaign was local, reports were being received to the effect that Negroes were having campaigns in other states and that a Negro speaker told an audience of Negroes in Mississippi to "get the ballot box at any cost".

On April 30, 1956, The Dublin Courier-Herald Carried an editorial titled, "The Business of Registration". After referring to the increasing registration of Negroes it stated that "with an adequately large number registered it is not inconceivable that in the future a Negro candidate will offer for some office in the city or county". After insisting that some elections had gone by default it was then stated and this inaction had contributed to "bad government". "If the white people of Dublin and Laurens County remain apathetic toward the election of their public officials and continue the practice of ignoring the civic duty of registration and exercise of the franchise, the time may not be too far off when our Negro voters will name the officials who run our government." Then at this point they were exhorted to make use of "the exercise of the franchise".

On May 2, 1956 the paper had a two column front page caption to the effect that "Whites Out-registered Negroes Yesterday" but the sub-heading modified this somewhat because it stated: "Negro Registrants Topped in County, But Not in City". In the county the ratio was 84 to 74 in favor of white registrants whereas it was 49 to 16 in favor of Negro registrants in the city. Negro registrants since the drive began on Monday, April 23 numbered 650 as against 206 white registrants. This same issue of the Dublin Courier-Herald carried a front page editorical titled, "Who Is Interested In Government"..."Let's look at the evidence" said the editorical writer as he deplored the relative inactivity of whites who had not registered. "The Negroes generally in Dublin and Laurens County have become sufficiently interested to organise and promote registrations. Why aren't the whites of the city and county equally as interested". The news articles and editorials never did state that the total number of white registrants far-outnumbered that of Negroes when the drive began. Actually the ratio was approximately 6to 1 in favor of the white registrants. However, these comparisons continued until the registration books closed. According to the Negro leaders a total of 1,550 Negroes registered during their registration campaign and "this helped the cause of Democracy because it spurred many good white citizens (672) to also register".

IV. Prospects: The value and potency of the Negro vote in Dublin and Laurens County can't be easily discounted. It is not likely that serious efforts will be made to materially reduce this vote. On the contrary candidates will have to continue to seek it - and thus those who are elected to office are likely to pave more than one street in Negro neighborhoods; extend sewage and water mains; develop play-grounds, including a swimming pool, continue to reduce police brutality and make other ~~county~~ community improvements which were never considered for the Negro residents before their votes became formidable.

Voting pressure by Negroes will result in an improvement in their schools thus extending their educational opportunities. This, plus an increasing economic independence on the part of a larger group of Negro leaders, should mean more political participation for their racial group.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of McIntosh County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: McIntosh County, with Darien as its county-seat, is located in the coastal plains area of southeast Georgia and has a pppulation of 5,292. Darien is reputed to be the second oldest town in Georgia and was once populated entirely by Negroes. The Negro population is larger than that of the whites with a percentage of 61.1 of the total. According to the 1954 registration list there were 1,498 white persons registered and 1,287 Negroes. The Negro registration is 46.2% of the total and there are no restrictions to their registering and voting "except with themselves". Incidentally, Negroes also outnumber whites in two other coastal plains counties - Liberty and Camden, and they constitute from 30 to 50% of the population in Chatham, Bryan and Glynn Counties, all of which are on the coast. Yet in these counties there is a representative number of Negroes registered and they also vote without overt restrictions.

These data reveal that the phenomenon of an excess number of Negroes over whites in some counties in Georgia does not necessarily result in their being uniformly denied the right to register and vote. Hugh Carl Owen in his study titled "The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia: 1944-1950"[1] also recognized this variation (PP. 52-54). However, he does state that: "Thus there is a tendency for a high degree of Negro population to mean a low number of Negro registered voters. There are, of course, exceptions to this tendency, for it is not a rule". (Ibid. P. 52). Although it is not within the province of this study to deal generally with causes for this variation it may be stated that three fundamental factors enter into the equation. First, there is more of a trend toward urbanization (between Savannah and Brunswick) in some of the coastal plains counties than in most of those in southwest Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. Next, the "character" and outlook of public officials play an important part in determining what the registration and voting policies will be for Negroes. (Ibid. P. 53). Finally, some appreciable degree of the registration and voting policies for Negroes may be determined in part by the attitude and reactions of Negroes themselves. (This would apply to a county like Hancock County where Negro ownership of land and interest in obtaining an education go back through the years).

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[1] Owen, Hugh Carl. Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Emory University's Graduate School, 1951.

Beginning at this point this study will deal more specifically with McIntosh County. In this county Negroes "put in the county school superintendent (although many whites were against her), the sheriff and clerk of the court". The sheriff "won't squeeze Negroes too hard because back in his mind is the Negro vote". A Negro business man with whom I talked stated that the sheriff wanted to have him appointed to membership on the Board of Education. He will not accept such an appointment because "his people will press him and so will the sheriff" and he does not want his hands tied. Recently, a white man talked with this person about supporting Talmadge. This Negro said: "I won't enslave my soul. What's the use of giving me a piece of bread", said he, "and then call me nigger." His theory is to vote for the person who will do the most good for the community and the Negro people.

Although Negroes ordinarily are somewhat lethargic in registering and voting in McIntosh County a recent increase in taxes by the City Council has intensified their interest in respect. A committee of Negroes went before the City Council to state their grievances about tax increases. When their requests were turned down, some of the Negroes began saying, "well, they have only two years."

To some of the older Negroes in McIntosh County the Republican Party is the epitome of political action and organization. Negroes and a few white Republicans still function and a Negro is local party chairman. There are about 1,700 Republicans with Negroes outnumbering the whites. They hold their meetings in the

Court House and "never have been refused the use of it". This county was the last one in Georgia to have a Negro in the state legislature. Negroes who are Republicans cross party lines in local elections. They somewhat deplore the fact that: "Some Negroes vote the Democratic ticket but they have no organization". Negro Republicans are nostalgic as they recall that about fifty years ago they also had a Negro sheriff and a deputy marshall who were appointed by white commissioners. "Now", said the persons being interviewed, "Negroes have nothing".

Negro political leadership is divided on a Republican and Democratic party basis - and also on a county-town basis. One Negro minister allegedly has organized the county against the city. He functions through a singing organization known as the McIntosh Choir Union and he is "money-minded".

Negroes use separate ballot boxes when they vote. White and Negroes vote in the same building - the City Hall or Court House, depending whether it is a city or county election. Yet, Negroes have to go upstairs while the whites vote downstairs. In presidental elections they all get in the same line. Negroes have protested against this separate ballot box policy to the sheriff and the local Democratic Committee because "it is illegal".

II. Socio-Economic Factors: In spite of assertions that race relations are good in McIntosh County, some Negro leaders who were interviewed asserted that they had logical, personal reasons for not taking part in politics. For instance, one said he wanted to be free to vote as he saw fit without any obligations to support any one side. Another, who had withdrawn from political leadership said: "I am a school teacher and I am not financially able to take a chance". However, most of the teachers are registered voters. Some of these teachers have become more cautious since they have had to sign an anti-Communist oath and also swear that they would not teach in mixed schools. Although, no threats have been directed against any of them "you can never tell what's in their minds". Another person who was interviewed said: "If the Negro uses common sense and not put himself in the white man's position, he will get along all right". He let it be known that he did not mean "kneeling to the white man or calling him 'cap'". He further stated that: "The Lord will fight my battles and those he doesn't fight I will fight". Although these statements are not conclusive they do seem to reveal some "uneasiness" in the area of race relations in McIntosh County.

N.A.A.C.P. leaders in McIntosh county have "refused to function" since right after the Supreme Court's decision involving segregation in public schools. Some concern was expressed about efforts to deny employment to teachers who were members of the N.A.A.C.P. This concern is considered logical because white-collar employment for Negroes, except as teachers, and a very few business men and several ministers, is definitely at a premium. There are no Negro physicians, dentists or lawyers - and a very few skilled workmen.

Most of the Negro employees work in the fishing and pulpwood industries. Although Darien is 18 miles from Brunswick, it has had few urban industries to locate there. There are no labor unions. The town seems to be drying up generally - and employment for Negroes is narrowing as times goes on, except as they commute to Savannah, Hinesville and Brunswick. Gradually, Negroes are leaving for the North. Some are even abandoning their property (mostly small, unpainted, sparsely furnished houses without running water) which is later sold at sheriff sales. Darien Negroes are proud of the fact that many of them own their homes, although most of them are modest ones. And even in the county there is very little sharecropping. Negroes live in all sections of the town. Gradually a few streets on which they live are being paved, and electric lights and water mains are being extended as the town grows. "As you know the white man is going to fix up before his door before he fixes before the Negro's door". As a rule young educated Negroes do not settle here because of limited employment opportunities. There is a drive on now by the Junior Chamber of Commerce to bring in some modern industries.

Two Negro ministers - a Presbyterian and a Baptist - live in the town. The others come in over the week-end and their leadership, religious and otherwise, is of necessity limited. Some Negro leaders feel that there are too many churches for Negroes in Darien. They feel that some of these churches should be combined so that they could afford to attract and pay able preachers who would live here and furnish much-needed leadership, political as well as other-wise.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: Negroes in McIntosh county seem to have only a "luke-warm interest" in registering and voting. "The only thing they have to do is to go before the tax collector if they own property. They will have no trouble if they can read and write." Negroes here need a voters league to help stir-up interest in registering and voting. They need to have "citizenship meetings" to which candidates will be invited (although this has not been done up to the present time). As it stands, not much is being done in a formal, organizational way to have Negro registration and voting increased.

IV. Prospects: The prospects are some what bleak for the following reasons: lack of leadership and an active interest in political action; lack of employment opportunities which would provide a reasonable degree of independence for those who would offer political leadership; and lack of any type of voters' league which would help inform potential Negro voters of the rights, benefits and responsibilities of citizenship as based on intelligent political action.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Peach County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Braseal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Peach County, with Fort Valley as its county-seat, is located in the central area of Georgia and has a population of 10,378. Negroes in this county out-number whites by a ratio of approximately six to four and this factor has played an historical part in the formulation of the present pattern of race relations. Actually, the pattern has been and is one of comprehensive suppression of Negroes within the narrow confines of a rigid system of racial segregation. More will be said about this in another section of this report. In 1955, there were approximately 1,150 Negroes registered in Peach County. During this same year, 338 voted in the city elections. Persons living in the county even within close range of the city limits of the town - Fort Valley - are not permitted to vote in city elections. In 1954 there were 552 Negro registrants out of a registration total of 3,056. The percentage of Negro registrants was only 18.1% although Negroes comprise 61.3% of the total population of this county which numbered 11,705 in 1950. In this same year the total number of potentially eligible voters was 7,290 of which 3,020 were white and 4,270 were Negro. This population pattern has resulted in the whites resorting to subtle and overt methods of maintaining political control by methods which have not always been political in nature. On the other hand, Negro residents in this county because of their dominant numbers have felt compelled to re-assure the white people that they do not expect to "take over" in a political sense. As I checked the list of "Registered Voters 1954 Colored" with the President of the Civic League, he pointed out that several reasonably prominent Negro residents' as well as others had failed to vote. He expressed dissatisfaction about the total number of Negroes who are registered and he and his colleagues in the Civic League are considering plans for increasing the number. Here, again, Negroes depreciate the value of their votes. Many say that their "votes don't count". Further, they are reluctant to have themselves get in too close competitive political relationship with the white man "who is going to run things anyway". Negro and white voters are segregated from each other when they go to the polling places. Negro voters have to go to the rear of the City Hall and they must deposit their ballots in a box which is painted black. White voters go through the front door of the City Hall and place their ballots in unpainted boxes, or boxes that are not painted black.

No overt legal efforts are made now to keep Negroes from registering and voting in Peach County. In 1946 a number of efforts were made to intimidate Negroes so as to discourage their registering and voting. "Negroes by the hundreds were subpoened" to report to the registrar's office to justify thir names remaining on the qualified voters lists. Many were asked to read someting to the satisfaction of the registrars and as a result were purged from the qualified voters' lists. Now, Negroes who seek to register are asked only to copy some passage from the United States Constitution. In some instances, Negroes have been asked if they were registered when they were near or in the registrar's office. Furthermore, they were advised as to how they could get on the permanent registration list and told to "tell others (meaning Negroes) to come on down".

II. **Socio-Economic Factors:** With a state college for Negroes - Fort Valley State College - being located in Fort Valley, one would expect to find here a reasonably representative number of Negro business and professional people. But he does not find them here. For a long number of years, Peach County did not provide any appreciable educational outlets for its Negro residents. They had to depend upon a small Episcopal Church high school and junior college which were headed for years by a distinguished American, Dr. Henry A. Hunt. Then, after the city and state took over approximately fifteen years ago there was little growth in these school facilities until Negroes through N.A.A.C.P. suits and otherwise agitated for additional expansion. To-date the institution's physical growth has outdistanced its growth in the realm of a rational racial ideological militancy. Considering the climate of political opinion in Georgia's State Capitol, this College is doing well to survive.

There are a few small, relatively new businesses conducted by Negroes. There is only one Negro physician who located in Fort Valley about two years ago. He also serves as College physician. There are no Negro dentists or lawyers. Except for teachers in the College and public school system, a few ministers and business people, most of the Negroes in Peach County have to depend on menial, domestic, factory and farming jobs. Some are employed at Warner-Robbins Air Base.

Here, again, is an example of the lack of leadership being partially due to an absence of a reasonable degree of economic independence on the part of Negro residents. The few Negroes who are most active in a political sense are those four or five who run a filling station, grocery store, undertaking establishment and about two ministers. The principal of the high school for Negroes is more active politically through his work with the Civic League, than is usually the case. High school Negro pupils are encouraged and assisted in registering as they reach the legal age for doing so.

In the case of Fort Valley State College, there is "a representative number" of faculty and staff members who register and vote. They are "quietly" urged to register and vote. However, they give no "active leadership in political affairs". The last Fort Valley State College faculty member to be active in political affairs through the instrumentality of the Civic League was the late Dr. William Madison Boyd who continued his active interest in better citizenship affairs after he became Professor and Chairman of the Political Science Department of Atlanta University. Some of his former colleagues and friends at Fort Valley State College are still amazed that he was able to "get away with what he did". Whereas some of his former co-workers in the Civic League proudly refer to his pioneering work and lament the fact that isn't another "Professor" who will work with them "like

Dr. Boyd". The present newly elected president of the Civic League is an alert, progressive young business man and he has plans for organising citisenship schools in various churches with the help of the Parent Teachers' Association, which already urges political participation.

Negroes in Peach County have not had any political rallies in the last five years, largely because "there has not been the leadership". Personal individual contacts are relied on. "Some individual Negro citisens of long standing who are known by whites have been the contact people during political campaigns." There are occasional meetings of local Negro and white ministers who "discuss local issues and the spirit with which they should be met." This is the extent of any interracial cooperation in Peach County.

There is no N.A.A.C.P. chapter in Peach County to help spur political activity by Negroes. There was once an N.A.A.C.P. unit here but it ceased to function about four years ago largely because of internal reasons. The president, who was not thought too well of in the community, "divorced his wife and left town". Later, the secretary (who was employed by the College) died. Following this, a College staff member was elected president of the N.A.A.C.P. by those who "represented the people of the soil" who in thir "humble way" felt the need for this sort of organization. However, the newly elected president "was advised" by several friends and colleagues that he should not serve as president of the N.A.A.C.P. because he (and the College) would be too vulnerable in view of the political climate in State politics. Accepting this advice, the N.A.A.C.P. president resigned and he has not yet been replaced. Staff and faculty members at the College are secretive about their membership and support of the N.A.A.C.P. Although they do not seem to be subservient in the traditional manner they are practical enough to realise that support of the N.A.A.C.P. was one of the basic reasons that led to the dismissal of Dr. Aaron Brown as president of Albany State College about two years ago.

Some Negroes feel that some community improvements will take place under the city administration because "the mayor is not too hide-bound". There is much room for community improvement in that Negroes do not have play grounds (despite the density of their population), swimming pool, recreational center, golf course, paved streets, adequate indoor toilets, sewage and running water. Housing for Negroes in Fort Valley is grossly inadequate and is jammed-up largely between the College, the railroad tracks and the town itself.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: This phase has already been dealt with to some extent. The Civic League has been reorganized and is laying plans for an intensive citizenship and registration campaign beginning in the fall of 1956. Representatives of the masses of Negro people have begun to see the necessity of increased political participation. Having cautiously felt their way politically without suffering reprisals, they now believe they can extend their activity in this area. They also think that as time goes on, more political candidates, other than the mayor, will seek more votes of Negro residents of Peach County.

IV. Prospects: For the time being very little political leadership will emanate from the College. An attempt on the part of anyone connected with the College to furnish political leadership in Peach County will in all probability be counteracted by the Governor, the Attorney General and the State Board of Education. Very limited political leadership among Negroes will continue to exist until there develops a larger number of relatively independent business, religious and professional Negro people - and keener competition among candidates for votes by Negroes.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for The Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Spaulding County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes: Negroes in Spaulding County, with Griffin as its county-seat, have been registering and voting in increasing numbers since the Primus S. King decision by Judge Hoyt T. Davis on October 12, 1945 uprooted the White Primary in Georgia. A subsequent supporting decision by the Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946, which the United States Supreme Court sustained on April 1, 1946 by refusing to review, opened up the Democratic Party primaries to them for the election on July 17, 1946. A few had registered and voted before this time in Spaulding County, mainly as Republicans, in federal elections. When the Talmadge purge of voters' lists took place in 1948, approximately 800 Spaulding County Negro voters' names were stricken from the registration list. Negro leaders from Spaulding, Marion, Lowndes, Schley, Laurens, Daugherty, Twiggs, Jeff Davis and Pierce Counties sought "mandatory action against registrars" involved before Judge Frank N. Scarlett in the Federal District Court in Brunswick, Georgia in August 1948. Judge Scarlett ruled against the action of the registrars. (However, he did dismiss the complaints against Daugherty and Twiggs Counties.) Although information about this action was obtained in interviews by the investigator, it is covered more fully by Hugh Carl Owen in his Emory University Master of Arts thesis titled, "The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia 1944 - 1950."*

In Spaulding County the registrars against whom action had been taken were dismissed by Judge Chester Byers and others appointed whose purging actions would not make them guilty of contempt of court. Following this action, approximately 1,500 registered votes, mainly Negroes, were subpoenaed to "prove their qualification". All were ordered to report on the same day. Few were questioned. Those remaining were ordered to report the following day when the same stalling tactic was used. Then, too, the registrars would jump the alphabet - so that "no one was certain which letters would be chosen for which day". On the fourth day 205 Negro registrants were striken from the list out of 592 whose names were called - with no whites involved. Among those whose names were stricken were Negro teachers and professional men. On the day before the primary 588 names were purged from the list. In October this action was denounced by the Spaulding County Grand Jury but Judge Byers "ordered the passage stricken from the jury's findings, and refused to allow any of the findings to be published".* Negro political leaders who were interviewed stated that a local white attorney was employed to help get Negro registrants' names back on the registration list. However, he wanted so much per capita for his services. Since this cost was to prove excessive, the Negroes resorted to registration drives to get the purged names restored to the registration list. Since this incident, Negroes have registered and voted without any undue hindrance. There are 9,624 Negroes in Spaulding County and they comprise one-third of the population. (There are 1,377 Negroes registered with 1,048 being in Griffin and 329 in the county. During the last election 384 Negroes voted in the city and only 84 voted in the county to make a total of 468. Negro voters don't like the idea of having separate voting places, with whites voting at the Court House and Negroes voting at the City Hall.) Although their voting place is manned by Negroes they still feel that votes should be counted as such and not on a racial basis. Spaulding County Negro voters attach more importance to local elections, then come state and national elections in this order. For years some influential Negro leaders in Griffin have been voting for the Republican ticket in presidential elections. Efforts are now being made by Negro political leaders to get more of their racial group to register and vote. They know from official statistics that Spaulding County is in a cluster of counties comprising Region II (so listed for organizational purposes) in which the Negro registration potential has not been fully tapped. (See attached sheet) Also attached is a circular which was distributed by the Spaulding County Civic and Citizen's Improvement League. The circular does not mention race. However, it does emphasize that: "You will receive courteous treatment from the registrar". Since they do have to go to the Court House to register this assurance of "courteous treatment" is an important factor in causing them to be willing to go there.

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* Pp. 37-38, Unpublished Thesis which was submitted to the faculty of Emory University's Graduate School in 1951.

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* Ibid., Pp. 37-38.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Although Griffin is growing and becoming more of an urbanized city it is still dominated by rural forces. It is still not large nor urbane enough for unions and the N.A.A.C.P. to be reasonably well accepted. Personal matters can still become "community property" so to speak. For instance, a Negro contributor to the N.A.A.C.P. was "accused" of being a member of the N.A.A.C.P. because his cancelled check in clearing was spotted by some white persons who are against the N.A.A.C.P. Experiences of this kind cause Negro leaders to think that they are more vulnerable than they know. And yet they continue to forge ahead with their leadership although they are inclined to become somewhat more cautious and operate more fully with in the pattern of segregation. There is no N.A.A.C.P. chapter in Spaulding County. There are Negro supporters but they are not members. "Local white people would like to keep the N.A.A.C.P. out and since this is the case" the Negro leaders have decided to push toward their goals by means of other organizations which are more generally accepted". For well-known reasons, Negro political leaders are usually diplomatic in openly granting or refusing political support to candidates since they have to get along with the winners and losers after the elections are over. For example, one Negro leader said to a potential candidate: "Come on into the race. I won't make an ironclad statement about supporting you but I won't fight you". This leader must have had in mind the experience

REGION 2

COUNTY	NEGRO POTENTIAL	NEGRO REGISTRATION	WHITE REGISTRATION
Butts	2,168	937	3,490
Carroll	3,578	713	15,118
Coweta	5,788	803	9,751
Douglas	1,050	586	5,572
Fayette	1,261	8	3,269
Heard	867	272	3,278
Henry	3,657	1,006	4,981
Meriwether	5,127	920	6,743
Pike	1,915	175	2,822
Spaulding	5,075	1,196	10,851
Troup	9,423	2,654	16,191

1953 REGISTRATION IN COUNTIES COMPOSING THE 2ND REGION

INTERESTED GROUPS

American Legion
NAACP
Chamber of Commerce

CIO Unions
Democratic Organization
Republican Organization

League of Women Voters

of a Negro veteran in adjoining Clayton County who was recently driven out of Jonesboro by the defeated candidate whom he did not support. Other than on an informal basis, there is no direct significant line of communication between Negro and white voters. The closest approach is between the white and Negro units of the Veterans of Foreign Wars whose representative meet in unsegrated district meetings, but not in local meetings. There is definitely no line of communication between Negro and white ministers in Spaulding County.

Some benefits, including more paved streets, sewage and water mains, electric lights and use of the football stadium, have accrued to the Negro community since their votes have increased. However, they can't use the city auditorium which oddly enough is attached to a "white school building". Negroes are striving to multiply these benefits and extend them to include a modern swimming pool, playgrounds and recreational centers. They are also seeking more police protection and less police brutality.

In Griffin there is a representative nucleus of business and professional people including some Negro ministers who live in the city and help to give political leadership. There are some Negro landowners and renters in the county who do the same. A number of Spaulding County Negroes had access to educational opportunities long before the city and county furnished any such opportunity beyond the elementary level. The Cabin Creek School which was operated by the Cabin Creek Association of the Georgia Baptist Convention made a vital contribution in helping some Negroes in Spaulding County get an education and the results are manifested in some of the leadership that the Negro group is receiving. This is in contrast to what the situation is in Walton County where Negroes have had a high school for only 13 years and there is a dearth of leadership. Although some Negro teachers are active with the political organisations their general "reluctance to speak out" was deplored. However, it was recognised that the "Negro principals are at the mercy of the superintendent". Thus, efforts are made by Negro political leaders "not to put a teacher on the spot". However, a struggle is now being waged for political power between the regularly established Negro political leaders and a Negro educator "who talks one way to Negroes and another way to the white folks". It is alleged that he claims he can stave off public school integration, whenever the issue arises in Spaulding County. Although the growth of this Negro educator's influence is possibly a straw in the wind it is felt that there has been "no noticeable change" in the attitude of white people about Negroes registering and voting since the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools.

At times racial incidents which are not related at all to political activities have a tendency to slow them down. People in Spaulding County were shocked on June 27, 1956 when they read newspaper accounts of the death of Walter Mann, a[illegible], Negro, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the fatal shooting of his employer. He was in the Spaulding County jail at the time of his death which was attributed to arsenic poisoning. Some maintain that he committed suicide. Others insist that he was poisoned to keep him from talking in as much as he seemed to know who the actual muderers were. There are also other angles which seem valid. However, the general conclusion that has been reached by Negroes in Spaulding County is that: "A Negro's life is not safe here, even when he's in jail". Some Negro leaders are demanding a thorough investigation of this matter. They are also pointing out diplomatically that increased Negro registration and voting will help reduce the possibility of this kind of incident.

III. Efforts To Increase Registration and Voting: During the time for registration, one or two influential Negro political leaders can call the Tax Commissioner and have him arrange to have Negroes register. Those who can read and write are registered with out delay. Those who can not read and write and "interpret the Constitution" go before the registrar and are assisted. It was stated to me in an interview that one influential Negro businessman and political leader can "nod his head in the direction "of potential Negro registrants and they will be registered. Three influential organizations among Negroes help push registration and voting.

They are the Civic Improvement League which is about twenty years old and is composed mainly of business and professional men only. Its president is chairman of the Spaulding County Republican Club and was an alternate delegate to the recent Republican Convention in San Francisco, California. He was a delegate to the 1952 Republican Convention. Another political organization is the Citizens' League which is about five years old. It admits women and is headed by a highly trained Negro minister. He organized it because he wanted to help widen the area of political interest and participation. This organization also helps with such civic activities as the Community Chest, March-of-Dimes and the Red Cross Drives.

These two organizations, the Civic Improvement League, controlled largely by Negro Republicans, and the Citizens League, controlled largely by Negro Democrats, sponsor joint registration drives. The third organized group is an active Republican Club composed mainly of Negroes, with a few white members. This group attempts to get more people, Negro and white, to register and vote as Republicans. A young Republican's Club was organized about three months ago to make contacts with potential young Republicans. In their joint meetings the Civic, and Citizens' Improvement Leagues stress the fact that "A voteless people is a helpless people". Their meetings are held in churches and just before elections the candidates for political office are invited to speak. Most of them come to these meetings and speak. One of the leaders who was interviewed said: "It takes quite a bit of urging to get Negroes to participate politically". Among the reasons for this are a "lack of a sense of civic responsibility" and his feeling that "I don't count nor will my vote" and finally his being discouraged in some instances by his white employers, especially in the rural areas.

In a meeting with some Spaulding County Negro businessmen, taxi drivers, school teachers, a physician, and two farmers we discussed some techniques of getting Negroes to register and vote. The house to house campaign was considered most effective when backed up by mass meetings and (radio announcements when feasible.) The formation of car pools as spearheaded by the Negro owned taxi company was considered essential. It was agreed that young Negroes usually respond more intelligently and quickly to registration efforts. The teachers in the group emphasized that Negro high school students are taken to register when they become 18 years old. Some Negroes like for some precinct leaders to go to the Court House with them when they go to register. Some of these persons are afraid that they won't know what to do to register. Others stand in awe of going to the Court House which to them is a symbol of oppression rather than expression. Further, it was brought out that it is a good thing for precinct workers to be given lists of the registered Negro voters so that "some Negroes who should register but don't can be smoked out". This procedure also enables precinct leaders to check on some persons who think they are registered but are not.

When asked why they were interested in registering and voting, some Negro leaders said in substance: "If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites - or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and be respected when we go downtown".

IV. Prospects: As Griffin becomes more urbanized and the educational background of Negroes, as well as others, is enhanced, there is likely to be an increase in registering and voting by Negroes in Spaulding County. Fortunately, there is a representative nucleus of Negro business and professional men for a town the size of Griffin, and as this group increases it should be able to afford more political leadership for its racial group. Then, too, white political candidates are beginning to realize that they can go more openly after Negro votes - and this also reassures the Negro voter that he is taking the right step in helping his community.

This Certifies That

____

is a member of the

GRIFFIN & SPALDING COUNTY CIVIC IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE

____________________ ____________________

PRESIDENT SECRETARY

Register Now

REGISTRATION DOES NOT COST A PENNY!

Why?	In order to help get better schools, streets and lights, police protection, etc.
Who?	YOU - If you are 18 years or older, have lived in Georgia one year, and your present county six months.
How?	You will be asked the following questions: Name? Address? Age? Mother's name before marriage (maiden name)? Type of work (occupation)? How long have you lived in Spalding County?
Where?	County Courthouse. YOU WILL RECEIVE COURTEOUS TREATMENT FROM THE REGISTRAR.
When?	Time To Be Announced.

REGISTER YOURSELF! TAKE ANOTHER ONE WITH YOU.

EVERY CITIZEN A QUALIFIED VOTER

A VOTELESS PEOPLE IS A HELPLESS PEOPLE

Sponsored By

CIVIC & CITIZEN'S IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE

Spalding County, Griffin, Georgia

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Walton County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics.

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Approximately forty-five miles from Atlanta in an easternly direction is located Walton County of which Monroe is the county-seat. There are about 20,777 persons living in Walton County with about 31% of these persons being Negroes. Rural "life" is still a dominant characteristic of the community pattern - although definite signs of change are becoming increasingly evident. Out of about 3,000 Negroes in this community who are eligible to vote, there are close to 1500 who are registered. In the last election, approximately 500 Negroes voted. In 1954 the number of white registrants was 6,522 in contrast to 788 Negro registrants thus making a total of 7,310 registrants. Negroes made up only 10.8% of the registrants although their percentage in the total population was 31.1.

Negroes register in Walton County without legal hindrance and have been doing so for several years. However, some of the registration records got mixed up in Walton County during the last election. Apologies were made and some of these irregularities, which appeared to be more of a bookkeeping rather than of a racial nature, were cleared up in time for the registrants to vote. At one time several years ago an effort was made to purge Negro registrants' names off the voters' list. One of the Negro leaders went to employ a lawyer to take legal steps to stop this. The lawyer was in with the "political clique" and he later said that there would be no purging of Negroes' names off the voters' lists. Those in political authority must have thought that the Negroes meant business. Then, too, they must have remembered that once before some Negroes in Walton County had taken legal action by employing Attorney Dan Duke of Atlanta to challenge Walton County's jury system. In a few instances some Negroes who were seeking to register were told by a registrar that "I don't want you to register to vote against me and my friends". Never-the-less they were not denied the right to register. Negro high school students are advised to register when they get to be 18 years of age. Provision is made by the teachers for these students to go to the City Hall to register and this procedure has been "acceptable up until now".

Negroes voted for the mayor and councilmen this year for the first time. Some of the candidates for office, especially the mayor, invited Negroes to vote for them. They promised to do "whatever they could to improve the colored community". While voting, Negro voters use one ballot box and whites use a different one. Negro voters generally do not like this arrangement because they realize that their votes can be traced by the numbers they have on them when they are compared to the numbers on the stubs.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: It was asserted that many Negroes"don't want to vote". They say that there is "no need to vote, it won't amount to anything anyway. White folks are running things and will keep on doing so." Some Negroes who were registered would refuse free rides to the polls on election day and some Negro women who promised that they would go down to the polls often "would get in bed to keep from doing so". Since Negro voters use separate voting booths, it was thought by some that their votes would be thrown out - and not counted. To help counter-act this type of thinking, a slogan was worked out on placards - and reads - "Your vote is the one that counts - Register".

Considering the degree of disinterest in registering and voting by Negro residents of Walton County, the investigator asked if thiswere a part of the aftermath of a horrible unsolved lynching which took place in this county on July 25, 1946. On this date four Negroes, two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant, were lynched in the broad-open daylight. Seemingly, there was a lack of interest in registering and voting on the part of Negroes before the lynching.

Therefore, it is contended that the thought of the lynching is not necessarily a pervasive factor in causing Negroes not to register and vote in larger numbers. According to those with whom I talked, there was more fear about lynching outside of Monroe than there was inside of it. Never-the-less some persons, white and Negro, were quite concerned. For instance, one white woman is said to have implored a Negro woman whom she knew - "don't say anything about it they (the lynchers) are bloodthirsty". The Negro woman stated that she would talk if it would help because "Christ died and I am willing to help my people". Another person, a man, said that he did not think that Negroes were generally afraid to register and vote. He asserted that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid" but the "Negro working by the day doesn't give a damn".---"The average street roaming Negro isn't afraid of white men. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose but what it is, I don't know."

No N.A.A.C.P. chapter exists in this county. Some informal contacts are maintained with the Atlanta N.A.A.C.P. chapter for strategic and legalistic reasons. There is a definite lack of Negro leadership in Walton County in spite of efforts of a very few to provide much needed assistance. None of the Negro teachers participate vigorously in political affairs even though they do encourage Negro high school pupils to register and vote when they reach the legal age to do so. Some are criticized for not participating at all. Most of them are not residents of Walton County and they go to their homes whenever they can do so. Most of the Negro ministers come in to their churches once or twice a month. Not any of them live in Monroe, although a Methodist minister did live there for a while. The First Baptist Church (Negro) finally got a minister on four Sundays a month basis. He commutes from Atlanta. It is felt that a part of the leadership lag is due to the conditions described above and the thought is spreading to the effect that these Negro leaders ought to become an integral part of the Negro community by living in it.

There are no Negro doctors, dentists or lawyers in Walton County. It is felt that they are kept out by fear of living in a place like Monroe. There are a very few independent Negro businessmen; thus, a relative degree of economic independence or security which is usually the basis of political leadership is definitely lacking. Most of the Negroes work in domestic service, as janitors, farm hands and have a few menial jobs in factories. There are some carpenters, brickmasons and cement finishers but not many. An increasing number of Negro workers commute to Atlanta to their jobs. Although, this investigator found no evidence of economic reprisals against Negroes because of their efforts to register and vote, it seems that the very nature of their economic pattern of employment is a constant reminder that they must operate within the range of the white man's restricted area of consent. One person who was interviewed stated that the "best Negro voters are in the rurals" and they are landowners and renters. The sharecroppers don't vote to any extent. There is a small well-planned housed project for Negroes which was ~~[illegible]~~ financed largely with federal funds.

Another restrictive citizenship handicap is the absence of a reasonably adequate educational background and facilities. Walton County is in dire need of additional school buildings, especially for its Negro residents. Recently, a school bond issue was favorably voted on and was supported by members of both racial groups. Some Negro school teachers were contacted and asked to use their influence to get Negro voters to help put the bond issue over. The present high school, which is definitely inadequate, was started only 13 years ago. Prior to this time, a Negro pupil in Walton County could go only through the elementary school. Not many of them even did this because often their parents kept them out of school to work in the cotton fields. Alert, sensitive Negro parents who wanted their children to go beyond elementary school had to finance their education elsewhere, mainly in Atlanta. This was often difficult to do because of the nature of their employment and the limited wages they received. Furthermore, up until the last school year of 1955-1956, Negro students went to school on what is called a split-session. They would start their studies early in July and then their school was closed for two months-September and October - while they worked in the fields. The white schools were not on a split-session. However, at rare times during the heaviest part of the farming season, white students would be dismissed for a half-day to help with harvesting the crops. When efforts were made to do away with the split-session, a Negro school trustee board was appointed to help determine the policies. It favored the split-session. Other Negroes who were not in favor of the split-session threatened to bring a court suit to have it done away with. Before this action was taken, the split-session was eliminated. "The white man is a specialist in dividing us", said one of the Negro opponents of the split-session. He also stated that: "The white man fears the press and is now very particular about how he miscarries justice".

Some Negroes in Monroe hope to use "political pressure" to get a park, a school building, paved streets, more sewage, running water, more water toilets, a swimming pool and other community improvements. However, as I was told, some are content to have their political support pay off by having some influential white person say to them: "All right, you boys have your liquor....and I won't bother you". Another person who was interviewed said: "Integration is here on a liquor selling and a liquor buying basis. Negroes go to some white homes and whites go to some Negro homes for it." Another phase of the political pay-off has to do with Negroes who run afoul of the law, getting lighter sentences than they ordinarily would get.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: There is no well-planned, consistent effort in Walton County on the part of Negro residents to increase their registration and voting. There is division in the ranks of the few leaders whom they have. At times whites have postponed doing something that some Negroes have requested because "You all are not together" and we will wait until "you all get together." Negroes do not have a civic or political league that they can depend on for leadership. The Negro could get some political benefits if ten or twelve "would meet regularly and stand-up for their gights". Occasionally, a political or citizenship speaker is brought in from Atlanta. Whereas white veterans are rather active politically, Negro veterans in their Amvets, and American Legion branches are not encouraged to participate in politics. White and Negro veterans being in separate units do not have a clear-cut means of communicating with each other. The American Legion units are strictly segregated. The Amvets' units, Negro and white, do have delegates attending the same regional meeting. Occasionally, "some Christian white people, especially white church women", cross racial barriers to cooperate with Negroes in helping to lift community standards by supporting school bond issues, et cetera.

White and Negro ministers do not meet together even at times when the Negro ministers are in the town. Negro ministers are not in the town during the week when they could help sponsor voters' mass meetings. It is realized that such citizenship meeting are needed and there is a plan being formulated to get them started. Those who want to have these kinds of meetings realize that for a while very few, if any candidates, will attend the meetings because they seem to prefer making their contacts with Negroes on an individual, personal basis, and through their employers when this approach is thought to be expedient. It is felt that political mass meetings which are attended by the candidates would generate more interest in political action by Negroes.

Finally, another indirect type of political deterrent should be mentioned. In recent months a white man raped a Negro girl in Walton County. This crime was covered up for two weeks after it occurred. Then, it was uncovered by a Negro resident of Walton County who called Atlanta and gave the details to a newspaper. Now, the main Negro witness is missing and no one seems to know what happened to him. These expreiences undoubtedly condition the thoughts and actions of Negroes, and although a few continue to exert their citizenship rights some deal realistically with the ever present potential danger and draw-back more and more.

IV. Prospects: The outlook is somewhat gloomy until some of the factors discussed in the preceding pages are dealt with in a creative way. The present leadership, white and Negro, will have to become more vigorous and resolute. Then, too, educational and economic opportunities, especially for Negro residents, must be broadened as the years go by.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

December 14, 1956

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McClain, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I wish to apologize for the fact that I did not get to see you before you got away, as I had said I would do, but some emergency here came up which kept me from getting there.

I enclose another copy of the report which you already have. There were some small changes in the percentages in the last two pages. In case you have made any use of these figures, and I doubt that they would be useful in your general report, you might want to check them against the corrected figures in the last couple of pages of the copy which is attached.

I have been working through the latter part of my write-up, making an effort to pull together some ideas from the community investigations. So far I don't seem to have anything new or different from what you have already seen in your reading of these field reports. If I do in the next few days, I will send the material on to you.

In the meantime if you have any specific questions on ideas you would like to try out, don't hesitate to drop me a note.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

December 21, 1956

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Mirginia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I am still short of the final draft of my manuscript by about eight or ten pages. But I wish to send on to you now the part which is completed and to send also Brazeal's summary of his field studies in the non-metropolitan counties. I am not sending you ~~many of~~ the tables and statistical data which will be a part of the Appendix and which have already been typed.

The ten pages or so of manuscript which I am sending is little more than a county by county summarization of the field reports by Brazeal. However in the introductory paragraph of the summarization of each county I have put a little information about soci-economic characteristics. These are summarized in a table which is included.

You already have a copy of Mozell Hill's study of Fulton County. It seems to me that this is useful in terms of more sharply defining the kind of Negro person who is likely to register and vote. Such factors as age, sex, education, length of residence in a community, location of his home, home ownership, attitudes regarding the value of Negro votes, etc.

I have analyzed another thesis which was written here at Emory. A brief paragraph summarizing this thesis is attached to this letter. In general it agrees with the findings reported in Hill's report.

In trying to think through some of the observations that I am going to make in my conclusion to the whole enterprise, I wish to call your attention to two or three ideas which stand out in my mind.

1. The statistical evidence backs up the fact that Negro suffrage has not kept up with the opportunity. The field studies support the idea that active efforts to discourage Negro registration are carried on only (or primarily) in some of the old black belt counties. Thus one would conclude that apathy is an important factor in the lack of Negro participation. But this is too easy an answer--it is apathy if one qualifies the causes for the apathy. In accounting for the apathy one must consider many things--the lack of a political tradition, the lack of education, the absence of political activity as a part of the cultural pattern in the Negro community, the failure of the "democratization of the spoils" as Mozell Hill says, and many others.

2. Negro suffrage is more nearly related to the total social melieu than is white suffrage. It is more nearly related to the total context of the life of the Negro community than is white suffrage. Thus events (and perhaps aspects of the social structure) affect Negro suffrage in a way not at all true in the white community.

3. Various factors account for the tendency of Negroes to vote in the light of their own self interest. Among these is the separation and/or isolation of the Negro community. Thus where there is no opportunity the white and Negroes of the community to meet together to identify common problems, it follows that Negroes will vote in the light of their own community problems.

4. In all of the field studies the importance of the presence of an active and articulate and able Negro leadership is stressed. Those counties where there is such leadership, Negro participation is on the increase. Factors which account for the absence or presence of Negro leadership are social and economic in character. In counties where there are independent Negro professional people or business people, there are Negro leaders. Such counties are more likely than not to be those where the economy is shifting away from the traditional agriculture and toward industrialization and urbanization.

5. It is perfectly clear from all the reports that when Negroes do register and vote they are courted by office seekers and that services and public facilities as well as special favors (such as easing off on law enforcement) follow. From the field reports one would conclude that the results are out of proportion with the Negro participation. Incidentally, I believe this is a concern of Negro leaders in Atlanta.

6. Among the techniques which are effective in keeping Negroes away from the registration place or the voting place are the threats of violence, although in many cases this may be more imaginary than real, but nonetheless an effective block to Negro participation. Certainly separate ballot boxes are one of the ways of discouraging Negro participation. On the other hand the keeping of separate Negro voting records in some Georgia counties has resulted in candidates being made perfectly aware of the importance of the Negro vote in their election or defeat. The participation of law enforcement officers in the registration process is a real deterrent to participation--the sheriff represents "the law."

7. The statistical studies and the field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage, for this is the tendency in Georgia. Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Furthermore, agriculture as a source of income continues to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants

and voters. This is not to say that there will not long remain a sort of hard core of old line plantation counties where agriculture will continue to predominate and where the progress of the Negro voter will certainly be very slow.

These are some random thoughts that are pertinent to the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. I am sorry that the thing has not been more completely finished for your use at this time. My secretary will be away for the next ten days and so I will not have a completed draft of the manuscript for you in less than ten days or two weeks. In the meantime if any questions or comments occur to you, do not hesitate to drop me a note here at Emory, for I will be in and out of my office during this period.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

John A. Griffin

Sent to Justice Dept.
4/11/58

GEORGIA

County	1956 White Registration	County	1956 White Registration
Appling	7,451	Effingham	2,923
Atkinson	5,675	Elbert	9,025
Bacon	5,989	Emanuel	7,004
Baker	1,727	Evans	2,409
Baldwin	7,494	Fannin	8,271
Banks	4,428	Fayette	3,741
Barrow	6,567	Floyd	28,341
Bartow	12,442	Forsyth	4,970*
Ben Hill	4,143	Franklin	7,000
Berrien	6,267	Fulton	100,367
Bibb	27,724	Gilmer	4,558
Bleckley	6,082	Glascock	1,594
Brantley	3,252	Glynn	7,974
Brooks	4,199	Gordon	7,130
Bryan	2,149	Grady	4,740
Bulloch	9,383	Greene	4,922
Burke	3,569	Gwinnett	15,500
Butts	4,005	Habersham	8,123
Calhoun	1,958	Hall	19,324
Camden	2,816	Hancock	2,247
Candler	3,195	Haralson	8,438
Carroll	17,105	Harris	3,400
Catoosa	9,491	Hart	6,208
Charlton	2,303	Heard	2,673
Chatham	37,078	Henry	5,479
Chattahoochee	310	Houston	6,943
Chattooga	11,692	Irwin	4,200
Cherokee	10,332	Jackson	7,152
Clarke	12,689	Jasper	2,655
Clay	984	Jeff Davis	4,197*
Clayton	13,461	Jefferson	6,014
Clinch	2,541	Jenkins	2,878
Cobb	27,394	Johnson	5,436
Coffee	10,948	Jones	1,843
Colquitt	11,103	Lamar	3,112
Columbia	3,231	Lanier	2,006
Cook	6,127	Laurens	13,435
Coweta	12,577	Lee	1,244
Crawford	1,772	Liberty	2,076
Crisp	4,911	Lincoln	1,658
Dade	3,838	Long	2,201
Dawson	2,018	Lowndes	12,234
Decatur	7,035	Lumpkin	4,131
Dekalb	58,774	Macon	3,410
Dodge	8,798	Madison	4,605
Dooly	4,061	Marion	1,352
Dougherty	10,052	McDuffie	3,980
Douglas	6,846	McIntosh	1,470
Early	4,335	Meriwether	7,367
Echols	855	Miller	3,480

*1954 Data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-White ratio (Some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956)

GEORGIA (continued)

County	1956 White Registration
Mitchell	7,436
Monroe	3,059
Montgomery	3,276
Morgan	2,616*
Murray	4,803
Muscogee	19,975
Newton	8,724*
Oconee	3,284
Oglethorpe	2,977
Paulding	7,731
Peach	2,484
Pickens	5,258
Pierce	5,076
Pike	2,676
Polk	14,450
Pulaski	3,075
Putnam	2,525
Quitman	763
Rabun	4,749
Randolph	2,573
Richmond	23,248
Rockdale	3,501
Schley	980
Screven	3,221
Seminole	3,342
Spalding	9,951xxx
Stephens	7,714
Stewart	2,194x
Sumter	5,583
Talbot	1,422
Taliaferro	1,119
Tattnall	8,323
Taylor	3,124
Telfair	6,819xxx
Terrell	3,486
Thomas	8,844
Tift	5,855
Toombs	6,362
Towns	2,123
Treutlen	3,541
Troup	12,809
Turner	4,049
Twiggs	2,586
Union	4,822
Upson	5,925
Walker	24,220
Walton	7,532
Ware	11,340
Warren	2,104
Washington	6,180
Wayne	7,341
Webster	908
Wheeler	3,016
White	3,930
Whitfield	19,222
Wilcox	3,212
Wilkes	3,337
Wilkinson	3,145
Worth	5,796

xxx 1954 data

*See previous page

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

~~GEORGIA~~

Total Negro Registration: 163,389

Total Nonwhite Population [illegible] 622,635

Nonwhite of voting age

43

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Appling	1356	1068	~~[illegible]~~ 78.8	18.6
Atkinson	897	408	~~[illegible]~~ 45.5	22.4
Bacon	558	8	~~1.0~~ — 1.4	11.9
Baker	1819	0	~~0~~ — (dash)	61.0
Baldwin	8461	2487	~~29.0~~ — 29.4	39.9
Banks	229	32	~~14.0~~ — 14.0	5.8
Barrow	1235	413	~~33.0~~ — 33.4	17.9
Bartow	2404	702	~~29.0~~ — 29.2	14.7
Ben Hill	2659	918	~~34.0~~ — 34.5	32.0
Berrien	1107	738	~~67.0~~ — 66.7	13.9
Bibb	25993	5140	~~20.0~~ — 19.8	35.8
Bleckley	1588	39	~~2.0~~ — 2.5	31.1
Brantley	451	175	~~39.0~~ — 38.8	12.3
Brooks	4693	707	~~15.0~~ — 15.1	49.0
Bryan	1269	885	~~70.0~~ — 69.7	39.6
Bulloch	4755	1795	~~38.0~~ — 37.7	36.9
Burke	8797	399	~~4.0~~ — 4.5	71.3
Butts	2168	1414	~~65.0~~ — 65.2	45.6
Calhoun	3232	126	~~4.0~~ — 3.9	67.5
Camden	2062	1556	~~76.0~~ — 75.5	50.7
Candler	1494	1174	~~78.0~~ — 78.6	34.6
Carroll	3578	939	~~26.0~~ — 26.2	19.5
Catoosa	183	129	~~70.0~~ — 70.5	2.1
Charlton	772	12	~~1.0~~ — 1.6	28.7
Chatham	38272	9720	~~25.0~~ — 25.4	38.6
— Chattahoochee	1510	8	~~0.5~~ — 0.5	15.6
Chattooga	1030	1020	~~99.0~~ — 99.0	9.3
Cherokee	473	320	~~68.0~~ — 67.7	4.0
Clarke	6249	2866	~~46.0~~ — 45.9	27.2
Clay	2148	97	~~4.0~~ — 4.5	69.7
Clayton	2070	275	~~13.0~~ — 13.3	16.6
Clinch	1222	422	~~34.0~~ — 34.5	35.0
Cobb	3935	1948	~~49.0~~ — 49.5	10.1
Coffee	3133	980	~~31.0~~ — 31.3	24.2
Colquitt	4409	1047	~~24.0~~ — 23.7	23.6
Columbia	2451	487	~~20.0~~ — 19.9	47.9
Cook	1861	750	~~40.0~~ — 40.3	27.7
Coweta	5788	1348	~~23.0~~ — 23.3	37.6
Crawford	1806	125	~~7.0~~ — 6.9	57.7
Crisp	4390	835	~~19.0~~ — 19.0	43.9
Dade	72	45	~~62.0~~ — 62.5 — (dash)	2.1
Dawson	0	0	~~0~~ —	0
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	~~14.0~~ — 14.4	46.4

Georgia

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County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes Voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Dekalb	8694	2650	~~30.0~~ — 30.5	10.6
Dodge	2863	2068	~~72.0~~ — 72.2	30.3
Dooly	3887	1008	~~26.0~~ 25.9	53.0
Dougherty	11773	2130	~~18.0~~ 18.1	42.9
Douglas	1020	730	~~72.0~~ 71.6	16.3
Early	4790	226	~~5.0~~ 4.7	52.9
Echols	379	15	~~4.0~~ 4.0	29.1
Effingham	1838	211	~~11.0~~ — 11.5	37.9
Elbert	[illegible]	[illegible]	~~29.0~~ — 29.2	33.5
Emanuel	[illegible]	1657	~~46.0~~ — 46.1	35.1
Evans	1340	494	~~37.0~~ — 36.9	37.1
Fannin	47	63	~~134.0~~ — 134.0	0.5
Fayette	1261	11	~~1.0~~ — 0.9	31.9
Floyd	6046	2730	~~45.0~~ — 45.2	14.8
Forsyth	25	20 *	~~80.0~~ — 80.0	0.5
Franklin	970	300	~~31.0~~ — 30.9	12.5
Fulton	99347	24441	~~25.0~~ — 24.6	30.7
Gilmer	14	6	~~43.0~~ — 42.9	0.2
Glascock	470	21	~~4.0~~ — 4.5	26.8
Glynn	6069	2185	~~36.0~~ — 36.0	32.0
Gordon	641	348	~~54.0~~ — 54.3	5.8
Grady	3442	527	~~15.0~~ — 15.3	33.9
Greene	3548	2586	~~73.0~~ — 72.9	~~[illegible]~~ 51.0
Gwinnett	1751	1000	~~57.0~~ — 57.1	9.4
Habersham	381	300	~~79.0~~ — 78.7	3.7
Hall	2357	1421	~~60.0~~ — 60.3	9.8
Hancock	4094	1850	~~45.0~~ — 45.2	72.8
Haralson	721	319	~~44.0~~ — 44.2	8.6
Harris	3380	275	~~8.0~~ — 8.1	56.6
Hart	1803	327 *	~~18.0~~ — 18.1	24.6
Heard	867	388	~~45.0~~ — 44.8	26.5
Henry	3657	1529	~~42.0~~ — 41.8	44.6
Houston	3835	443	~~11.0~~ — 11.6	35.2
Irwin	2171	800	~~37.0~~ — 36.8	36.1
Jackson	1571	436	~~28.0~~ — 27.8	15.5
Jasper	2327	570	~~24.0~~ — 24.5	56.5
Jeff Davis	1034	42 *	~~4.0~~ — 4.1	20.9
Jefferson	5588	237	4.0 — 4.2	57.5
Jenkins	2899	891	~~30.0~~ — 30.7	53.6
Johnson	1717	416	~~24.0~~ — 24.2	33.6
Jones	2223	536	~~20.0~~ — 24.1	55.0
Lamar	2230	673	~~30.0~~ — 30.2	40.7
Lanier	926	473	~~51.0~~ — 51.1	31.4
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	~~48.0~~ — 48.5	40.2
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	~~3.0~~ — 1.2	71.3

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45

Georgia

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	Percent Potential Negroes voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Liberty	2825	2453	~~87.0~~ — 86.8	61.2
Lincoln	1617	3	~~0.2~~ — 0.2	48.9
Long	695	1061	~~153.0~~ — 152.7	34.7
Lowndes	8350	2767	~~33.0~~ — 33.1	40.8
Lumpkin	82	73	~~89.0~~ — 89.0	2.1
Macon	2914	141	~~5.0~~ 4.8	45.3
Madison	2056	126	~~11.0~~ — 6.1	61.1
Marion	4821	54	~~3.0~~ — 1.1	66.1
McDuffie	1158	356	~~30.0~~ — 30.7	19.1
McIntosh	1879	1197	~~58.0~~ — 63.7	59.2
Meriwether	5727	1207	~~21.0~~ · 21.1	50.9
Miller	1372	6	~~0.4~~ 0.4	29.8
Mitchell	5955	345	~~6.0~~ — 5.8	50.3
[illegible]	[illegible]	737	~~25.0~~ — 25.5	50.9
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	~~49.0~~ — 55.0	40.5
Morgan	3264	738	~~22.0~~ — 22.6	52.0
Murray	96	28	~~29.0~~ — 29.2	1.6
Muscogee	20031	9987	~~50.0~~ — 49.9	26.1
Newton	3860	1539 *	~~40.0~~ — 39.9	33.1
Oconee	932	446	~~48.0~~ — 47.9	26.0
Oglethorpe	2201	229	~~10.0~~ — 10.4	43.3
Paulding	602	418	~~60.0~~ — 69.4	10.6
Peach	4270	640	~~15.0~~ — 15.0	61.3
Pickens	~~225~~ 255	80	~~31.0~~ — 31.4	4.6
Pierce	1295	425	~~33.0~~ — 32.8	21.6
Pike	1915	372	~~19.0~~ — 19.4	45.9
Polk	2795	1390 @	~~50.0~~ — 49.7	16.0
Pulaski	2371	248	~~10.0~~ — 10.5	49.6
Putnam	2295	531	~~23.0~~ — 23.1	55.5
Quitman	1005	45 **	~~4.0~~ — 4.5	66.3
Rabun	71	17	~~24.0~~ — 23.9	1.3
Randolph	4971	473	~~9.0~~ — 9.5	65.5
Richmond	23694	5372	~~23.0~~ — 22.7	33.8
Rockdale	1322	563	~~42.0~~ — 42.6	29.3
Schley	1184	134	~~11.0~~ — 11.3	59.3
Screven	5146	729	~~14.0~~ — 14.2	56.4
Seminole	1631	22	~~1.0~~ — 1.3	38.4
Spalding	5075	1151 ***	~~23.0~~ — 22.7	27.5
Stephens	1268	514	~~40.0~~ — 40.5	13.0
Stewart	3463 ~~4369~~	68 *	~~2.0~~ — 2.0	72.5
Sumter	7441	485	~~6.0~~ — 6.5	55.0
Talbot	2757	210	~~8.0~~ — 7.6	69.7
Taliaferro	1575	888	~~56.0~~ — 56.4	65.8
Tattnall	2384	1681	~~70.0~~ — 70.5	25.7
Taylor	2233	325	~~14.0~~ — 14.6	47.8
Telfair	2375	101***	~~4.0~~ — 4.3	32.4
Terrell	5054	105	~~2.0~~ — 2.1	67.2

Georgia

County	Nonwhite population over 18 1950 ✓	Negroes Registered 1956 ✓	Percent Potential Negroe~~s~~ voters Registered	Percent Nonwhite in total population 1950
Thomas	8246	1700	~~21.0~~ 20.6 ✓	40.9
Tift	3576	913	~~25.0~~ -25.5 ✓	28.3
Toombs	2631	155	~~6.0~~ — 5.9 ✓	27.5
Towns	3	0	~~0~~ — — ✓	0.1
Treutlen	1041	18	~~2.0~~ — 1.7 ✓	29.7
Troup	9423	2036	~~22.0~~ — 21.6 ✓	32.3
Turner	2009	418	~~21.0~~ — 20.8 ✓	37.0
Twiggs	2593	354	~~14.0~~ — 13.7 ✓	61.9
Union	0	0	~~0~~ — —	0
Upson	3822	542	~~14.0~~ — 14.2 - ✓	26.4
Walker	1389	1136	~~82.0~~ — 81.8 - ✓	6.1
Walton	3236	598	~~18.0~~ — 18.5 - ✓	31.1
Ware	4979	1998	~~40.0~~ — 40.1 - ✓	26.5
Warren	2836	200	~~7.0~~ — 7.1 - ✓	63.9
Washington	6387	1363	~~21.0~~ — 21.3 - ✓	56.7
Wayne	1644	1448	~~88.0~~ — 88.1 - ✓	19.7
Webster	1313	0	~~0~~ — — ✓	63.9
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	~~43.0~~ — 43.2 - ✓	~~[illegible]~~ 32.5
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	~~98.0~~ — 98.4 - ✓	5.8
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	~~111.0~~ — 110.7 - ✓	4.1
Wilcox	1841	258	~~14.0~~ — 14.0 - ✓	34.7
Wilkes	3748	263	~~7.0~~ — 7.0 - ✓	55.7
Wilkinson	2621	327	~~12.0~~ — 12.5 - ✓	48.5
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	~~7.0~~ — 6.7 - ✓	48.6

* 1954 data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-white ratio (some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956).

**1952 Negro-white ratio applied to 1956 total.

***1954 data

@ Estimate. Polk did not report a racial breakdown.

X

Revise

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COUNTIES AND COUNTY SITES IN GEORGIA

Page 1.

UNIT VOTE	COUNTY	COURTHOUSE	1950 POPULATION 18 AND UP WHITE	✓NEGRO	1956 REGISTRATION WHITE	✓NEGRO	REGISTRATION AS % OF POPULATION WHITE	NEGRO
2	APPLING	Baxley	6304	1356	7,451	1068	118	79
2	ATKINSON	Pearson	3126	897	5675	408	155	45
2	BACON	Alma	4417	558	5989	8	135	1
2	BAKER	Newton	1359	1819	1727	0	127	–
4	BALDWIN	Milledgeville	14513	8461	7494	2487	58	29
2	BANKS	Homer	3897	229	4428	32	114	14
2	BARROW	Winder	7203	1235	6567	413	91	33
4	BARTOW	Cartersville	14237	2404	12442	702	87	29
2	BEN HILL	Fitzgerald	6461	2659	4143	918	64	34
2	BERRIEN	Nashville	6976	1107	6267	738	90	67
6	BIBB	Macon	50541	25993	27724	5140	55	20
2	BLECKLEY	Cochran	3865	1588	6082	39	157	2
2	BRANTLEY	Nahunta	3033	451	3252	175	107	39
2	BROOKS	Quitman	5746	4693	4199	707	73	15
2	BRYAN	Pembroke	2155	1269	2149	885	100	70
4	BULLOCH	Statesboro	9947	4755	9383	1795	94	38
4	BURKE	Waynesboro	4276	8797	3569	399	83	4
2	BUTTS	Jackson	3282	2168	4005	1414	122	65
2	CALHOUN	Morgan	1802	3232	1958	126	187	4
2	CAMDEN	Woodbine	2241	2062	2816	1556	126	76
2	CANDLER	Metter	3237	1494	3195	1174	99	78
4	CARROLL	Carrollton	17882	3578	17105	939	96	26
7% ✓ 2	CATOOSA	Ringgold	8986	183	9491	129	106	70
2	CHARLTON	Folkston	2007	772	2303	12	115	1
6	CHATHAM	Savannah	63710	38272	37078	9720	58	25
2	CHATTAHOOCHEE	Cusseta	7957	1510	310	8	4	0.5
4	CHATTOOGA	Summerville	11985	1030	11692	1020	97	99
2	CHEROKEE	Canton	12349	473	10332	320	84	68
4	CLARKE	Athens	19734	6249	12689	2866	64	46
2	CLAY	Ft. Gaines	1224	2148	984	97	80	4
30% ✓ 4	CLAYTON	Jonesboro	12269	2070	13461	275	110	13
2	CLINCH	Homerville	2296	1222	2541	422	111	34
6	COBB	Marietta	35241	3935	27394	1948	78	49
5% ✓ 4	COFFEE	Douglas	10503	3133	10948	980	104	31
4	COLQUITT	Moultrie	15630	4409	11103	1047	71	24
2	COLUMBIA	Appling	3163	2451	3231	487	101	20✓
2	COOK	Adel	5269	1861	6127	750	116	40
4	COWETA	Newnan	11501	5788	12577	1348	109	23

2	CATOOSA	Ringgold	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	CHARLTON	Folkston	2007	772	2303	12	115	1
6	CHATHAM	Savannah	63710	38272	37078	9720	58	25
2	CHATTAHOOCHEE	Cusseta	7957	1510	310	8	4	0.5
4	CHATTOOGA	Summerville	11985	1030	11692	1020	97	99
2	CHEROKEE	Canton	12349	473	10332	320	84	68
4	CLARKE	Athens	19734	6249	12689	2866	64	46
2	CLAY	Ft. Gaines	1224	2148	984	97	80	4
30 ✓ 4	CLAYTON	Jonesboro	12269	2070	13461	275	110	13
2	CLINCH	Homerville	2296	1222	2541	422	111	34
6	COBB	Marietta	35241	3935	27394	1948	78	49
5 ✓ 4	COFFEE	Douglas	10503	3133	10948	980	104	31
4	COLQUITT	Moultrie	15630	4409	11103	1047	71	24
2	COLUMBIA	Appling	3163	2451	3231	487	101	20
2	COOK	Adel	5269	1861	6127	750	116	40
4	COWETA	Newnan	11501	5788	12577	1348	109	23
2	CRAWFORD	Knoxville	1641	1806	1772	125	108	7
2	CRISP	Cordele	6345	4390	4911	835	77	19
2	DADE	Trenton	4103	72	3838	45	93	62
2	DAWSON 2150 ←	Dawsonville	2150	0	2018	[illegible]	94	-
4	DECATUR	Bainbridge	7933	6231	7035	895	89	14
6	DEKALB	Decatur	85468	8694	58774	2650	69	30
2	DODGE	Eastman	7638	2863	8798	2068	115	72
2	DOOLY	Vienna	4288	3887	4061	1008	95	26
4	DOUGHERTY	Albany	16885	11773	10052	2130	59	18
2	DOUGLAS	Douglasville	6283	1020	6846	730	109	72
2 ✓	EARLY	Blakely	5037	4790	4335	226	86	5
2	ECHOLS	Statenville	992	379	855	15	86	4
2	EFFINGHAM	Springfield	3501	1838	2923	211	83	11
2	ELBERT	Elberton	8093	3371	9025	986	111	29
2	EMANUEL	Swainsboro	7914	3597	7004	1657	88	46
2	EVANS	Claxton	2607	1340	2409	494	92	37
2	FANNIN	Blue Ridge	8653	47	8271	63	95	134
2	FAYETTE	Fayetteville	3387	1261	3741	11	110	1
6	FLOYD	Rome	35284	6046	28341	2730	80	45
2	FORSYTH	Cumming	6462	25	4970*	20*	77*	80*
2	FRANKLIN	Carnesville	7884	970	7000	300	89	31
6	FULTON	Atlanta	236,554	99,347	100367	24441	42	25
2	GILMER	Ellijay	5765	14	4558	6	79	43
2	GLASCOCK	Gibson	1588	470	1594	21	100	4
4	GLYNN	Brunswick	12632	6069	7974	2185	63	36
2	GORDON	Calhoun	11029	641	7130	348	65	54
2	GRADY	Cairo	7767	3442	4740	527	61	15
2	GREENE	Greensboro	4150	3548	4922	2586	119	73
4	GWINNETT	Lawrenceville	18322	1751	15500	1000	84	57
2	HABERSHAM	Clarkesville	9772	381	8123	300	83	79
4	HALL	Gainesville	22970	2357	19324	1421	84	60
2	HANCOCK	Sparta	2054	4094	2247	1850	109	45
2	HARALSON	Buchanan	8277	721	8438	319	102	44
2	HARRIS	Hamilton	3258	3380	3400	275	104	8
2	HART	Hartwell	6848	1803	6208*	327*	91*	18*
2	HEARD	Franklin	3144	867	2673	388	85	45
2	HENRY	McDonough	5796	3657	5479	1529	94	42
2	HOUSTON	Perry	8744	3835	6943	443	79	11
2	IRWIN	Ocilla	4457	2171	4200	800	94	37
2	JACKSON	Jefferson	10028	1571	7152	436	71	28
2	JASPER	Monticello	2240	2327	2655	570	118	24
2	JEFF DAVIS	Hazlehurst	4083	1034	4197*	42*	103*	4*

* 1954 DATA OR 1956 TOTALS DIVIDED ON A BASIS OF 1954 NEGRO-WHITE RATIO (SOME COUNTIES DO NOT REPORT RACIAL BREAKDOWN FOR 1956)

** 1952 NEGRO-WHITE RATIO APPLIED TO 1956 TOTAL

COUNTIES AND COUNTY SITES IN GEORGIA—Concluded

UNIT VOTE	COUNTY	COURTHOUSE	1950 Population 18 and OVER White	Negro	1956 Registration White	Negro	Registration as % of population White	Negro
2	JEFFERSON	Louisville	5134	5588	6014	237	117	4
2	JENKINS	Millen	2990	2899	2878	891	96	30
2	JOHNSON	Wrightsville	4026	1717	5436	416	135	24
2	JONES	Gray	2232	2223	1843	536	82	20
2	LAMAR	Barnesville	4053	2230	3112	673	77	30
2	LANIER	Lakeland	2104	926	2006	473	95	51
4	LAURENS	Dublin	12545	7298	13435	3537	107	48
2	LEE	Leesburg	1175	2456	1244	29	106	1
2	LIBERTY	Hinesville	1944	2825	2076	2453	107	87
2	LINCOLN	Lincolnton	2170	1617	1658	3	76	0.2
2	LONG	Ludowici	1378	695	2201	1061	160	153
4	LOWNDES	Valdosta	13483	8350	12234	2767	91	33
2	LUMPKIN	Dahlonega	3871	82	4131	73	107	89
2	MACON	Oglethorpe	4080	2914	3410	141	91	3
2	MADISON	Danielsville	1458	2056	4605	126	74	11
2	MARION	Buena Vista	3120	4821	1352	54	85	3
2	McDUFFIE	Thomson	6221	1158	3980	356	97	12
2	McINTOSH	Darien	1597	1879	1470	1197	101	58
4	MERIWETHER	Greenville	6735	5727	7367	1207	109	21
2	MILLER	Colquitt	3723	1372	3493	6	94	0.4
4	MITCHELL	Camilla	6790	5955	7436	345	109	6
2	MONROE	Forsyth	3456	2885	3059	737	88	25
2	MONTGOMERY	Mt. Vernon	2906	1613	3276	887	113	49
2	MORGAN	Madison	3567	3264	2616*	738*	73*	23*
2	MURRAY	Chatsworth	6028	96	4803	28	80	29
6	MUSCOGEE	Columbus	58615	20031	19975	9987	34	50
2	NEWTON	Covington	8717	3860	8724*	1539*	100*	40*
2	OCONEE	Watkinsville	3342	932	3284	446	98	48
2	OGLETHORPE	Lexington	3547	2201	2977	229	84	10
2	PAULDING	Dallas	6499	602	7731	418	119	69
2	PEACH	Ft. Valley	3020	4270	2484	640	82	15
2	PICKENS	Jasper	5188	255	5258	80	101	31
2	PIERCE	Blackshear	4820	1295	5076	425	105	33
2	PIKE	Zebulon	2956	1415	2676	372	90	19
4	POLK	Cedartown	16021	2795	14~~see~~5 ~~NOTE~~	1398 ~~A.~~ BELOW	91	50
2	PULASKI	Hawkinsville	2806	2371	3075	248	109	10
2	PUTNAM	Eatonton	2258	2295	2525	531	112	23
2	QUITMAN	Georgetown	643	1005	763	45xx	118xx	4xx
			[illegible]	[illegible]	4740	17	111	24

2	MORGAN	Madison	3567	3264	2616*	138*	73*	23*
2	MURRAY	Chatsworth	6028	98	4803	28	80	29
6	MUSCOGEE	Columbus	58615	20031	19975	9987	34	50
2	NEWTON	Covington	8717	3860	8724*	1539*	100*	40*
2	OCONEE	Watkinsville	3342	932	3284	446	98	48
2	OGLETHORPE	Lexington	3547	2201	2977	229	84	10
2	PAULDING	Dallas	6499	602	7731	418	119	69
2	PEACH	Ft. Valley	3020	4270	2484	640	82	15
2	PICKENS	Jasper	5188	255	5258	80	101	31
2	PIERCE	Blackshear	4820	1295	5076	425	105	33
2	PIKE	Zebulon	2956	1915	2676	372	90	19
4	POLK	Cedartown	16021	2795	14~~sad~~5 ~~NOTE~~	1398 ~~A.~~ BELOW	91	50
2	PULASKI	Hawkinsville	2806	2371	3075	248	109	10
2	PUTNAM	Eatonton	2258	2295	2525	531	112	23
2	QUITMAN	Georgetown	643	1005	763	45xx	118xx	4xx
2	RABUN	Clayton	4276	71	4749	17	111	24
2	RANDOLPH	Cuthbert	3235	4971	2573	473	79	9
6	RICHMOND	Augusta	50688	23694	23248	5372	46	23
2	ROCKDALE	Conyers	3825	1322	3501	563	91	42
2	SCHLEY	Ellaville	1095	1184	980	134	89	11
2	SCREVEN	Sylvania	4982	5146	3221	729	65	14
2	SEMINOLE	Donalsonville	2917	1631	3342	22	114	1
4	SPALDING	Griffin	15024	5075	9591xxx	1151xxx	64xxx	23xxx
2	STEPHENS	Toccoa	9069	1268	7714	514	85	40
2	STEWART	Lumpkin	1737	3463	2194*	68*	126*	2*
4	SUMTER	Americus	7420	7441	5583	485	75	6
2	TALBOT	Talbotton	1583	2757	1422	210	90	8
2	TALIAFERRO	Crawfordville	1086	1575	1119	888	103	56
2	TATTNALL	Reidsville	7466	2384	8323	1681	111	70
2	TAYLOR	Butler	3055	2233	3124	325	102	14
2	TELFAIR	McRae	5544	2375	6819xxx	101xxx	123xxx	4xxx
2	TERRELL	Dawson	3224	5054	3486	105	108	2
4	THOMAS	Thomasville	13248	8246	8844	1700	67	21
4	TIFT	Tifton	10010	3576	5855	913	58	25
2	TOOMBS	Lyons	7612	2631	6362	155	83	6
2	TOWNS	Hiawassee	2830	3	2123	0	75	–
✓2	TREUTLEN	Soperton	2725	1041	3541	18	130	2
4	TROUP	LaGrange	21911	9423	12809	2036	58	22
2	TURNER	Ashburn	4221	2009	4049	418	96	21
2	TWIGGS	Jeffersonville	1971	2593	2586	354	131	14
2	UNION	Blairsville	4252	0	4822	4820	113	–
4	UPSON	Thomaston	11686	3822	5925	542	51	14
9% ✓ 4	WALKER	LaFayette	22453	1389	24220	1136	108	82
2	WALTON	Monroe	9031	3236	7532	598	83	18
4	WARE	Waycross	13890	4979	11340	1998	82	40
2	WARREN	Warrenton	2144	2836	2104	200	98	7
2	WASHINGTON	Sandersville	5928	6387	6180	1363	108	21
2	WAYNE	Jesup	6648	1644	7341	1448	110	88
2	WEBSTER	Preston	946	1313	908	0	96	0–
2	WHEELER	Alamo	2799	1101	3016	476	108	43
2	WHITE	Cleveland	3307	192	3930	189	119	98
4	WHITFIELD	Dalton	20277	859	19222	951	95	111
2	WILCOX	Abbeville	4019	1841	3212	258	80	14
2	WILKES	Washington	3639	3748	3337	263	92	7
2	WILKINSON	Irwinton	3241	2621	3145	327	97	12
2	WORTH	Sylvester	5975	4837	5796	322	97	7

NOTE A. POLK DOES NOT REPORT RACIAL
BREAKDOWN IN 1952, '54, or '56 (TOTAL FOR '56 IS 15,840)

xxx 1954 DATA

SURVEY OF VOTER REGISTRATION BEHAVIOR AMONG NEGRO ELIGIBLES, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1956

Phyllis A. Wallace*

Introduction

Although voter registration among Negro eligibles in the urban South has increased significantly during the past decade, there are still major psychological and social obstacles to their full political participation. In April 1956 during a voter registration campaign, a survey was conducted to investigate the variables of registration motivation. This programmatic survey[1] of voter registration behavior among Negro eligibles in Atlanta (persons eighteen years of age and over who have resided in Georgia for one year and six months in Fulton County) provides some insights into the socio-economic characteristics, selective factors operative, and political effectiveness of this group.

Methodology

A sample of 200 individuals was selected from three census tracts F38, F28, and F47. F38 which is located in S.W. represents an area in the expanding westside community adjacent to high income areas. Although the median income according to the 1950 census was $1262 and median grade attained was only 9.7, there has been some tendency to aspire to the goals and imitate the social, political, and cultural patterns of the more prosperous adjacent tracts. The other two tracts were located in the older central city areas. F28 had a median income of

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*I acknowledge valuable comments from my colleagues in the social sciences at Atlanta University and especially to Dr. Hylan Lewis, Dr. Warren Schilling of Columbia University, and Mr. Robert E. Lipsey of New York. None of these persons necessarily subscribes to the interpretations and conclusions of this paper.

[1] The survey originated from a survey design and analysis project in an elementary statistics course. To some extent the requirements of sample efficiency had to be simplified for students who had not previously been exposed to the various aspects of this type of empirical research. Although these were learning experiences in formulating schedules, in interviewing, coding, IBM tabulation, and verification, we believe the non-sampling errors have been minimized.

$1188 and a median grade finished of 6.0 years while F47 had a median income of $1150 and a 6.3 median grade completed.

The criteria for selection of these tracts as primary sampling areas were: (1) Among the first twelve census tracts ranked in order of total residents who were Negroes, their position was second, fifth and eleventh, respectively. Negroes comprised 99.7%, 99.4%, and 84.5%, respectively of the total residents within the tracts. Census tract data for Atlanta in 1950 revealed 121,285 Negroes of whom 90,000 were fifteen years of age and over. In F38 resided 6,421; F28, 9,041, and F47, 3,339 Negroes comprising 15.50% of total residents.

(2) Since an earlier study[1] noted that there was greater political activity and interest among the better educated, high income, home-owning segment of Negro elgibles, the predominantly high income tracts were excluded. Simple random sampling was not utilized because of population skewness (high income, well educated units accounted for a high proportion of registration). Thereby a final selection which approximated a sample of eligibles who were less likely to register, was achieved. The three tracts were not high income residential areas where educational attainment and occupational stratification would have yielded an upper class bias. They were areas which had representative concentrations of Negroes of limited means and educational attainment.

(3) A selective sampling of census tracts in order to avoid surveying either adjoining tracts or two in the same city sector, permitted testing of the hypothesis that residential location with reference to census tract was a significant factor in registration. The hypothesis that registration is not independent of census tract identification was later accepted.

The sample was divided in a predetermined male-female ratio in accordance with the belief that sex and registration behavior were associated. Campbell, Gurin, and Miller in their analysis of the 1952 presidential election[1] had stated that "It is a common observation that concern with politics...is much more relevant to the man's role than it is to the woman's and that women are less involved and informed in political events."[2] Again in discussing some of the demographic correlates of political efficacy they remarked "...men are somewhat more inclined than women to feel that the average citizen can make his influence felt upon governmental policy..."[3]

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[1] Robert, Cleo, Some Correlates of Registration and Voting Among Negroes in the 1953 Municipal Elections of Atlanta (Atlanta University Thesis, 1954).

In the total non-white population of fifteen years of age and over of Atlanta, by census tracts, 44% were males and 56% were females. The three census tracts contained 15,321 Negroes over fifteen years of age or seventeen per cent of those in Atlanta, with tract totals divided between males and females 45.34% and 54.66%, respectively. Since the earlier study[4] had indicated a relationship between sex and registration behavior, the sample was structured in a 44%, 56% ratio between the sexes.

The 118 city blocks in the three census tracts were identified by number of dwelling units and ordered serially. Thirty blocks in aggregate were selected in a random manner: 13 blocks in F38, 7 in F28 and 10 in F47. The number of interviews per city block selected was in proportion to the number of dwelling units - i.e., dwelling units for each of the thirty blocks were found as per cent of total and these ratios applied to the sample of individuals in order to determine the number of interviews within the selected city blocks.

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[1] Campbell, A., Gurin, G., Miller, W., The Voter Decides, Evanston, 1954.

[2] Campbell, Gurin, Miller, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

[3] Ibid., p. 191.

[4] Roberts, op. cit.

Thus, 64 persons were interviewed in F38, 71 in F28, and 65 in F47.

Since time did not permit a pre-test, F38 was utilized as a simulated "dry run." The main problem was how to formulate the inquiry in terms most meaningful to the respondents. Although the interviewers selected individuals from any dwelling units within the assigned city block until the quota had been completed, they were instructed to space their cases and if possible secure respondents from each of the four borders of the city block. The biases resulting from our departure from the techniques of random sampling are presumably not significant because we were concerned with finding only rough estimates of population proportions. Since our objective was to find effective guides for future action programs, we believe that the moderate violations of best sampling techniques will still yield results of "sufficient reliability more economically than would more rigorous alternative methods."[1]

Analysis: Reliability of Sample Probability

In order to measure the presence and magnitude of the factors operative in registration behavior, we have evaluated our inquiry in terms of a probability sample from a normal distribution. The standard error of the sample ratios provides a measure of sample precision and also establishes the limits within which the universe ratios (within desired probability) lie. Our sample of 200 individuals reveals a ratio of 28.50% registered and 71.50% not registered. The standard error of our sample percentage is 3.19.

In estimating the precision of the sample proportions there is a probability of 95 that our estimate from 200 cases will be within 6% tolerance. Thus, the chances are 19 out of 20 that the population ratios lie between

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[1] Hansen, M., Hurwitz, W., and Madow, W., Sample Survey Methods and Theory, New York, 1953, p. 74.

22.25% and 34.75% and the chances are two out of three that the population ratios are between 25.30 and 31.69%. The former measure of precision for the characteristic under investigation, voter registration preference, may be an adequate estimate of the population ratio.

We may test the reliability of our sample by establishing the hypothesis that it was drawn from a universe where the ratios were 24% and 76% respectively (ratios of the earlier study).[1] The Chi square is 2.23 which is less than 3.84 at the five per cent level of significance for one degree of freedom. Thus, the hypothesis is tenable that our sample could have come from such a universe.

Two tests of sample representativeness have been made by comparing age and education levels in the sample with data from the 1950 census for the same tracts.[2] Another important test of the sample is the comparison of registration estimates with actual registration figures. Data from the Registrar's Office reveal that approximately 24,000 Negroes in Atlanta were registered during the spring of 1956. If we estimate total Negro eligibles to register between 90,000 and 100,000[3] then the range for percent registered might vary from 24 percent to 27 percent. This reassures us that the sample was representative.

Analysis: Interview Evidence

In testing the validity of the data collected in the survey with criteria of age, sex, education, length of residence in Atlanta, census tract location, home ownership, attitudes concerning value of Negro votes, and reasons for non-registration we made a number of tests of independence and arrived at the following conclusions:

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[1] See Infra

[2] See Infra

[3] Allows for population changes since the 1950 census.

1. Reasons for Non-Registration:

In the sample of 200 individuals, 143 or 71.5% were not registered. The reasons offered for failure to register are listed in Table 1. Approximately 37 percent of the 143 who were not registered indicated a lack of interest or disgust with politics and eleven percent indicated ignorance of location of registration place. Other important reasons for not registering were absence of permission to leave job and failure to remember date of registration.[1]

TABLE 1

REASONS FOR NON-REGISTRATION AND SEX

Reasons for Not Voting	Male	Female	Total	Percent of Total
1. Practical	15	20	35	24.48
Lack of transportation	4	6		
Lines too long	2	5		
Not allowed to leave job	6	7		
Refused registration	2	0		
Not qualified	1	2		
2. Psychological	35	46	81	56.64
Lack of interest	20	33		
Forgot date	9	3		
Do not know location	6	10		
3. Personal	11	16	27	18.88
Illness	3	8		
Other	8	8		
	61	82	143	100.00

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[1] The schedule contained a multiple choice question for reasons, and interviewers were instructed to secure the main reason from each respondent.

The reasons for not voting were categorized into three cluster groups - practical, psychological, and personal reasons in an attempt to test for significant sex differences. The X^2 is 1.56 and at the five percent level is not significant. The null hypothesis that reasons for not registering are independent of sex, is accepted.

2. **Sex:**

Our sample evidence contradicts the hypothesis that registration behavior is dependent on sex. It was assumed that women tended to be less concerned about political affairs and less inclined to participate. Both the Chi square which tests homogeneity of sex and registration and the Chi square which relates sex and reasons for non-registration would indicate that sex is not a significant factor in voter registration behavior.

For the null hypothesis that registration is independent of sex at one degree of freedom, X^2 at the five percent level is equal to 3.84. Our sample result was 1.26. Thus, we accept the hypothesis.

	Registered	Not Registered	Total
Male	30 (25.94)	61 (65.06)	91
Female	27 (31.06)	82 (77.94)	109
	57	143	200

$X^2 = 1.26$

Although males comprised 53% of all registered persons and 43% of non-registered respondents, these proportions were not significantly different from the ratios for females. To the extent that the sex factor was sampled with a quota technique, the ratios might be altered slightly from those available from random sampling of all elementary units. For the present we state that we do not have sufficient reason to say that registration is dependent on sex.

Another check on the relation between sex and registration behavior was made by assuming that sex was independent of the reason for non-registration.

Previous evidence that sex was not a significant factor was corroborated. Apparently, age, educational attainment, home ownership, and census tract location are the major factors and if they are correlated with registration behavior, sex *per se* may not be significant. This rejection of a commonly assumed relationship may be of value to those interested in devising practical procedures for increasing registration response. No special appeal to women may be necessary.

3. Census Tract Location:

The second major conclusion is that census tract location of the respondents is a significant factor for registration behavior. The earlier study assumed that in other than high income residential areas, location would not be significant. The null hypothesis that registration behavior is independent of census tract location (or geographical areas) must be rejected on the basis of the Chi square result.

The ratios of registered and not registered in F38 are greatly different from the ratios of the other two tracts (f47 and F28). Although analysis of variance could be employed here, we tested the indpendence of census tract and registration behavior. For two degrees of freedom X^2 at 95 = 5.99; thus, the hypothesis of independence must be rejected at the five percent level of significance. Although this finding substantiates the hypothesis that political behavior of a census tract is related to adjacent tract patterns, especially if these are upper class, the higher frequency of registered persons in F38 may

TABLE 2

CENSUS TRACT AND REGISTRATION BEHAVIOR

Census Tract	Registered	Not Registered	Total
F38	26 (18.24)	38 (45.76)	64
F28	16 (20.23)	55 (50.76)	71
F47	15 (18.55)	50 (46.48)	65
	57	143	200

$X^2 = 6.80$

indicate that certain selective factors were operative which differentiated behavior in that tract.

Since a census tract is an arbitrary border with a certain amount of spill over of socio-economic groups across tract lines, its use as variable is not entirely satisfactory. F38 is a heterogeneous tract, a minature of the Atlanta Negro community. It has not been primarily a tract of movement or accretion, perhaps due to the influence of the five educational institutions situated within the tract. To what extent has the pressence of the Atlanta University Center promoted different political, social, and cultural patterns among the residents? The University has served as a bastion in the community. Its leadership in rehabilitation of areas around the school along with two large public housing projects has produced considerable stability. The climate of the tract may be attributed also to residence within the tract of University staff with its correspondent halo effect on other groups.

Another aspect of the problem might be whether the political organizations on a ward and precinct level are more thoroughly developed and effective on the westside than in other areas of Atlanta. Perhaps, the efficiency of the organization may result from non-ecological factors such as combination of both Democratic and Republican into the Atlanta Negro Voters League.[1] Since nearly half of all registered respondents were in F38 and almost three fourths of all non-registered, resided in the other two tracts, the conclusion that there are differences among census tracts might be re-tested in similar tracts.

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[1] See Bacote, C. A., "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," Phylon, Fourth Quarter, 1955, p. 349.

4. Age:

The Chi square for age and registration behavior indicates that age is not independent and therefore is significant. For eight degrees of freedom at the five percent level of significance $X^2 = 17.39$. It appears that for both registered and non-registered respondents, there is no noticeable concentration around certain age intervals - that neither the young nor old behave in a special way in terms of registration. See Table 3. The extent to which age may be significant might be due to the fact that it is highly and positively correlated with education.[1] Thus, if education is held constant there is no difference in registration behavior with respect to age. If education is not held constant, the correlation of age with registration behavior may be attributed to the fact that older persons might be less inclined to register because they grew up in a time when Negroes faced decided obstacles in attempting to exercise the franchise.

One-fourth of the registered persons are under thirty-five years of age and one-half are under forty-one years of age, whereas thirty-six percent of the non-registered are under thirty-five and one-half under forty-one. The larger concentration of persons under thirty-five in the unregistered category may possibly be attributable to partial correlation with some other variable, perhaps income.

The 1950 Census revealed that approximately 58 percent of those over fifteen years of age living in the three tracts were under thirty-nine. Fifty percent of the sample was under 41 years of age. The comparison of the age categories of the sample with the census data reassures the representativeness of the sample. Within the age category 20-44 the 1950 Census showed 59.9% for

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[1] See Infra.

F38, 58.8% for F28 and 56 and F47, the ratios for the 18-41 group from the sample were 50 percent, 59 percent and 41 percent, respectively. Although the age groups were not identical, the large percent of young people in both the census data for the tracts and the sample may reflect the fact that the sample design excluded high income tracts which might contain a higher percentage of older individuals.

TABLE 5

AGE AND REGISTRATION BEHAVIOR

Age Group	Registered	Not Registered	Total
18-23	7	9	16
24-29	5	17	22
30-35	2	26	28
36-41	15	20	35
42-47	6	25	31
48-53	8	15	13
54-59	8	9	17
60-65	2	9	11
Over 65	4	13	17
	57	143	200

Length of Residence

The respondents were questioned concerning the length of their residence in Atlanta on the assumption that previous location might affect present registration preference. For both registered and non-registered a large percent had been in Atlanta either since birth or for a period over twenty years. Half of the registered persons indicated that they had lived in Atlanta since birth and a little over 85% of the registered either had been here since birth or had lived in Atlanta for over twenty years. Among the non-registered about one-third had been in Atlanta since birth but forty percent had been in Atlanta less than twenty years with 23% in Atlanta less than ten years. Among the non-registered who had not lived in Atlanta since birth, over 80% had lived previously in rural communities in Georgia or in small urban communities in in Georgia. Thus, most of the movement had been within the state and from smaller communities. There may be some upward bias in the 45% who indicated that they had previously lived in small urban communities. Frequently, such persons identify a nearby area rather than the exact location of their previous residence.

The hypothesis that length of residence in Atlanta is a significant factor in registration behavior may be substantiated by further investigation of the political practices in small communities in Georgia and the extent to which intimidation and ignorance may influence registration behavior. The sociological pattern of rural-urban migration within the state may also be related to the problem of political participation. Freedom, tolerance, and leadership, climate factors in urban areas, make for more political action. Since political consciousness is a function of an urban climate, the accelerated movement of southern Negroes from rural areas to urban communities should eventually produce a larger group of "politically conscious" persons.

TABLE 4

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND REGISTRATION BEHAVIOR

Length of Time in Atlanta	Registered	Non-Registered	Total
0 - 2		6	6
3 - 5	1	9	10
6 -10	1	15	16
11 -20	5	25	30
Over 20	21	44	65
Since birth	29	44	73

X^2 at five percent level and five degrees of freedom is 14.99 and is Significant.

6. Education:

A most significant criterion, for registration behavior is education.

A high positive correlation was apparent. Although half of the registered respondents had completed less than the tenth grade, there were fewer frequencies in the lower grades than for the non-registered, half of whom had completed less than the seventh grade. At the lower educational attainments were concentrated old age groups, in both registered and unregistered categories, but this tendency was more marked for the non-registered. The median educational attainment for the sample was somewhat higher than the 1950 census data because respondents may have inflated their answers. The upward bias appears to be minimized.

TABLE 5-A

REGISTERED BY AGE AND EDUCATION

Age Group	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	College	Total
18 - 23	1		1	4	1	7
24 - 29				3	2	5
30 - 35				2		2
36 - 41			3	10	2	15
42 - 47		1	2	1	2	6
48 - 53		3	2	2	1	8
54 - 59		5	3			8
60 - 65		1			1	2
Over 65	1	2	1			4
Total	2	12	12	22	9	57

TABLE 5-B

NOT REGISTERED BY AGE AND EDUCATION

Age Group	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	College	Total
18 - 23		2		5	2	9
24 - 29		1	7	6	3*	17
30 - 35		3	10	11	2	26
36 - 41	4	4	8	4		20
42 - 47	4	5	10	5	1	25
48 - 53	4	6	4		1	15
54 - 59	1	6	2			9
60 - 65	3	4	2			9
Over 65	5	6	2			13
Total	21	37	45	31	9	143

*Includes one person attended a business school.

In treating registration behavior there is the problem of intercorrelation among the independent variables. If income, education, and home-ownership are highly correlated we cannot state that income and education are related to registration behavior unless we observe each holding the other constant - e.g., for a given income level, education has a certain effect. All we can say is that income and education combined are a factor.

7. Home Ownership:

Home ownership tends to be highly correlated with registration behavior because it may be an index of income and because it may involve some concern over local administration, fees and taxes. Registered respondents were asked which election they usually voted in - "city, state, or national." More voted in local elections than did in either state or national. Although the high income residential sections were excluded from our sample, 42 percent of the registered respondents were home owners, while 81 percent of the non-registered were renters. Our Chi square of 11.95 is highly significant. Atlanta is a community which places great emphasis on home ownership, and the relative increase in ownership status for Negroes within the past fifteen years has been greater than for whites.

	Registered	Non-Registered	Total
Own	25	27	52
Rent	32	116	148
	57	143	200

8. Value of Political Participation:

It was assumed that opinions concerning the importance attached to an individual's vote in helping Negroes in Georgia would influence registration. Regardless of whether respondents were registered or not they were asked "Do you feel that your vote will benefit Negroes in Georgia? Yes __ No __. Explain." Seventy-three percent of the non-registered and 53 percent of the people in our total sample indicated that they did not believe that their vote would benefit Negroes. Effective techniques of re-educating and forcefully presenting the advantages of political participation and disadvantages of non-participation to this group are clearly needed.

If the sample proportions for this category approximate population proportions, it may indicate that although advances have been made in the post-war period, major problems remain.

In their analysis of the 1952 election, Campbell, Gurin, Miller state that "Negroes feel more politically impotent than the rest of the population."[1] This high degree of political futility reflects a low sense of political efficacy - i.e. "the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact upon political process...that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."[2] Some of the comments from the sample were "Whites have it sewed up," "Whites too strong," "Negroes just about as bad off no matter for whom he votes," "Whites will put in whoever they want, anyway," "All candidates are crooked."

Of course the widespread apathy toward politics is not especially a Negro problem but one which has affected the total U.S. In fact, in his discussion of political participation of Negroes in Atlanta, C. A. Bacote notes that the dynamics of the Atlanta scene as well as the strategic force of the Negro vote have produced an enormous relative increase in registration among Negroes since 1945.[1] In that year only three thousand registered, and by 1956 approximately 24 thousand were eligible to vote.

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[1] Campbell, Gurin, Miller, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Ibid., p. 195.

Since 48 percent of those who had not registered believed that their votes would be influential, this contradiction between attitude and action presents some additional problems. Some of this contradiction is resolved by the reasons given for not registering e.g.,ignorance concerning registration procedures and places, and inability to leave job. It is possible that whether or not people say their vote will be meaningful is a post-hoc rationalization in the case of the R's and in the case of non-meaningful non-R's, they may state what they believe interviewers would like to hear. "In an area involving socially valued attitudes or activities there is bound to be a certain amount of deliberate distortion on the part of respondents who wish to cast themselves in a more favorable light; there is both much honest inconsistency between people's thoughts and actions and also much honest failure to live up to perfectly good intentions."[2]

VOTES BENEFICIAL TO NEGROES

	Registered	Non-Registered	Total
Yes	56	38	94
No	1	105	106
	57	143	200

9. Other Factors

It was postulated that occupations, marital status, organizational identification, newspapers read and time of going to work and leaving work were factors associated with registration behavior. Since occupational stratification may to a large extent be determined by education and sex, no independent checks were made. A little more than a third of the non-registered are classified as service workers, except in household, and if the domestic service category is added, nearly half of all non-registered are employed in service categories. Registered were scattered throughout ten categories with about one third in industrial semi-skilled occupations.[1] Non-registered persons tended to be concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder because of limited education.

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[1] Bacote, C. A., op. cit., pp. 344-48.

[2] Ibid., p. 195.

Since slightly more than two thirds of the sample were married persons, no special analysis was made of marital status and registration behavior other than to note that one-fifth of the non-registered were separated. In terms of social behavior, certain instablities do not produce the most favorable environment for external (political) interests. Respondents were asked whether they belonged to churches, fraternities, lodges, social clubs, political clubs, veterans organizations or no organization. Eighty-four percent of the sample noted church and church clubs. Apparently, this is still the major technique of communicating and some sustained program of education via the church may increase registration. However, ten percent of those registered did not associate in any organization (social, political, or religious). Time for going to work and leaving does not appear to be significant in registration behavior. In checking newspapers "read" regularly a large number of the non-registered indicated the Constitution (daily Atlanta paper) and World (daily Negro publication) in that rank. It is doubtful whether newspapers have influenced registration behavior of persons whom education or income does not qualify for political issues.

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[1] There maybe some underempolyed working at this level but actually qualified for clerical or other positions.

Since there is lack of identification with political parties and issues, many voter eligibles do not relate themselves to political activity. Psychologically, the climate has not stimulated these individuals to register and many refrain from becoming involved. Virtually complete indifference may be attributed to past obstacles to political participation as well as to ignorance of recent changes in requirements for eligibility. Also social group conformity pressures may not be too important among the bulk of low income, less educated Negroes from which our sample was drawn. No social opprobruim may be attached to not voting and the image of self and the political process is a vague one.

We have examined the particulars of registration behavior within the segment of Negro eligibles who have been less inclined to register. Their behavior is significant since increased registration for the total group depends on their positive responses and participation. The overall performance; however, of all Negro registrants in Atlanta during the past decade has been impressive. Atlanta, a large metropolitan community oriented to the North and proud of certain traditions, has stimulated increased political participation among Negroes. The combination of Negro business and educational institutions and their impact on the larger community even in a climate of restriction and permissiveness, has produced a consistently strong design for progress.

Although the evidence presented is specific to Atlanta some general application to urban communities in the South appears valid. In the long run as Negroes enjoy significant economic gains they will be exposed to learning experiences in schools, unions, and on jobs. Thus, a more alert and politically aware group will emerge. In the short run, given present apathy, indifference, and psychological obstacles, it may be difficult to devise effective measures to stimulate persons to register.

For release afternoon April 27, 1958

THE STATUS OF NEGRO REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN GEORGIA

By Austin T. Walden, Attorney

Negroes in Georgia have had, and in some areas still have, great obstacles to overcome in the acquisition and exercise of the ballot. With great labor, trial of spirit and expense, Grandfather Clauses and White Primaries were declared illegal and unconstitutional. However, that did not end the Negroes' troubles nor make a free ballot possible.

There are slightly more than a million Negroes in Georgia in a population of more than three million. One hundred and sixty thousand are registered out of a potential of six hundred and fifty thousand, remembering that 18-year-olds may vote in Georgia. More than four-fifths of that registration was placed on the books within two years following the legal demise of the White Primary. It is noteworthy that the above increase in registration was directly responsible for doubling the white registration during the same period. Approximately a million and a quarter of the more than two million white population are qualified to vote.

The Negro registration is pretty largely concentrated in the larger cities and other urban areas. Our problem, therefore, arises in the rural areas. This is to some extent attributable to the county unit system, which often affords politicians the opportunity to ride to office on the Negro question.

In the immediate past, lives have been lost and property practically confiscated. Negroes have been driven out of the community, their homes fired into at night, because of their efforts to register and vote. Threats, intimidation, economic reprisals, cross-burnings in their neighborhoods on nights before elections--these have been some of the devices used to deter Negroes from exercising their suffrage rights. In some areas, registration and election officials have been conspirators in various schemes to accomplish the above objectives. They have used every kind of technicality to avoid registering Negroes.

It is true that the law permits an appeal when a registrant's name has been stricken from the rolls, but such appeals are of no avail because the election at which the registrant intended to vote will have long since passed before an appeal could be heard. Such appeals have no priority over pending cases triable at the next term of court following removal of the registrant's name. The latter makes it highly desirable--if not imperative--that a challenge to a citisen's right to remain on the registration rolls should have to be made in ample time to permit final determination of the issue before the election in which the registrant intended to participate. Such a provision, which is included in one of the proposed Federal civil rights bills, would nullify one of the most nefarious devices used to deprive citizens of the rights guaranteed by the supreme law of the land.

Candor and fairness demand that it be stated that the evils complained of are not really sanctioned by the great majority of the people of our state. It is the political demagogues who cause the trouble--those to whom in the past it has been politically profitable to exploit the prejudices of the uninformed at the expense of a racial minority. Georgians are fair-minded but, in many instances, are afraid to be vocal for obvious reasons.

Now it would be inaccurate and unfair to say the picture is totally dark. Over the years in my state, for instance, there have been quite a few occasions when prominent white citizens have boldly and forthrightly protested against arbitrary and illegal purges of Negro registrants. This has righted some injustices It is fair to say in this connection, however, that instances of fairness on the part of some registration officials are partially nullified by the actions and attitude of the chief officials of the State of Georgia, including its Legislature, aided and abetted by illiberal groups like the White Citizens Council.

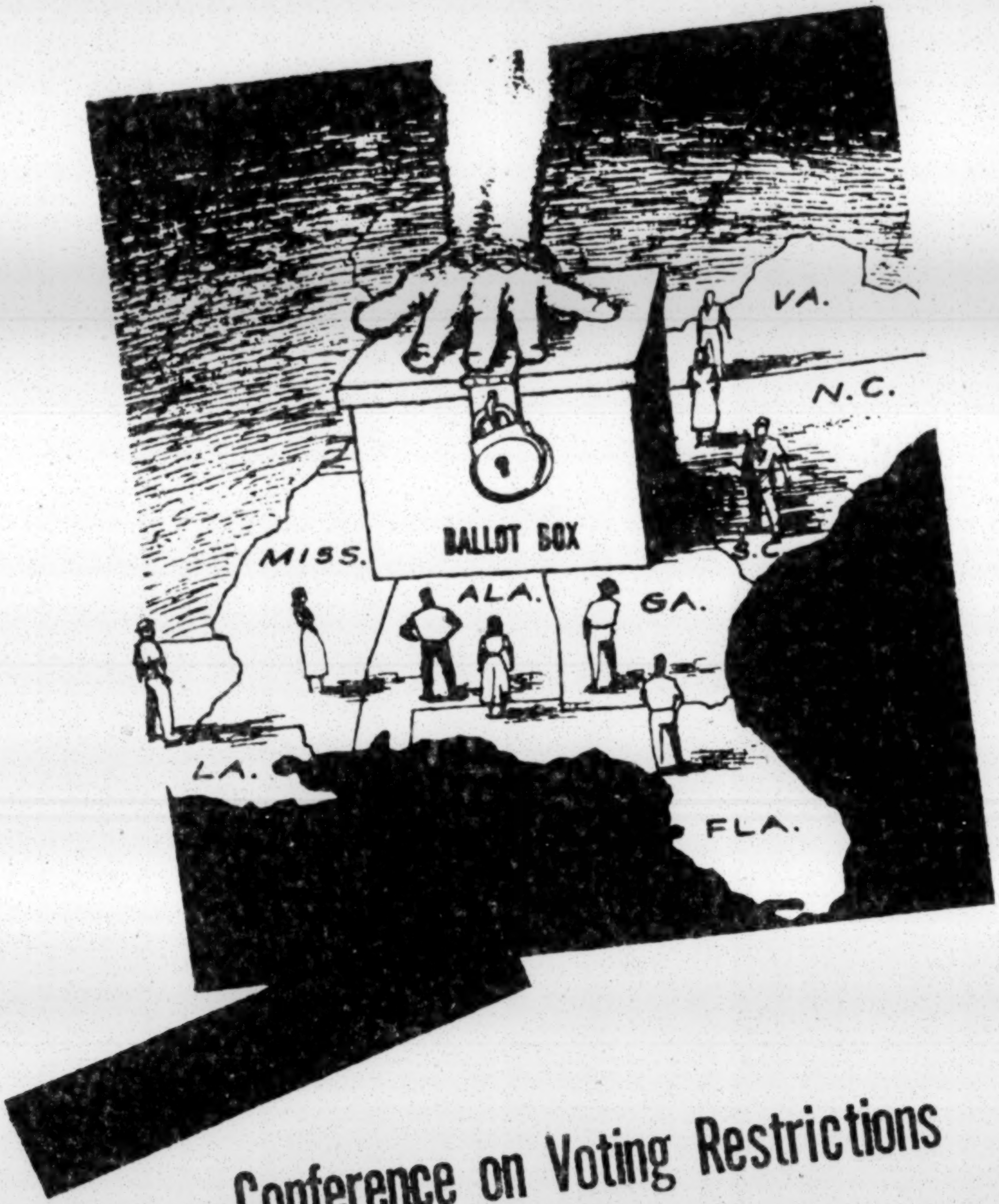
The Legislature recently adopted more stringent qualifications for the exercise of the electors' franchise, particularly for those not able to qualify under the educational clause and, therefore, would have to qualify under the provision relative to good character and good citizenship. The intent and purpose was to curtail the increase of the Negro vote in the state. However, the new regulations are so burdensome and ominous that great opposition to them has already developed among the white electorate. This is because if the rules are halfway decently administered they will likewise result in reducing the number of whites who could qualify under the law.

We have every reason to believe, therefore, that when this law is put into effect it will prove to be such an obstacle for the average citizen to register that the white electorate, as it did eight years ago, will revolt against its operation and thereby bring about repeal of the same.

You will recall that the 1949 law, wherein the whole registration list was abolished, saw Negroes re-register in much larger proportion than did the whites.

In all candor, and notwithstanding the attitude of the State officials, it should be said that the greatest obstacle in the way of registration of Negroes arises from the indifference and timidity on the part of too large a segment of of the Negro people of Georgia. This observation is not made at all for the purpose of justifying the discriminatory practices which prevail in some remaining areas of our state, nor to condone the unjustifiable attitude upon the subject manifested by the top political figures of our state. Our biggest job, therefore, is one of education among our own people.

#



BALLOT BOX
VA.
N.C.
S.C.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
LA.
FLA.

Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1958

(S.C.E.F.)

Special Georgia Suffrage

COUNTIES AND COUNTY SITES IN GEORGIA

JNIT /OTE	COUNTY	COURTHOUSE	White	Colored		Total		
2	APPLING	Baxley	6,612	1,140		7,752	✓	
2	ATKINSON	Pearson	4,164	797		4,961	✓	
2	BACON	Alma	6,105	22		6,127	✓	
2	BAKER	Newton	1,670	0		1,670	✓	
4	BALDWIN	Milledgeville	7,675	2,618		10,293	✓	
2	BANKS	Homer	4,420	44		4,464	✓	
2	BARROW	Winder	5,858	312		6,160		
4	BARTOW	Cartersville	11,239	1,203		12,442		
2	BEN HILL	Fitzgerald	3,797	930		4,727	✓	
2	BERRIEN	Nashville	4,177	403		4,580	✓	
6	BIBB	Macon	26,124	4,913		31,037	✓	
2	BLECKLEY	Cochran	3,346	45		3,391	✓	
2	BRANTLEY	Nahunta	3,767	226		3,993	✓	
2	BROOKS	Quitman	4,321	695		5,016	✓	
2	BRYAN	Pembroke	1,972	817		2,789	✓	
4	BULLOCH	Statesboro	7,899	1,390		9,289	✓	
4	BURKE	Waynesboro	3,664	427		4,091	✓	
2	BUTTS	Jackson	3,810	1,437		5,247	✓	
2	CALHOUN	Morgan	1,682	132		1,814	✓	
2	CAMDEN	Woodbine	2,606	1,385		3,991	✓	
2	CANDLER	Metter	3,195	1,174		4,369	✓	
4	CARROLL	Carrollton	13,680	925		14,605	✓	
2	CATOOSA	Ringgold	9,938	70		10,008	✓	
2	CHARLTON	Folkston	2,293	40		2,333		
6	CHATHAM	Savannah	36,943	9,250		46,193	✓	
2	CHATTAHOOCHEE	Cusseta	284	8		292	✓	
4	CHATTOOGA	Summerville	11,250	1,011		12,261	✓	
2	CHEROKEE	Canton	879	190		1,069	✓	
4	CLARKE	Athens	14,255	3,136		17,391	✓	
2	CLAY	Ft. Gaines	1,013	94		1,107		
4	CLAYTON	Jonesboro	11,441	477		11,918		
2	CLINCH	Homerville	2,429	319		2,748		
6	COBB	Marietta	28,134	1,908		30,042		
4	COFFEE	Douglas	10,058	942		11,000		
4	COLQUITT	Moultrie	13,000	965		13,965		
2	COLUMBIA	Appling	3,423	510		3,933		
2	COOK	Adel	6,000	500		6,500		
4	COWETA	Newnan	11,597	1,647		13,244		
2	CRAWFORD	Knoxville	1,496	155		1,651		

4	CLARKE	Athens	14,255	3,136		17,391		
2	CLAY	Ft. Gaines	1,013	94		1,107		
4	CLAYTON	Jonesboro	11,441	477		11,918		
2	CLINCH	Homerville	2,429	319		2,748		
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2	COLUMBIA	Appling	3,423	510		3,933		
2	COOK	Adel	6,000	500		6,500		
4	COWETA	Newnan	11,597	1,647		13,244		
2	CRAWFORD	Knoxville	1,496	155		1,651		
2	CRISP	Cordele	4,785	721		5,506		
2	DADE	Trenton	3,678	40		3,718		
2	DAWSON	Dawsonville	2,172	0		2,172		
4	DECATUR	Bainbridge	7,530	960		8,490		
6	DEKALB	Decatur	64,450	2,153		66,603		
2	DODGE	Eastman	8,728	2,028		10,756		
2	DOOLY	Vienna	4,252	722		4,974		
4	DOUGHERTY	Albany	10,815	2,628		13,443		
2	DOUGLAS	Douglasville	6,946	832		7,778		
2	EARLY	Blakely	3,812	205		4,017		
2	ECHOLS	Statenville	804	15		819		
2	EFFINGHAM	Springfield	2,618	188		2,806		
2	ELBERT	Elberton	9,012	1,104		10,116		
2	EMANUEL	Swainsboro	7,252	1,762		9,014		
2	EVANS	Claxton	2,206	483		2,689		
2	FANNIN	Blue Ridge	8,503	19		8,522		
2	FAYETTE	Fayetteville	3,204	25		3,229		
6	FLOYD	Rome	19,244	1,523		20,767		
2	FORSYTH	Cumming	4,148	0		4,148		
2	FRANKLIN	Carnesville	5,500	300		5,800		
6	FULTON	Atlanta	104,877	28,414		133,291		
2	GILMER	Ellijay	4,454	6		4,460		
2	GLASCOCK	Gibson	1,339	19		1,358		
4	GLYNN	Brunswick	7,425	2,039		9,464		
2	GORDON	Calhoun	7,702			7,702	(Not Broken do	
2	GRADY	Cairo	5,076	831		5,907		
2	GREENE	Greensboro	5,053	2,728		7,781		
4	GWINNETT	Lawrenceville	16,498	1,002		17,500		
2	HABERSHAM	Clarkesville	8,223	200		8,423	(Approximate)	
4	HALL	Gainesville	17,542	1,209		18,751		
2	HANCOCK	Sparta	2,064	1,730		3,794		
2	HARALSON	Buchanan	11,443	751		12,194		
2	HARRIS	Hamilton	3,635	215		3,850		
2	HART	Hartwell	5,944	294		6,238		
2	HEARD	Franklin	2,475	374		2,849		
2	HENRY	McDonough	5,442	1,662		7,104		
2	HOUSTON	Perry	7,259	480		7,739	(Cannot break d	
2	IRWIN	Ocilla	4,500	700		5,200		
2	JACKSON	Jefferson	7,209	450		7,659		
2	JASPER	Monticello	2,530	804		3,334		
2	JEFF DAVIS	Hazlehurst	6,134	56		6,190		
			813,169	101,449		114,618		

Revised ~~1954~~ 1958

COUNTIES AND COUNTY SITES IN GEORGIA—Concluded

UNIT VOTE	COUNTY	COURTHOUSE	White	Colored		Total
2	JEFFERSON	Louisville	4,120	264		4,384
2	JENKINS	Millen	2,502	694		3,196
2	JOHNSON	Wrightsville	3,655	268		3,923
2	JONES	Gray	2,048	611		2,659
2	LAMAR	Barnesville	2,801	899		3,700
2	LANIER	Lakeland	1,892	452		2,344
4	LAURENS	Dublin	13,218	3,507		16,725
2	LEE	Leesburg	1,281	29		1,310
2	LIBERTY	Hinesville	2,128	2,472		4,600
2	LINCOLN	Lincolnton	2,437	3		2,440
2	LONG	Ludowici				
4	LOWNDES	Valdosta	11,860	2,704		14,564
2	LUMPKIN	Dahlonega	3,912	83		3,995
2	MACON	Oglethorpe	3,024	178		3,202
2	MADISON	Danielsville	4,588	55		4,643
2	MARION	Buena Vista	1,330	52		1,382
2	McDUFFIE	Thomson	4,089	379		4,468
2	McINTOSH	Darien	1,396	1,219		2,615
4	MERIWETHER	Greenville	5,457	927		6,384
2	MILLER	Colquitt	3,357	6		3,363
4	MITCHELL	Camilla	7,298	375		7,673
2	MONROE	Forsyth	3,333	753		4,086
2	MONTGOMERY	Mt. Vernon	3,315	1,005		4,320
2	MORGAN	Madison	2,615	738		3,353
2	MURRAY	Chatsworth	4,962	35		4,997
6	MUSCOGEE	Columbus	22,859	3,729		26,588
2	NEWTON	Covington	9,058	1,905		10,963
2	OCONEE	Watkinsville	3,224	372		3,596
2	OGLETHORPE	Lexington	2,958	199		3,157
2	PAULDING	Dallas	7,851	435		8,286
2	PEACH	Ft. Valley	2,539	679		3,218
2	PICKENS	Jasper	4,393	101		4,494
2	PIERCE	Blackshear	3,388	381		3,769
2	PIKE	Zebulon	2,520	496		3,016
4	POLK	Cedartown	9,852	1,154		11,006
2	PULASKI	Hawkinsville	2,853	235		3,088
2	PUTNAM	Eatonton	2,366	570		2,936
2	QUITMAN	Georgetown	721	[illegible]		[illegible]

2	NEWTON	Covington	9,058	1,905		
2	OCONEE	Watkinsville	3,224	372		3,596
2	OGLETHORPE	Lexington	2,958	199		3,157
2	PAULDING	Dallas	7,851	435		8,286
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2	PIKE	Zebulon	2,520	496		3,016
4	POLK	Cedartown	9,852	1,154		11,006
2	PULASKI	Hawkinsville	2,853	235		3,088
2	PUTNAM	Eatonton	2,366	570		2,936
2	QUITMAN	Georgetown	721	43		764
2	RABUN	Clayton	4,867	11		4,878
2	RANDOLPH	Cuthbert	2,585	493		3,078
6	RICHMOND	Augusta	23,260	5,820		29,080
2	ROCKDALE	Conyers	3,501	563		4,064
2	SCHLEY	Ellaville	1,006	158		1,164
2	SCREVEN	Sylvania	3,027	535		3,562
2	SEMINOLE	Donalsonville	3,172	29		3,201
4	SPALDING	Griffin	9,930	2,000		11,930
2	STEPHENS	Toccoa	8,242	627		8,869
2	STEWART	Lumpkin	1,555	107		1,662
4	SUMTER	Americus	5,164	483		5,647
2	TALBOT	Talbotton	1,448	219		1,667
2	TALIAFERRO	Crawfordville	913	756		1,669
2	TATTNALL	Reidsville	8,224	1,680		9,904
2	TAYLOR	Butler	3,103	347		3,450
2	TELFAIR	McRae	7,389	169		7,558
2	TERRELL	Dawson	2,810	48		2,858
4	THOMAS	Thomasville	8,422	1,579		10,001
4	TIFT	Tifton	6,681	1,113		7,794
2	TOOMBS	Lyons	5,543	170		5,713
2	TOWNS	Hiawassee				
2	TREUTLEN	Soperton				
4	TROUP	LaGrange	13,836	2,104		15,940
2	TURNER	Ashburn	3,893	474		4,367
2	TWIGGS	Jeffersonville	2,517	348		2,865
2	UNION	Blairsville	4,944	0		4,944
4	UPSON	Thomaston	5,437	466		5,903
4	WALKER	LaFayette	23,324	1,127		24,451
2	WALTON	Monroe	6,873	805		7,678
4	WARE	Waycross	11,418	2,318		13,736
2	WARREN	Warrenton	2,006	195		2,201
2	WASHINGTON	Sandersville	6,696	1,704		8,400
2	WAYNE	Jesup	7,931	1,439		9,370
2	WEBSTER	Preston	934	0		934
2	WHEELER	Alamo	3,157	435		3,592
2	WHITE	Cleveland	3,932	189		4,121
4	WHITFIELD	Dalton	15,920	857		16,777
2	WILCOX	Abbeville	3,059	230		3,289
2	WILKES	Washington	3,364	290		3,654
2	WILKINSON	Irwinton	3,041	411		3,452
2	WORTH	Sylvester	5,855	296		6,151
			1,113,418	158,051		1,271,469

4 Counties missing 9/5/58

THE ALBANY HERALD

Founded by H. M. McIntosh, Editor 1891 to 1925

JAMES H. GRAY, Editor and Publisher
DON M. KIMSEY, Managing Editor

H. T. McINTOSH, Editor Emeritus
B. FRANK COOK, Advertising Director

THE ALBANY HERALD, ALBANY, GA., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1958

NEGROES ARE MISUSED

To the Editor of The Herald:

Wun day last week I stopped by ole Jake Jones' place to see him as I had herd that he wuz sick. Jake is a nigger that owns a little farm next to mine. I went in to fine Jake in bed.

"Jake," I sez to him, "it ain't lak you to git sick 'cause ginrully you are pretty roebust and hellthy. What's dun happened to you?"

"Mr. Plowhand," he sez to me in a vurry week voice, "I is jes wukked to death. De NAACP say dey got to have mo' money frum us Southern niggers wid which to help us. Dey is fer us, hook line and cork, dey sez. Well I haff to pick cotton and shake peanuts from sunup til sundown to git de money and hit's about kilt me."

"Jake," I sez back to him, "who helped you build your house ag'in last yur whin it burnt down? Who set up with your sick wife at night and by day when she wuz about ded wiff the Ashiatic flu? Who gethered your crops yur before last whin you ha da broke leg? Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake."

"De white fokes hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reeminder dat my dues wuz beehind."

"Jake, whin're you Southern niggers gonna wake up to find out that you ain't nothing but a tool to be used by powur-mad fools as what sets in a air-condishuned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker? All they got to do to stay fat and rich is to holler that I'm against you. White hates the black, see? Then you shoot them the money thinking it's to help the NAACP keep me off you. They laff fit to kill about you beeing a sucker. Whin is the nigger gonna strike out on his own, Jake?"

PLOWHAND.

Pelham, Ga.

Albany Herald 10/4/58

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

237 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. MUrray 8-6063

NEGRO VOTER-REGISTRATION IN GEORGIA 1958

Analyses of the attached tables and two years of experience in registration activities point up several concepts for consideration:

1. Our plans must include definite methods of getting out the vote to prevent legitimate purging of registration lists. Let's stop "playing catch-up!"
2. It is essential that county leaders contact local public officials to secure co-operation before starting a campaign. It has worked, but be sure that if complaints are to be made, there are witnesses to sign affidavits.
3. A registration campaign should be continuous, as long as, and every time the registration books are open.
4. Paid staff workers, at least at state and district levels, are essential; assistance from staff workers of other organizations is available and should be used.
5. A training program for leaders, such as the Citizenship Clinics, is a must.
6. A two-sided budget is also a must, with economical, effective plans for raising as well as spending it, so that we will not be continuously "cutting the garment to suit the cloth."
7. More emphasis will have to be placed upon youth work activities, giving young people, at all age levels, opportunities to assume leadership, responsibilities and to assist in planning.

Failure to vote, causing purges from county registration lists, is even more serious than the apparant apathy of the non-registered citizens. A comparision of 1958 figures with those of 1956 shows that while six congressional districts gained a total increase of 10,249, four districts decreased by 8,309, leaving a net increase of only 1,940. Of course, this does not take into account the fact that some of the increases by districts and counties also contain decreases that were off-set by the increases. Neither do the figures show that counties and districts with net decreases, also added some names to their respective rolls. In all, 68 counties show increases while 60 show decreases.

It is also significant that the total state registration decreased from 1,312,245 to 1,292,958 while Negro registration increased from 160,018 to 161,958, in spite of purges and migration. Note also that Negro registration increased from 144,785 in 1952 to 161,958 in 1958, a total of 17,173. In this same connection it should be noted that in Districts I, II and III Negro registration fluctuated considerably for the three years; 1952, 1956 and 1958. In Districts IV, V, VI and X, however, there were steady increases. Fluctuations are shown for Districts VII, VIII and IX, but the 1958 figures are above 1952.

Only 6 counties have no Negro voters, while 24 have less than 100; of these 30, there are 19 with none or only a few Negro residents. Reports show that some counties, like Terrell, oppose registration, but in the great majority it appears that Negro and white leaders are able to work together. Much praise should go to Randolph and Terrell County Negroes for their courage in insisting on voting rights.

Most heavily purged districts are I, III and VII; in one county of District III alone: Muscogee, where Columbus is the County seat, the decrease is 6,258, in spite of their registration efforts. Savannah, Chatham County, District III, conducted a concentrated campaign, and had a Negro, Rev. G. D. Walker, running for the City Council to inspire registration, but the net loss was 470 Negro voters. Dublin and Laurens County, District VI, also had an effective registration campaign, but the registration decreased from 9,720 to 9,250 between 1956 and 1958.

A number of counties, apparently fail to purge their lists as indicated in District I: Candler, Long, Montgomery and Tattnall Counties; District III, Dodge; District VII, Chattooga, Haralson and Whitfield; District VIII, Atkinson and Wayne; and District IX, White, because the number of Negro registered voters exceeds or represents an almost impossibly high percentage of the non-white population. On the other hand, most of the larger counties have only a small percentage of Negro voters, such as in District V, Fulton County (Atlanta), with less than 25% of the Negroes registered. However, starting with some 24,000 in 1949, the Fulton County total dropped to 19,362 in 1952, rose to 24,441 in 1956 and now stands at 28,414 out of an estimated total of 119,016 eligible to register.

Several other counties made considerable progress, such as: Montgomery (Mt. Vernon) in District I; Daugherty (Albany) Grady (Cairo) and Tift (Tifton), District II; Coweta (Newnan), Lamar (Barnesville), and Spalding (Griffin) District IV; Jasper (Monticello), and Washington (Sandersville), District VI; Bartow (Cartersville), and Haralson (Buchanan) District VII; Ware (Waycross) District VIII; Stephens, District IX; Clarke (Athens) and Walton (Monroe) District X.

The Statewide Registration Committee in 1956 set up a plan to cover every possible county in the state, but most of the work has been done thru contacts with the top leadership and correspondence. A number of sectional and county meetings have been held, and on June 1958 for a whole day, a statewide citizenship clinic was held, attended by leaders and youth from counties and Congressional Districts. This is to be an annual event, with District Clinics being held between those dates wherever feasible. In this way, we can eventually reach most of the county leaders with instructions and information that can be adapted to their uses.

An effective youth group has been organized with the hope of reaching 18 year olds and young adults, for leadership. Some 60 of them were an effective part of the Macon Clinic. Ways need to be found for bring young adults into the program.

The response from voluntary leadership, although mostly of the elderly group, has been good. There is a crying need for paid workers at the top level, young leaders and more effective fund-raising. The key to full citizenship lies in the hands of those of us who can appreciate the vital necessity for a large, intelligent electorate and are willing to sacrifice time, effort and money to this end.

Voting

In the November, 1956 Presidential Election, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate, registered 41% of the vote in District I, 39.4% in District V, 40% in District VI and 36.7% in District IX. The total Republican and Democratic vote, however, was only 50% of those eligible to vote. The figures used do not include 5,734 write-in votes, which if taken into consideration, would make this ration 49%. Ten counties, as shown below, gave majorities to the Republican candidate: Chatham, Effingham, Liberty, McIntosh, Muskogee, Glynn, Fannin, Gilmer, Pickens and Towns. In five counties: Floyd, Walker, Whitfield, Camden and Union, the two parties divided the vote equally, or nearly so.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the necessity for organization. Two or three leaders, no matter how dedicated, cannot hope to do the job effectively.

Respectfully submitted:
J. H. CALHOUN, Secretary
Statewide Registration Committee

Attest:
John Wesley Dobbs, Chairman

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

SUMMARY BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

DISTRICT AND SECTION	UNIT VOTE	*REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			*REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			NEGRO VOTERS CHANGE 1956-8	NEGRO REGISTRATION 1952	**NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER 1957	*PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
		WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL				DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
TOTALS	408	1,130,385	161,958	1,292,343	160,018	1,085,569	1,312,245	+1940	144,785	660,088	411,094	216,662	657,756
I-So.	44	100,783	24,780	125,563	25,883	104,074	129,957	-1103	24,866	88,187	32,111	22,910	55,021
II-So.	40	82,691	9,814	92,505	8,966	79,915	88,881	+ 848	10,660	68,513	34,929	11,453	46,382
III-Cen.	54	92,469	12,483	104,952	19,029	89,005	111,104	-6546	14,280	87,596	41,827	16,254	58,081
IV-Cen.	42	102,136	15,563	117,699	12,328	178,891	115,218	+3235	11,554	54,402	44,429	12,067	56,496
V-No.	14	172,828	31,130	203,958	27,654	162,642	190,296	+3476	21,225	131,610	82,792	53,528	136,320
VI-Cen.	42	85,568	18,720	104,288	18,270	93,791	112,061	+ 450	16,276	76,618	38,413	13,518	51,931
VII-No.	46	171,135	11,294	182,429	10,339	167,919	194,198	+ 955	10,807	25,201	51,248	34,212	85,460
VIII-No.	46	110,952	16,047	126,999	16,606	104,395	125,240	- 559	15,103	45,724	41,741	13,856	55,597
IX-So.	40	112,309	4,443	116,752	4,544	111,565	116,109	- 101	3,781	11,652	37,641	21,917	59,558
X-No.	40	99,514	17,684	117,198	16,399	93,372	116,406	+1285	16,233	70,585	35,963	16,947	52,910
Total Increase								10,249	19,902***				
Total Decrease								8,309	2,729***				
Net Increase								1,940	17,173				

* Reports from Georgia Secretary of State, except as indicated on District sheets for certain counties.
** Calculated from estimates of the Georgia Department of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.
*** These three amounts show increase of 1958 over 1952.

PREPARED FOR THE STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE OF GEORGIA, BY J. H. CALHOUN, SECRETARY, ATLANTA, GA., OCT., 1958.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

			REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			** NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
FIRST DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL		DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Bryan	Pembroke	2	1,972	817	2,789	885	2,149	3,034	1,289	1,242	331	1,573
2. Bulloch	Statesboro	4	7,899	1,390	9,289	1,795	9,383	11,178	4,689	3,414	901	4,315
3. Burke	Waynesboro	4	3,664	427	4,091	399	3,569	3,968	7,943	1,300	721	2,021
4. Candler	Metter	2	3,195	1,174	4,369	1,174	3,195	4,369	1,447	996	308	1,304
5. Chatham	Savannah	6	36,943	9,250	46,193	9,720	37,078	46,798	44,799	8,698	14,520	23,218
6. Effingham	Springfield	2	2,618	188	2,806	211	2,923	3,134	1,696	611	637	1,248
7. Emanuel	Swainsboro	2	7,252	1,762	9,014	1,657	7,004	3,661	3,263	2.373	678	3,051
8. Evans	Claxton	2	2,206	483	2,689	494	2,409	2,903	1,412	1,152	356	1,508
9. Jenkins	Millen	2	2,502	694	3,196	891	2,873	3,769	2,635	1,000	261	1,261
10. Liberty	Hinesville	2	2,128	2,472	4,600	2,453	2,076	4,529	3,173	892	967	1,859
11. Long	Ludowici	2	2,201*	1,060*	3,262*	1,061	2,201	3,262	668	1,195	281	1,476
12. McIntosh	Darien	2	1,396	1,219	2,615	1,197	1,470	2,667	2,296	624	886	1,510
13. Montgomery	Mt. Vernon	2	3,315	1,005	4,320	887	3,276	4,163	1,462	1,052	271	1,323
14. Screven	Sylvania	2	3,027	535	3,562	729	3,221	3,950	4,766	1,332	521	1,853
15. Tattnall	Reidsville	2	8,224	1,680	9,904	1,681	8,323	10,004	1,862	1,881	440	2,321
16. Toombs	Loyns	2	5,543	170	5,713	155	6,362	6,517	2,860	2,397	565	2,962
17. Treutlen	Soperton	2	3,541*	18*	3,559*	18	3,541	3,559	967	960	117	1,077
18. Wheeler	Alamo	2	3,157	435	3,592	476	3,016	3,492	960	992	149	1,141
TOTAL		44	100,783	24,780	125,563	25,883	104,074	129,957	88,187	32,111	22,910	55,021

* 1956 Totals - 1958 figures not available.

** Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

SECOND DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958 WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956 NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL	*NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER -1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956 DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Baker	Newton	2	1,670	0	1,670	0	1,727	1,727	1,653	783	32	815
2. Brooks	Quitman	2	4,321	695	5,016	707	4,199	4,906	4,330	1,936	534	2,470
3. Calhoun	Morgan	2	1,682	132	1,814	126	1,958	2,084	2,846	1,094	107	1,201
4. Colquitt	Moultrie	4	13,000	965	13,965	1,047	11,103	12,150	4,675	4,412	1,336	5,748
5. Decatur	Bainbridge	4	7,530	960	8,490	895	7,035	7,930	6,475	3,699	1,062	4,761
6. Dougherty	Albany	4	10,815	2,628	13,443	2,130	10,052	12,182	14,175	4,126	3,248	7,374
7. Early	Blakely	2	3,812	205	4,017	226	4,335	4,561	4,784	1,818	193	2,011
8. Grady	Cairo	2	5,076	831	5,907	527	4,740	5,267	3,484	2,697	496	3,193
9. Miller	Colquitt	2	3,357	6	3,363	6	3,493	3,499	1,226	1,563	441	2,004
10. Mitchell	Camilla	4	7,298	375	7,673	345	7,436	7,781	5,839	2,735	382	3,117
11. Seminole	Donalsonville	2	3,172	29	3,201	22	3,342	3,364	1,557	1,343	129	1,472
12. Thomas	Thomasville	4	8,422	1,579	10,001	1,700	8,844	10,544	8,523	3,522	2,240	5,762
13. Tift	Tifton	4	6,681	1,113	7,794	913	5,855	6,768	4,166	3,123	960	4,083
14. Worth	Sylvester	2	5,855	296	6,151	322	5,796	6,118	4,780	2,078	293	2,371
TOTAL		40	82,691	9,814	92,505	8,966	79,915	88,881	68,513	34,929	11,453	46,382

* Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

THIRD DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			** NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
			WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL		DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Ben Hill	Fitzgerald	2	3,797	930	4,727	918	4,143	5,061	2,800	2,150	554	2,704
2. Chattahoochee	Cusseta	2	284	8	292	8	310	318	487	107	43	150
3. Clay	Ft. Gaines	2	1,013	94	1,107	97	984	1,081	1,901	390	103	493
4. Crisp	Cordele	2	4,785	721	5,506	835	4,911	5,746	4,415	2,526	835	3,361
5. Dodge	Eastman	2	8,728	2,028	10,756	2,068	8,798	10,866	2,486	3,479	738	4,217
6. Dooly	Vienna	2	4,252	722	4,974	1,088	4,061	5,149	3,419	1,851	174	2,025
7. Harris	Hamilton	2	3,635	215	3,850	275	3,400	3,675	3,339	1,327	563	1,890
8. Houston	Perry	2	7,259	480*	7,739	443	6,743	7,386	4,100	4,483	1,060	5,543
9. Lee	Leesburg	2	1,281	29	1,310	29	1,244	1,273	2,167	532	79	611
10. Macon	Oglethorpe	2	3,024	178	3,202	141	3,410	3,551	4,412	1,984	363	2,347
11. Marion	Buena Vista	2	1,330	52	1,382	54	1,352	1,406	1,948	618	158	776
12. Muscogee	Columbus	6	22,859	3,729	26,588	9,987	19,975	29,962	21,548	8,160	8,176	16,336
13. Peach	Ft. Valley	2	2,539	679	3,218	640	2,484	3,124	4,701	1,541	461	2,002
14. Pulaski	Hawkinsville	2	2,853	235	3,088	248	3,075	3,323	2,114	1,422	171	1,593
15. Quitman	Georgetown	2	721	43	764			808	905	355	31	386
16. Randolph	Cuthbert	2	2,585	493	3,078	473	2,573	3,046	4,290	1,582	547	2,129
17. Schley	Ellaville	2	1,006	158	1,164	134	980	1,114	1,037	441	117	558
18. Stewart	Lumpkin	2	1,555	107	1,662			2,262	3,166	692	235	927
19. Sumter	Americus	4	5,164	483	5,647	485	5,583	6,068	7,043	2,149	730	2,879
20. Taylor	Butler	2	3,103	347	3,450	325	3,124	3,449	2,048	1,359	276	1,635
21. Terrell	Dawson	2	2,810	481	2,858	105	3,486	3,591	4,418	1,300	203	1,503
22. Turner	Ashburn	2	3,893	474	4,367	418	4,049	4,467	2,124	1,398	354	1,752
23. Wevster	Preston	2	934		934		908	908	1,258	295	51	346
24. Wilcox	Abbeville	2	3,059	230	3,289	258	3,212	3,470	1,470	1,686	232	1,918
TOTAL		54	92,469	12,483	104,952	19,029	89,005	111,104	87,596	41,827	16,254	58,081

* Reported by Houston County Board of Registrars

** Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

FOURTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			**NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
			WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL		DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Butts	Jackson ✓	2	3,810	1,437	5,247	1,414	4,005	5,419	2,201	1,885	323	2,208
2. Carroll	Carrollton ✓	4	13,680	925	14,605	939	17,105	18,044	3,454	4,855	1,712	6,567
3. Clayton	Jonesboro ✓	4	11,441	477	11,918			1,376	2,675	5,522	1,593	7,115
4. Coweta	Newnan ✓	4	11,597	1,647	13,244	1,348	12,577	13,925	5,872	3,003	850	3,853
5. Fayette	Fayetteville	2	3,204	25	3,229	11	3,741	3,752	1,290	1,308	138	1,446
6. Heard	Franklin	2	2,475	374	2,849	388	2,673	3,061	643	1,106	194	1,300
7. Henry	McDonough ✓	2	5,442	1,662	7,104	1,529	5,479	7,008	3,774	2,636	848	3,484
8. Lamar	Barnesville ✓	2	2,801	899	3,700	673	3,112	3,785	2,146	1,531	555	2,086
9. Merriweather	Greenville ✓	2	5,457	927	6,384	1,207	7,367	8,574	5,554	3,137	592	3,729
10. Newton	Covington	2	9,058	1,905	10,963			10,263	4,097	3,232	532	3,764
11. Pike	Zebulon ✓	2	2,520	496	3,016	392	2,676	3,048	1,630	1,067	210	1,277
12. Spalding	Griffin ✓	4	9,930*	2,000*	11,930*	1,659		1,659*	5,227	4,853	1,458	6,311
13. Talbot	Talbotton	2	1,448	219	1,667	210	1,422	1,632	2,730	710	136	846
14. Troup	LaGrange	4	13,836	2,104	15,940	2,036	12,809	14,845	9,711	6,162	2,214	8,376
15. Upson	Thomaston	4	5,437	466	5,903	542	5,925	6,467	3,398	3,422	712	4,134
TOTAL		42	102,136	15,563	117,699	12,328	78,891	115,218	54,402	44,429	12,967	56,496

* Reported by Spalding County Board of Registrars.

** Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

			REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			* NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
FIFTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL	OVER-1957	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. DeKalb	Decatur	6	64,450	2,153	66,603	2,650	58,774	61,424	11,155	29,915	15,718	45,633
2. Fulton	Atlanta	6	104,877	28,414	133,291	24,441	100,367	124,808	119,016	51,098	37,326	88,424
3. Rockdale	Conyers	2	3,501	563	4,064	563	3,501	4,064	1,439	1,779	484	2,263
TOTAL		14	172,828	31,130	203,958	27,654	162,642	190,296	131,610	82,792	53,528	136,320

* Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

			REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			* NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
SIXTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL		DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Baldwin	Milledgeville	4	7,675	2,618	10,293	2,487	7,494	9,981	5,633	2,275	1,080	3,355
2. Bibb	Macon	6	26,124	4,913	31,037	5,140	27,724	32,864	29,765	14,966	7,242	22,208
3. Bleckley	Cochran	2	3,346	45	3,391	39	6,082	6,121	1,493	1,537	136	1,673
4. Crawford	Knoxville	2	1,496	155	1,651	125	1,772	1,897	1,604	779	109	888
5. Glascock	Gibson	2	1,339	19	1,358	21	1,594	1,615	392	314	110	424
6. Hancock	Sparta	2	2,064	1,730	3,794	1,850	2,247	4,097	3,818	860	354	1,214
7. Jasper	Monticello	2	2,530	804	3,334	570	2,655	3,225	2,094	962	288	1,250
8. Jefferson	Louisville	2	4,120	264	4,384	237	6,014	6,251	5,562	1,351	512	1,863
9. Johnson	Wrightsville	2	3,655	268	3,923	416	5,436	5,852	1,293	1,607	179	1,786
10. Jones	Gray	2	2,048	611	2,659	536	1,843	2,379	1,983	1,208	382	1,590
11. Laurens	Dublin	4	13,218	3,507	16,725	3,537	13,435	16,972	7,398	5,085	1,189	6,274
12. Monroe	Forsyth	2	3,333	753	4,086	737	3,059	3,796	2,695	1,545	506	2,051
13. Putnam	Eatonton	2	2,366	570	2,936	531	2,525	3,056	2,140	1,093	268	1,361
14. Twiggs	Jeffersonville	2	2,517	348	2,865	354	2,586	2,940	2,419	1,002	168	1,170
15. Washington	Sandersville	4	6,696	1,704	8,400	1,363	6,180	7,543	5,896	2,530	602	3,132
16. Wilkinson	Irwinton	2	3,041	411	3,452	327	3,145	3,472	2,433	1,299	393	1,692
TOTAL		42	85,568	18,720	104,288	18,270	93,791	112,061	76,618	38,413	13,518	51,931

* Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEROGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

SEVENTH		UNIT	REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			** NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL	OVER-1957	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Bartow	Cartersville	4	11,239	1,203	12,442	702	12,442	13,144	3,646	3,640	1,536	5,176
2. Catoosa	Ringgold	2	9,938	70	10,008	129	9,491	9,620	287	2,163	1,336	3,499
3. Chattooga	Summerville	4	11,250	1,011	12,261	1,020	11,692	12,712	1,208	3,823	1,682	5,505
4. Cobb	Marietta	6	28,134	1,908	30,042	1,948	27,394	29,342	4,550	11,696	6,798	18,494
5. Dade	Trenton	2	3,678	40	3,718	45	3,838	3,883	45	863	723	1,586
6. Douglas	Douglasville	2	6,946	832	7,778	730	6,846	7,576	1,111	2,111	1,001	3,112
7. Floyd	Rome	6	19,244	1,523	20,767	2,730	28,341	31,071	6,315	6,633	5,955	12,588
8. Gordon	Calhoun	2	7,353	348*	7,702	348	7,130	7,578	707	1,970	1,024	2,994
9. Haralson	Buchanan	2	11,443	751	12,194	319	8,438	8,757	732	2,472	2,218	4,690
10. Murray	Chatsworth	2	4,962	35	4,997	28	4,803	4,831	55	1,819	1,144	2,963
11. Paulding	Dallas	2	7,851	435	8,286	418	7,731	8,149	627	1,599	940	2,539
12. Polk	Cedartown	4	9,852	1,154	11,006			15,840	3,040	4,502	2,098	6,600
13. Walker	LaFayette	4	23,324	1,127	24,451	1,136	24,220	25,356	1,734	3,693	3,552	7,245
14. Whitfield	Dalton	4	15,920	857	16,777	786	15,553	16,339	1,144	4,264	4,205	8,469
TOTAL		46	171,135	11,294	182,429	10,339	167,919	194,198	25,201	51,248	34,212	85,460

* 1956 total - 1958 not available

** Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

EIGHTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			* NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
			WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL		DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Appling	Baxley	2	6,612	1,140	7,752	1,068	7,451	8,519	1,456	1,719	506	2,225
2. Atkinson	Pearson	2	4,164	797	4,961	786	5,675	6,461	925	1,719	122	1,841
3. Bacon	Alma	2	6,105	22	6,127	8	5,989	5,997	630	2,445	394	2,839
4. Berrien	Nashville	2	4,177	403	4,580	738	6,267	7,005	1,081	2,398	165	2,563
5. Brantley	Nahunta	2	3,767	226	3,993	175	3,252	3,427	412	1,208	228	1,436
6. Camden	Woodbine	2	2,606	1,385	3,991	1,556	2,816	4,372	2,169	1,178	1,014	2,192
7. Charlton	Folkston	2	2,293	40	2,333	12	2,303	2,315	781	750	204	954
8. Clinch	Homerville	2	2,429	319	2,748	422	2,541	2,963	1,220	1,577	518	2,095
9. Coffee	Douglas	4	10,058	942	11,000	980	10,948	11,928	3,245	3,199	574	3,773
10. Cook	Adel	2	6,000	500	6,500	750	6,127	6,877	2,042	2,100	245	2,345
11. Echols	Statenville	2	804	15	819	15	855	870	262	528	134	662
12. Glynn	Brunswick	4	7,425	2,039	9,464	2,185	7,974	10,159	7,052	3,071	3,098	6,169
13. Irwin	Ocilla	2	4,500	700	5,200	800	4,200	5,000	2,108	1,554	312	1,866
14. Jeff Davis	Hazelhurst	2	6,134	56	6,190			4,239	1,173	1,656	247	1,903
15. Lanier	Lakeland	2	1,892	452	2,344	473	2,006	2,479	974	890	152	1,042
16. Lawndes	Valdosta	4	11,860	2,704	14,564	2,767	12,234	15,001	9,428	3,936	2,135	6,071
17. Pierce	Blackshear	2	3,388	381	3,769	425	5,076	5,501	1,350	1,766	298	2,064
18. Telfair	McRae	2	7,389	169	7,558				2,276	2,075	284	2,359
19. Ware	Waycross	4	11,418	2,318	13,736	1,998	11,340	13,338	5,385	5,888	2,276	8,164
20. Wayne	Jesup	2	7,931	1,439	9,370	1,448	7,341	8,789	1,755	2,084	950	3,034
TOTAL		46	110,952	16,047	126,999	16,606	104,395	125,240	45,724	41,741	13,856	55,597

* Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

			REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956			** NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
NINTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL	OVER-1957	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Banks	Homer	2	4,420	44	4,464	32	4,428	4,460	163	989	187	1,176
2. Barrow	Winder	2	5,848	312	6,160	413	6,567	6,980	1,460	2,266	442	2,708
3. Cherokee	Canton	2	879	190	1,069			110,652	575	2,110	1,829	3,939
4. Dawson	Dawsonville	2	2,172		2,172		2,018	2,018		721	613	1,334
5. Fannin	Blue Ridge	2	8,503	19	8,522	63	8,271	8,334	132	1,945	3,521	5,466
6. Forsyth	Cumming	2	4,148		4,148		5,020	5,020	50	1,998	1,131	3,129
7. Gilmer	Ellizay	2	4,454	6	4,460	6	4,558	4,564	127	1,275	1,857	3,132
8. Gwinnett	Lawrenceville	4	16,498	1,002	17,500	1,000	15,500	16,500	1,894	5,687	1,443	7,130
9. Habersham	Clarkesville	2	8,223	200	8,423	300	8,123	8,423	507	2,276	855	3,131
10. Hall	Gainesville	4	17,542	1,209	18,751	1,421	19,324	20,745	2,885	5,989	2,752	8,741
11. Jackson	Jefferson	2	7,209	450	7,659	436	7,152	7,588	1,495	3,100	438	3,538
12. Lumpkin	Dahlonega	2	3,912	83	3,995	73	4,131	4,204	109	693	486	1,179
13. Pickens	Jasper	2	4,393	101	4,494	80	5,258	5,338	317	1,236	2,341	3,577
14. Rabun	Clayton	2	4,867	11	4,878	17	4,749	4,760	153	1,391	413	1,804
15. Stephens	Taccoa	2	8,242	627	8,869	514	7,714	8,228	1,521	2,595	684	3,279
16. Towns	Hiawassee	2	2,123*	0*	2,123*			2,123	43	885	1,096	1,981
17. Union	Blairsville	2	4,944	0	4,944	0	4,822	4,822	0	1,386	1,360	2,746
18. White	Cleveland	2	3,932	189	4,121	189	3,930	4,119	221	1,099	469	1,568
TOTAL		40	112,309	4,443	116,752	4,544	111,565	116,109	11,652	37,641	21,917	59,558

* 1956 totals - 1958 not available

** Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

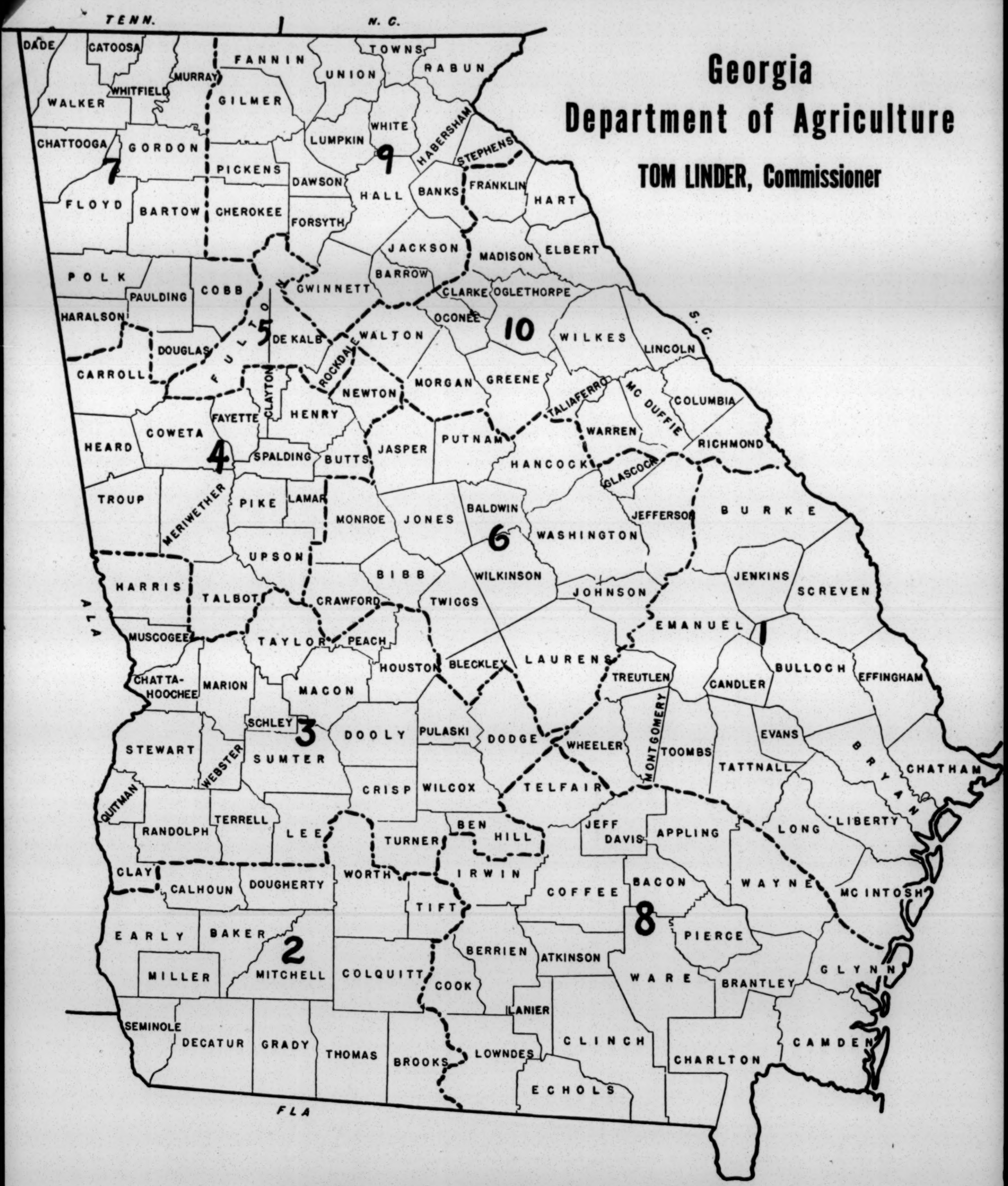
1956 - 1958 REGISTRATION AND 1956 VOTING RECORD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

			REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER, 1958			REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER, 1956				PRESIDENTIAL VOTE NOVEMBER, 1956		
TENTH DISTRICT	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL	* NON-WHITES AGE 18 OR OVER-1957	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN	TOTAL
1. Clarke	Athens	4	14,255	3,136	17,391	2,866	12,689	15,555	6,479	4,257	2,107	6,364
2. Columbia	Appling	2	3,423	510	3,933	487	3,231	3,718	2,582	866	463	1,329
3. Elbert	Elberton	2	9,012	1,104	10,116	986	9,025	10,011	3,030	3,635	447	4,082
4. Franklin	Carnesville	2	5,500	300	5,800	300	7,000	7,300	911	2,968	253	3,221
5. Greene	Greensboro	2	5,053	2,728	7,781	2,586	4,922	7,508	3,415	2,012	541	2,553
6. Hart	Hartwell	2	5,944	294	6,238			6,535	1,768	1,139	107	1,246
7. Lincoln	Lincolnton	2	2,437	3	2,440	3	1,658	1,661	1,536	696	155	851
8. Madison	Danielsville	2	4,588	55	4,643	126	4,605	4,731	1,141	2,222	161	2,383
9. McDuffie	Thomson	2	4,089	379	4,468	356	3,980	4,336	2,777	1,039	649	1,688
10. Morgan	Madison	2	2,615	738	3,353	693	2,661	3,344	3,162	1,492	246	1,738
11. Oconee	Watkinsville	2	3,224	372	3,596	446	3,284	3,730	818	1,156	314	1,470
12. Oglethorpe	Lexington	2	2,958	199	3,157	229	2,977	3,206	1,869	1,404	167	1,571
13. Richmond	Augusta	6	23,260	5,820	29,080	5,372	23,248	26,620	30,912	6,819	10,251	17,070
14. Taliaferro	Crawfordville	2	913	756	1,669	888	1,119	2,007	1,219	599	160	759
15. Walton	Monroe	2	6,873	805	7,678	598	7,532	8,130	3,290	3,271	470	3,741
16. Warren	Warrenton	2	2,006	195	2,201	200	2,104	2,304	2,581	674	152	826
17. Wilkes	Washington	2	3,364	290	3,654	263	3,337	3,700	3,095	1,714	304	2,018
TOTAL		40	99,514	17,684	117,198	16,399	93,372	116,406	70,585	35,963	16,947	52,910

* Calculated from estimates of Ga. Dept. of Health, by R. A. Thompson, Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia
Department of Agriculture

TOM LINDER, Commissioner


TENN.
N. C.
S. C.
ALA
FLA
DADE
CATOOSA
WALKER
WHITFIELD
MURRAY
FANNIN
UNION
TOWNS
RABUN
GILMER
CHATTOOGA
GORDON
LUMPKIN
WHITE
HABERSHAM
STEPHENS
7
9
PICKENS
DAWSON
HALL
BANKS
FRANKLIN
HART
FLOYD
BARTOW
CHEROKEE
FORSYTH
JACKSON
MADISON
ELBERT
POLK
PAULDING
COBB
GWINNETT
BARROW
CLARKE
OGLETHORPE
HARALSON
FULTON
OCONEE
10
WILKES
LINCOLN
DOUGLAS
5
DE KALB
WALTON
ROCKDALE
CARROLL
CLAYTON
NEWTON
MORGAN
GREENE
TALIAFERRO
MC DUFFIE
COLUMBIA
FAYETTE
HENRY
WARREN
HEARD
COWETA
4
SPALDING
BUTTS
JASPER
PUTNAM
RICHMOND
HANCOCK
GLASCOCK
TROUP
MERIWETHER
PIKE
LAMAR
MONROE
JONES
BALDWIN
JEFFERSON
BURKE
6
WASHINGTON
UPSON
HARRIS
BIBB
WILKINSON
JENKINS
SCREVEN
TALBOT
CRAWFORD
TWIGGS
JOHNSON
EMANUEL
1
MUSCOGEE
TAYLOR
PEACH
HOUSTON
BLECKLEY
LAURENS
TREUTLEN
CANDLER
BULLOCH
EFFINGHAM
CHATTA-HOOCHEE
MARION
MACON
SCHLEY
3
DOOLY
PULASKI
DODGE
WHEELER
MONTGOMERY
TOOMBS
EVANS
STEWART
WEBSTER
SUMTER
BRYAN
TATTNALL
CHATHAM
QUITMAN
CRISP
WILCOX
TELFAIR
RANDOLPH
TERRELL
LEE
BEN HILL
TURNER
JEFF DAVIS
APPLING
LONG
LIBERTY
CLAY
CALHOUN
DOUGHERTY
WORTH
IRWIN
COFFEE
BACON
WAYNE
MC INTOSH
TIFT
8
EARLY
BAKER
2
PIERCE
MILLER
MITCHELL
COLQUITT
COOK
BERRIEN
ATKINSON
WARE
BRANTLEY
GLYNN
LANIER
SEMINOLE
DECATUR
GRADY
THOMAS
BROOKS
LOWNDES
CLINCH
CHARLTON
CAMDEN
ECHOLS

COUNTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
STATE OF GEORGIA

42 picas

GEORGIA – 12 TR Copy

GEORGIA – Continued

County	1958 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
APPLING ...	14,100	11,300	2,800	7,752	6,612	1,140	19.9	14.7
ATKINSON	7,700	6,000	1,700	4,961	4,164	797	22.1	16.1
BACON	9,700	8,600	1,100	6,127	6,105	22	11.3	.36
BAKER	5,200	1,900	3,300	1,670	1610	1, -0-	63.5	-0-
BALDWIN	21,700	13,900	7,800	10,293	7,675	2,618	35.9	25.4
BANKS	5,900	5,600	300	4,464	4,420	44	5.1	1.
BARROW	13,500	11,000	2,500	6,160	5,858	312	18.5	5.1
BARTOW	29,400	25,200	4,200	12,442	11,239	1,203	14.3	9.7
BEN HILL	15,400	10,400	5,000	4,727	3,797	930	325	19.7
BERRIEN	13,400	11,600	1,800	4,580	4,177	403	13.4	8.8
BIBB	142,000	94,700	47,300	31,037	26,124	4,913	33.3	15.8
BLECKLEY	9,100	6,400	2,700	3,391	3,346	45	29.7	1.3
BRANTLEY	6,200	5,600	600	3,993	3,767	226	9.7	5.7
BROOKS	17,100	8,900	8,200	5,016	4,321	695	48.	13.9
BRYAN	6,000	3,600	2,400	2,789	1,972	817	40.	29.3
BULLOCH	24,600	15,400	9,200	9,289	7,899	1,390	37.4	15.
BURKE	22,100	6,900	15,200	4,091	3,664	427 ✓	68.8	10.4
BUTTS	9,200	5,000	4,200	5,247	3,810	1,437	45.7	27.4
CALHOUN	7,600	2,500	5,100	1,814	1,682	132	67.1	7.3
CAMDEN	8,800	4,700	4,100	3,991	2,606	1,385	46.6	34.7
CANDLER	7,500	4,900	2,600	4,369	3,195	1,174	34.7	26.9
CARROLL	35,000	28,200	6,800	14,605	13,680	925	19.4	63 ?
CATOOSA	17,600	17,200	400	10,008	9,938	70	2.3	.7
CHARLTON	4,800	3,400	1,400	2,333	2,293	40	29.2	1.7
CHATHAM	193,400	124,400	69,000	46,193	36,943	9,250	35.7	20.
CHATTAHOOCHEE	1,200	600	600	292	284	8	50.	2.7
CHATOOGA	23,400	21,200	2,200	12,261	11,250	1,011	9.4	8.2
CHEROKEE	21,800	20,800	1,000	1,069	879	190	4.6	17.8
CLARKE	42,700	32,400	10,300	17,391	14,255	3,136	24.1	18.
CLAY	5,200	1,600	3600	1,107	1,013	94	69.2	8.5
CLAYTON	33,900	29,100	4,800	11,918	11,441	477	14.2	4.
CLINCH	6,500	4,400	2,100	2,748	2,429	319	323	11.6
COBB	84,800	77,800	7,000	30,042	28,134	1,908	83	6.4
COFFEE	26,100	19,600	6,500	11,000	10,058	942	24.9	8.6
COLQUITT	35,700	27,200	8,500	13,965	13,000	965	23.8	6.9
COLUMBIA	11,000	6,100	4,900	3,933	3,423	510	44.5	13.
COOK	12,700	9,000	3,700	6,500	6,000	500	29.1	7.7
COWETA	28,900	18,300	10,600	13,244	11,597	1,647	36.7	12.4
CRAWFORD	5,600	2,300	3,300	1,651	1,496	155	58.9	9.4
CRISP	18,200	10,300	7,900	5,506	4,785	721	43.4	13.1
DADE	8,500	8,400	100	3,718	3,678	40	1.2	1.
DAWSON	3,300	3,300	0	2,172	2,172	0	-0-	-0-
DECATUR	25,300	13,700	11,600	8,490	7,530	960	45.8	11.3
DEKALB	202,800	183,800	19,000	66,603	64,450	2,153	9.4	3.2
DODGE	16,200	11,500	4,700	10,756	8,728	2,028	29.	18.9
DOOLY	12,800	6,100	6,700	4,974	4,252	722	523	14.5
DOUGHERTY	59,000	36,500	22,500	13,443	10,815	2,628	381	19.5

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GEORGIA	A	B	C	D	E	F	C/A	F/D
	TOTAL POP	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL REGISTRA.	WHITE REGISTRA	NEGRO REGISTRA.	% NEGRO IN POP	% OF TOTAL REGISTER. WHO ARE NEGRO
DOUGLAS	14,000	11,900	2,100	7778	6946	832	15.	10.7
EARLY	17,000	7,700	9,300	4017	3812	205	54.7	5.1
ECHOLS	2,300	1,700	600	819	804	15	26.1	1.8
EFFINGHAM	9,000	5,700	3,300	2806	2618	188	36.7	6.7
ELBERT	18,300	12,700	5,600	10116	9012	1104	30.6	10.9
EMANUEL	17,800	11,500	6,300	9014	7252	1762	35.4	19.8
EVANS	6,400	3,800	2,600	2689	2206	483	40.6	18.
FANNIN	15,700	15,600	100	8522	8503	19	.63	.22
FAYETTE	8,000	5,400	2,600	3229	3204	25	67.5	.77
FLOYD	67,700	58,000	9,700	20767	19244	1523	14.3	7.3
FORSYTH	11,100	11,000	100	4148	4148	0	.9	0
FRANKLIN	13,900	12,300	1,600	5800	5500	300	11.5	5.2
FULTON	571,600	395,000	176,600	133291	104877	28414	30.9	21.3
GILMER	10,700	10,600	100	4460	4454	6	.9	.13
GLASCOCK	3,000	2,200	800	1358	1339	19	26.7	1.4
GLYNN	35,400	24,600	10,800	9464	7425	2039	30.5	21.5
GORDON	19,600	18,400	1,200	7702	~~7702~~ 7353*	348* 3	6.1	~~0~~ .47
GRADY	18,900	12,300	6,600	5907	5076	831	34.9	14.1
GREENE	12,500	6,100	6,400	7781	5053	2728	51.2	35.1
GWINNETT	35,600	32,400	3,200	17500	16498	1002	9.	5.7
HABERSHAM	18,100	17,500	600	8423	8223	200	3.3	2.4
HALL	45,000	40,200	4,800	18751	17542	1209	10.7	6.4
HANCOCK	10,200	2,600	7,600	3794	2064	1730	74.5	45.6
HARALSON	15,100	13,900	1,200	12194	11443	751	7.9	6.2
HARRIS	11,400	5,000	6,400	3850	3635	215	56.1	5.6
HART	14,100	10,600	3,500	6238	5944	294	24.8	4.7
HEARD	6,000	4,600	1,400	2849	2475	374	23.3	13.1
HENRY	16,800	9,400	7,400	7104	5442	1662	44.	23.4
HOUSTON	28,600	20,600	8,000	7739	7259**	480**	28	6.2
IRWIN	11,600	7,300	4,300	5200	4500	700	37.1	13.5
JACKSON	18,700	16,000	2,700	7659	7209	450	14.4	5.9
JASPER	6,800	2,900	3,900	3334	2530	804	57.4	24.1
JEFF DAVIS	9,800	7,600	2,200	6190	6134	56	22.4	.9
JEFFERSON	18,500	7,700	10,800	4384	4120	264	58.4	6.
JENKINS	9,500	4,500	5,000	3196	2502	694	52.6	21.7
JOHNSON	8,200	5,700	2,500	3923	3655	268	30.5	6.8
JONES	7,300	3,500	3,800	2659	2048	611	52.1	23.
LAMAR	10,600	6,400	4,200	3700	2801	899	39.6	24.3
LANIER	5100	3,400	1,700	2344	1892	452	33.3	19.3
LAURENS	33,600	20,000	13,600	16725	13218	3507	40.5	21.
LEE	6,200	2,000	4,200	1310	1281	29	67.7	2.2
LIBERTY	9,700	4,000	5,700	4600	2128	2472	58.8	53.7
LINCOLN	6,300	3,200	3,100	2440	2437	3	49.2	.12
LONG	3,400	2,300	1,100	3262***	2201***	1061***	32.4	32.5
LOWNDES	42,700	26,800	15,900	14564	11860	2704	37.2	18.6
LUMPKIN	7000	6800	200	3995	3912	83	2.9	2.1
MACON	13500	4700	8800	3202	3024	178	65.2	5.6

GEORGIA	A	B	C	D	E	F	C/A	E/D
	TOTAL POP	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL REGISTRATION	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION	% NEGRO IN POP	% OF TOTAL REGISTER. WHO ARE NEGRO
MADISON	11700	9400	2300	4643	4588	55	19.7	1.2
MARION	6400	2400	4000	1382	1330	52	62.5	3.8
McDUFFIE	12200	6800	5400	4468	4089	379	44.3	8.5
McINTOSH	6600	2500	4100	2615	1396	1219	62.1	46.6
MERIWETHER	20900	10400	10500	6384	5457	927	50.2	14.5
MILLER	8600	6200	2400	3363	3357	6	27.9	.18
MITCHELL	22700	11400	11300	7673	7298	375	49.8	4.9
MONROE	10600	5600	5000	4086	3333	753	47.2	18.4
MONTGOMERY	6900	4000	2900	4320	3315	1005	42.	23.3
MORGAN	11600	5600	6000	3353	2615	738	51.7	22.
MURRAY	10600	10500	100	4997	4962	35	.94	.7
MUSCOGEE	144100	109900	34200	26588	22859	3729	23.7	14.
NEWTON	21600	14400	7200	10963	9058	1905	33.3	17.4
OCONEE	6800	5200	1600	3596	3224	372	23.5	10.3
OGLETHORPE	8600	4800	3800	3157	2958	199	44.2	6.3
PAULDING	11400	10100	1300	8286	7851	435	11.4	5.2
PEACH	12900	4900	8000	3218	2539	679	62.	21.1
PICKENS	8900	8500	400	4494	4393	101	4.5	2.2
PIERCE	10900	8400	2500	3769	3388	381	22.9	10.1
PIKE	7400	4100	3300	3016	2520	496	44.6	16.4
POLK	33200	27900	5300	11006	9852	1154	16.	10.5
PULASKI	8400	4500	3900	3,088	2853	235	46.4	7.6
PUTNAM	7500	3500	4000	2936	2366	570	53.3	19.4
QUITMAN	2800	1000	1800	764	721	43	64.3	5.6
RABUN	7400	7300	100	4878	4867	11	1.4	.22
RANDOLPH	12300	4500	7800	3078	2585	493	63.4	16.
RICHMOND	154400	106200	48200	29080	23260	5820	31.2	20.
ROCKDALE	9200	6600	2600	4064	3501	563	28.3	13.9
SCHLEY	3500	1400	2100	1164	1006	158	60.	13.6
SCREVEN	16900	7300	9600	3562	3027	535	53.3	15.
SEMINOLE	7700	4800	2900	3201	3172	29	37.7	.9
SPALDING	33500	24700	8800	11930 ***	9930 ***	2000 ***	26.3	16.8
STEPHENS	19400	16900	2500	8869	8242	627	12.9	7.1
STEWART	8600	2300	6300	1662	1555	107	73.3	6.4
SUMTER	24600	11900	12700	5647	5164	483	51.6	8.6
TALBOT	7600	2200	5400	1667	1448	219	71.1	13.1
TALIAFERRO	3500	1200	2300	1669	913	756	65.7	45.3
TATTNALL	13700	10500	3200	9904	8224	1680	23.4	17.
TAYLOR	8300	4200	4100	3450	3103	347	49.4	10.1
TELFAIR	12400	8200	4200	7558	7389	169	33.9	2.2
TERRELL	13200	4700	8500	2858	2810	48	64.4	1.7
THOMAS	36600	22100	14500	10001	8422	1579	39.6	15.8
TIFT	25900	18500	7400	7794	6681	1113	28.6	14.3
TOOMBS	18100	12900	5200	5713	5543	170	28.7	3.
TOWNS	4800	4800	0	2123 ***	2123 ***	0 ***	-0-	-0-
TREUTLEN	6000	4100	1900	3559 ***	3541 ***	18 ***	31.7	.5
TROUP	54700	38000	16700	15940	13836	2104	30.5	13.2

4997 / 35.000

GEORGIA	A TOTAL POP	B WHITE	C NEGRO	D TOTAL REGISTRA.	E WHITE REGISTRA.	F NEGRO REGISTRA.	C/A % NEGRO IN POP	F/D % OF TOTAL REGISTR. WHO ARE NEGRO
TURNER	10500	6400	4100	4367	3893	474	39.	10.9
TWIGGS	8000	3100	4900	2865	2517	348	61.3	12.1
UNION	7200	7200	0	4944	4944	0	-0-	-0-
UPSON	25600	19300	6300	5903	5437	466	24.6	7.9
WALKER	43800	41600	2700	24451	23324	1127	6.2	4.6
WALTON	20400	13900	6500	7678	6873	805	31.9	10.5
WARE	32800	24100	8700	13736	11418	2318	26.5	16.9
WARREN	8000	2900	5100	2201	2006	195	63.8	8.9
WASHINGTON	19600	8300	11300	8400	6696	1704	57.7	20.3
WAYNE	15600	12500	3100	9370	7931	1439	19.9	15.4
WEBSTER	3800	1300	2500	934	934	0	65.8	-0-
WHEELER	5700	3700	2000	3592	3157	435	35.1	12.1
WHITE	5800	5400	400	4121	3932	189	6.9	4.6
WHITFIELD	40800	39100	1700	16777	15920	857	4.2	5.1
WILCOX	8700	5900	2800	3289	3059	230	32.2	7.
WILKES	10900	5100	5800	3654	3364	290	53.2	7.9
WILKINSON	9200	4700	4500	3452	3041	411	48.9	11.9
WORTH	18700	9200	9500	6151	5855	296	50.8	4.8
STATE	3,934,000	2,791,000	1,143,000	1292343	1130385	161958	29.0	12.5

Source: Secretary of State, September 1958, unless otherwise noted. SRC opi

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* Total reported by Secretary of State, not broken-down by race. Negro estimate taken from SRC 1956 rep
estimate based on population reports.

** Total reported by Secretary of State, not broken-down by race. White and Negro estimates by count

*** Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates taken from SRC 1956 report.

**** Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates provided by county Board of Registrars.

C/A % NEGRO IN POP	F/D % OF TOTAL REGISTR WHO ARE NEGRO
39.	10.9
61.3	12.1
-0-	-0-
24.6	7.9
6.2	4.6
31.9	10.5
26.5	16.9
63.8	8.9
57.7	20.3
19.8	15.4
65.8	-0-
35.1	12.1
6.9	4.6
4.2	5.1
32.2	7.
53.2	7.9
48.9	11.9
50.8	4.8
29.0	12.5

less otherwise noted, SRC Population Figures: Georgia Department of Public Health, July 1958

Negro estimate taken from 1956 report; white mate based on population reports.

White and Negro estimates by county Board of Registrars.

report.

nty Board of Registrars.

Registrar.

Suffrage, Ga. Reading file

NEGRO VOTING IN GEORGIA

A MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR THE
GEORGIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

March 17, 1959

The Southern Regional Council's survey of 1956 estimated 163,389 Negro voters in Georgia. The 1958 estimate is 161,958, a decrease of 1,432, accounted for probably by drop of interest in an off-election year, and by periodic purging of voters' lists. *

The results of the 1956 survey were summarized in the publication, The Negro Voter in the South, by Margaret Price, as well as in several special reports. The 1958 study is being prepared for publication; a preliminary statement based on it was issued as a Special Report, "The Negro Voter in the South - 1958" on November 2, 1958. With regard to Georgia, the 1958 investigation seems likely to confirm the conclusion offered in the 1956 study:

> The statistical and field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage...Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Furthermore, agriculture as a source of income continues to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus, the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants and voters.

In 1958, 12.~~4~~6 % of the total voter registration in Georgia was Negro. In the same year, according to estimates of the GeorgiaDepartment of Public Health, Negroes comprised 29.1 % of the total population of the state. In the large counties of the state, Negro registration tends to be higher, though Cobb, DeKalb, Floyd and Muscogee all give evidence that Negro participation in voting depends on something more than "urbanization" of the locality.

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* This estimate is compiled as follows:

158,051	- reported by Secretary of State as statewide total exclusive of Gordon, Houston, Long, Spalding, Towns, Treutlen, counties.
480	- reported by Houston County Board of Registrars
2,000	- reported by Spalding County Board of Registrars
1,427	- estimated in 1956 for Gordon, Long, Towns and Treutlen counties
161,958	

Six Unit Vote Counties	Population White	Population Negro	% Negro	Registration White	Registration Negro	% Negro
Bibb	94,700	47,300	33.3	26,124	4,913	15.8
Chatham	124,400	69,000	35.7	36,943	9,250	20.0
Cobb	77,800	7,000	8.3	28,134	1,908	6.3
DeKalb	183,800	19,000	9.4	64,450	2,153	3.2
Floyd	58,000	9,700	14.3	19,244	1,523	7.3
Fulton	395,000	176,600	30.9	104,877	28,414	21.3
Muscogee	109,900	34,200	23.7	22,859	3,729	10.3
Richmond	106,200	48,200	31.2	23,260	5,820	20.0

These 8 counties contain 57,710 Negro voters, which is 30.7 % of the total Negro registration in the state.

In some of the smaller counties Negro registration has reached relatively high levels. A few examples, taken from the top of the alphabet for illustration, are:

County	Population White	Population Negro	Registration White	Registration Negro
Appling	11,300	2,800	6,612	1,140
Atkinson	6,000	1,700	4,164	797
Brantley	5,600	600	3,767	226
Bryan	3,600	2,400	1,972	817
Butts	5,000	4,200	3,810	1,437
Camden	4,700	4,100	2,606	1,385
Chattooga	21,200	2,200	11,250	1,011
Clarke	32,400	10,300	14,255	3,136
Dodge	11,500	4,700	8,728	2,028
Douglas	11,900	2,100	6,946	832
Greene	6,100	6,400	5,053	2,728
Haralson	13,900	1,200	11,443	751

In several of the counties listed above, especially Haralson, official registration figures appear to be inflated. This is frequently true of the rural counties where the books are not kept regularly up to date, and from which people have been migrating. According to SRC's 1956 study, "the Negro registration figures used probably are more accurate than the white. Officials tend to keep a closer check on Negro registrants and they are more subject to periodic purges. Moreover, names of white registrants may have been on the books 50 years, whereas Negroes have been enfranchised only for 10 or 12; thus, it is far more likely that the white rolls are inflated and contain the names of those moved or deceased. In Georgia, for example, 63 of the state's 159 counties reported to the Secretary of State in 1956 white registration totals which exceed the white population of voting age."

In many counties, Negro registration is conspicuously lower than even the Georgia average. In these areas, the very low numbers of Negroes registered is prima facie evidence of discrimination. The alternative explanation could be either cultural shortcomings of the Negro population, or simple apathy. Both of these factors are themselves closely related to discriminatory status and treatment. The numbers are, besides, so low as to suggest very strongly that positive restriction on Negro voting is practiced. Some examples are:

County * denotes a county population 50% or more Negro	Negro Population	Negro Registration
Bacon	1,100	22
*Baker	3,300	0
Bleckley	2,700	45
*Burke	15,200	427
*Calhoun	5,100	132
Charlton	1,400	40
*Chattahoochee	600	8
*Clay	3,600	94

(Continued from preceding page -)

County * denotes a county population 50% or more Negro	Negro Population	Negro Registration
*Crawford	3,300	155
*Early	9,300	205
Echols	600	15
Effingham	3,300	188
Fayette	2,600	25
Forsyth	100	0
Gilmer	100	6
Glascock	800	19
*Harris	6,400	215
Jeff Davis	2,200	50
*Jefferson	10,800	264
*Lee	4,200	29
Lincoln	3,100	3
*Macon	8,800	178
Madison	2,300	55
*Marion	4,000	52
Miller	2,400	6
Mitchell	11,300	375
Oglethorpe	3,800	199
*Quitman	1,800	43
*Randolph	7,800	493
*Screven	9,600	535
Seminole	2,900	29
*Stewart	6,300	107
*Sumter	12,700	483
*Talbot	5,400	219
Telfair	4,200	169

Esleck Clearcopy Onion Skin MADE IN U.S.A.

(Continued from preceding page -)

County # denotes a county population 50% or more Negro	Negro Population	Negro Registration
#Terrell	8,500	48
Toombs	5,200	170
#Warren	5,100	195
#Webster	2,500	0
#Wilkes	5,800	290
#Worth	9,500	296

It is commonly thought that discrimination is highest in those areas where Negro population is most dense. On the whole, SRC's voting surveys bear this out. There are, however, exceptions. Indeed, the figures given above for 6-vote counties would seem to indicate that in urban areas of Georgia the Negro participates most freely in civic life when his numbers are great. Furthermore, there are exceptions which seem to be the result of somewhat different cultural background. In the coastal counties of McIntosh, Liberty, Camden, Bryan and Glynn Gynn; as well as Chatham, there is both a high ratio of Negroes in the population and relatively high registration. In this general area of the state, only lethargy and lack of leadership seem to inhibit Negro voting. A third sort of exception to the rule of high density - low voting is the result of purely local considerations. Probably the leading example is Laurens County. Here there are two political factions, one headed by the Sheriff. Registration in precincts other than those of the county-seat (Dublin) is under the Sheriff's supervision. He has facilitated Negro registration, and Negro voters keep him in office.

It is no secret that Negro leaders have been disappointed with the progress of registration. There are many areas of Georgia, as in all the South, where there are no present bars to voting other than the Negroes' own lack of interest. There is, however, nothing much to be wondered at in this widely discussed "apathy". The franchise is not a value in itself. Its worth depends upon the power which it represents.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

As a Georgia Negro leader once put it, there needs to be a "democratization of the spoils" before Negroes will take real interest in electoral participation. Though certainly there have been some tangible benefits accruing to Negroes because of their voting strength, these are yet too thin and too thinly distributed to convince many Negroes that voting is more than a civic gesture.

SRC consultants, in surveying Georgia regions, remarked frequently on the effect which incidents of brutality had on Negro voting, and indeed on all phases of Negro life. The chilling, discouraging influences of an incident radiate beyond the locality in which it was perpetrated and into adjoining counties. There is more than local importance, and other than individual importance, therefore, in the sort of situation which Terrell County came to signify during the past year. The suit brought by the Department of Justice against the registrars of Terrell is also an early test of the effectiveness of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

The southwest area of the state, where Terrell County is located, is the area where discrimination against Negro voters appears to be most prevalent. Other counties in this section include Baker, Early, Miller, Seminole, Clay, Calhoun, Quitman, Randolph, Lee, Sumter, Webster, Stewart. Negro voting participation is low in all these counties, and no alternative explanations are known to account for the nonparticipation.

The 1958 session of the General Assembly enacted a new registration law, widely regarded as a measure designed to deter Negro voting. What its effects will be (on white as well as Negro registration) will depend on its administration in the months ahead.

* * *

Esleeck

Special Suffrage - Ga.

May 27, 1959

To: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Some Facts Involved in the Political Status of Negro Residents in Baker County, Georgia.

From: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

A Few Background Facts: Baker County is located in southwest Georgia in an area which is often referred to as the "Blackbelt" because of its large Negro population. This county, the sixty-first in Georgia, was named after Colonel John Baker, a noted Revolutionary leader who was a member of the 1775 Provincial Congress in Savannah. Another Revolutionary War hero, Sergeant John Newton, who in 1779 rescued some prisoners of war in the outskirts of Savannah, was the person for whom the present county-seat, Newton, was named. This town is twenty-two miles southwest of Albany in Dougherty County, which was originally a part of Baker County. Its proximity to Albany is important in so far as this study is concerned, as developments will reveal.

Baker County is still one of the most highly agricultural areas in Georgia and depends upon peanuts, pecans and cotton for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of Baker County. Pineland is owned by the Mellons of Pennsylvania. Ichaway is owned by Robert Woodruff of Atlanta. Blacketts, the third one, is owned by another northern family whose name it bears and who lives on it. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted themselves to the employment and racial mores of this section. Individually owned farms decreased from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954. In 1957 the population of Baker County was estimated at 5,200 with four-fifths of these people living on farms. This population figure is about 700 less than it was in 1950. Divided on the basis of race, there are 1,900 whites and 3,300 Negroes.* This racially one-sided division of this county's population has generated "fears" on the part of the whites who have constructed their voting system so that Negroes "can't take over." Industrialization and urbanization, which tend to alter provincial customs, are largely absent. The dominant "mentality" of the county is rural, with a completely Old South motif.

Voter Registration: Baker County registration figures, which are available in Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office, reveal that eighty-eight per cent or 1,670 out of the white population of 1,900 are registered to vote. Only twelve per cent of the white population are not registered to vote. According to the simple mathematics which is involved, there can be only 230 white persons under the voting age of eighteen in Baker County. Yet, during the school year 1957-58 there were 137 white children enrolled in Baker County High School and 239 in elementary school for a total of 440. By the deductive process, after again considering the mathematics involved, it is logical to conclude that the white registration records of Baker County are padded.

Although Negroes comprise sixty-three per cent of the total population, not one of the 3,300 is registered to vote. A few years ago, following the

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*Some of the historical facts about Baker County were obtained from an article "Know Your County" which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution, September 24, 1958.

Primus E. King decision in 1946, approximately 475 Negroes were registered. However, they were purged from the registration lists so that the political power-structure could be retained by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Now, considering Georgia's county-unit system of voting, 836 white voters in Baker County as a simple majority, out of a total county population of 5,200, control the two county-unit votes. These two county-units votes, when added to those of the other 120 two-unit vote counties, are a formidable factor which forms the basic political strength for most of the successful Georgia politicians in State and federal elections. These 121 two-unit vote counties have a total of 242 unit votes, as compared to 120 unit votes for the 30 four-unit vote counties and 48 unit votes for 8 of the most populous counties.

Under the county-unit system, Baker County, with its padded roll of 836 voter controlled two-unit votes, has one-third as much political strength as Fulton County with its 133,291 registered voters and six-unit votes. Since a bare majority of voters in each county in Georgia controls its total number of unit-votes, it takes 418 voters in Baker County to build up one-unit vote as compared to 11,108 voters in Fulton County. This example, in principle, can be duplicated many times in Georgia's county-unit system of voting. Thus, Georgia's political ideology, being rural centered and controlled, is at variance with national and international political trends and interests. Isolationist and anti-racial sentiment is very strong in Georgia. This deadens the average Baker County white man's interest in how improved race relations will help gain allies for the United States among the uncommitted colored peoples of the world. Further, this attitude interferes with an extension of political, religious, cultural and racial tolerance which in its totality will help strengthen the position of the United States in a delicately balanced international cold war atmosphere. One of his chief interests is how to help keep political control in Georgia from shifting to the cities, and how to continue to disfranchise the Negro. Baker County, as well as others like it under the county-unit system, helps to perpetuate a dual system of political disfranchisement which is directed against the Negro per se and urban dwellers, most of whom are white.

More people are beginning to realize that there is a political bondage in Georgia that transcends race. Several months ago, Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta brought suit against the county-unit system in a federal court. On Wednesday, April 1, 1959 Senator Herman Talmadge stated that the county-unit system "probably" would be modified. Senator Richard Russell has given support to this statement. Both men believe that urban areas should be given more political representation in keeping with their population growth. At the moment, the motives of these long time supporters of the county-unit system are not fully known. However, there are some persons who say that these senators wish to reform the county-unit system before the United States Supreme Court can hand down a decision involving it. Whatever the reason is, it is logical to conclude that it is just as unconstitutional to reduce the effectiveness of a person's vote under the county-unit system as it is to deny him the right to register and vote.

When qualified voters are sealed off by racial, as well as county-unit restrictions, they should not be counted constitutionally as part of the population basis of political representation. Politically, they are not present anymore than if they had migrated out of the State, or had died or had not been born. In the future, effective civil rights legislation should provide for a reduction in representation in the United States House of Representatives to the degree that qualified Negroes are not permitted to register and vote in all elections, state and federal. If the life of the Civil Rights Commission is continued, it could help unearth the numerical extent of racial disfranchisement in several Southern states as based on its authority "to investigate denials of voting."

In the meantime, the disfranchised Negroes in Baker County may seek relief under the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which on March 6, 1946 upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' ruling in the Primus E. King "White Primary Case." Since this date, potential contempt of court charges have not caused the Board of Registrars in Baker County to relax their racial voting restrictions. If disfranchised Negro litigants do not bring suit, then the next logical step will be for the Department of Justice to intercede in their behalf. This would be done by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice which has the authority under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957 to file an injunctive petition in a Federal District Court. By initiating such action the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice would seek to bring the constituted Board of Registrars under contempt of court charges with orders not to continue to disfranchise qualified Negro residents.

The first such intervening action was initiated against the Terrell County, Georgia Board of Registrars on September 4, 1958 under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by W. Wilson White, the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Five Negro college graduates had been denied the privilege of registering. Only 48 Negroes were registered although there were 5,036 Negroes in Terrell County who were of voting age. On April 16, 1959, United States District Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit against the Terrell County Board of Registrars, most of whom are an integral part of the real political power structure in the State of Georgia, by declaring unconstitutional the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 under which the suit was filed. This decision has been appealed by the Department of Justice directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Socio-Economic Factors: In the processes of social change there are always areas of resistance that are created by forces which cling to the past. For instance, peonage was substituted for slavery by some of those persons who were opposed to freeing the slaves. Then, racial segregation was resorted to as a structural societal instrument to keep Negroes from moving too far away from a peonage position.. Baker County is an unusually outstanding practicing exponent of this racially restrictive way of life. Most of its Negroes work as farm laborers for three to four dollars a day, and as domestic servants. To aid in maintaining a "ready supply of labor" its welfare administrators are slow in putting aged Negroes on their rolls. When they do get on they are paid thirty-five dollars a month although aged whites usually qualify for fifty dollars a month. "A Negro is just about dead when he gets fifty dollars a month." Generally, good housing is at a premium in Baker County. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in Newton, the county seat. Most of the few white collar jobs in Baker County are available to white persons, except for about thirty-five teaching jobs that are open to Negroes. Several Negroes own their own farms which are reasonably large and profitable. For racial and invidious reasons they have to operate carefully within the context of racial restrictions that apply to the masses of Negroes. Further, they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress people is to deprive them of the right to obtain an education. For years, Baker County, along with many other counties in Georgia, failed to provide Negro children with high school facilities. In most instances, they had to depend on one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If a Negro boy or girl wanted to go to high school he had to go to the expense of leaving Baker County and maintaining himself in some other place. White youths did not have to do this since generation after generation attended the local white high school. And many of them went off to college. Very few Negro residents ever got to go to high school and fewer ever got to go to college. This meant that the Negro was not able to form an educated nucleus on which he could depend for leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes, themselves, started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the educational picture for Negro children in Baker County began to change. The West Baker Elementary School now has eleven teachers. In 1956 the East Baker High and Elementary School was built and now has twenty-four teachers. Unlike the long established Baker County High School for white children, this Negro high school does not have a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped to pay off a bond issue of $80,000 which financed the construction of a gymnasium for the white high school. Trades are not offered in either the white or Negro high school. Each school has an agriculture teacher. However, white students can go to one of their area trade schools which is located in nearby Americus, Georgia. There is no area trade school, as such, for Negro students anywhere in the state of Georgia.

In concluding this section, it is obvious that Negro residents in Baker County have not had much of an opportunity to develop a formally educated nucleus which could help provide leadership for the masses, politically or otherwise. This author's studies, involving racial aspects of registration and voting in several counties in Georgia, revealed that there is a definite correlation between increased educational opportunities and increased voter registration.

Church leadership among Negroes in Baker County is a week-end affair. None of the Negro preachers live in this county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end and when they are through with their services on Sunday they leave. Several of the most outstanding churches for Negroes have been given token building and/or maintenance contributions by the owners or managers of the three large plantations to which reference has been made. These relatively small gifts and those that are anticipated are one of the reasons why the Negro preachers do not provide a citizenship program which also involves registration and voting. Then, too, some of the Negro preachers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One of my informants said, "I am going to tell you the truth about these preachers here in Baker County--no preacher will tell us about voting--they are scared." Voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes rarely occur in this county because most of their influential churches are obligated to those forces that are interested in maintaining the status quo. Churches for Negroes are not alone in this equation of societal control as it operates in Baker County and elsewhere.

The overseers of the three large plantations are constant supporters of a rigid system of segregation and exploitation of labor, white and colored. "These hunting reserves mainly for northerners" help in substantial ways to maintain the status quo in race relations and otherwise. Further, a strong Citizens Council, which is just one cooperating unit in a net-work of citizens Councils in Southwest Georgia, helps to police Negroes and whites, too, who attempt to deviate in the least from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior.

The white ministers and the Negro ministers of Baker County do not have connections, religious or otherwise. The white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council and the general milieu in which they have to work, live and preach. "Once there was a white minister here," I was told, "who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him. In view of this situation, a newcomer possibly would be puzzled after reading a sign on Georgia Highway 91 as he travels out of Albany in the direction of Newton, the county seat. The message on the sign is as follows: "Eternity! Where? Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and spend it in Heaven." In spite of this publicly expressed concern about the future abode of human beings, there is an almost complete lack of concern by the white churches for the personality and dignity of Negroes in their earthly existence in Baker County.

There is no adequate, intelligent, equalitarian communication between the two racial groups in other areas. White and Negro veterans do not contact each other. The League of Women Voters does not cooperate with Negro women to help improve their communities. White and Negro teachers do not talk together about their common problems and aims in education. Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions in Baker County, Negro teachers dare not assert any leadership in extending their civil rights and expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly discuss having Negroes register and vote, nor do they seek this privilege for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. This reaction is not theoretical because already two Negro teachers and a bus driver have been fired because they are relatives of two Negro men who were interested in registering and voting. Subsequent discussions will reveal the reality of the Negro teachers' fears about suffering possible physical violence.

A visiting teacher in Baker County for thirty years decided "under pressure" that she had better seek employment elsewhere because she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. This took place almost three years ago when the incumbent school superintendent, H. E. Hall, was running for reelection against William Geer, the principal of Baker County High School. Geer geared his campaign to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro woman, who is regarded as a person of integrity, dignity and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery which was used by the Board of Education. This was the crux of the campaign and the main issue which was involved. Geer's slogan over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. Geer was not elected. The visiting teacher left her job and her home in which she had lived for many years. In the midst of this type of racial atmosphere, Negro teachers are quiet in so far as all aspects of civil rights are concerned.

Efforts of Negro Residents to Register: Now, there is not a single Negro person registered to vote in Baker County. This fact was among those factors which prompted the selection of this county to be studied. By what techniques have all Negroes been kept from registering? If they can't register, then not a single Negro person can vote in Baker County. Is it that Negro residents do not desire to register and vote? What are the components of this pattern of total exclusion from the exercise of a fundamental right which is so essential in a system of Democracy? Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became law on September 9, 1957, four substantial tax-paying Negro residents of Baker County decided to sponsor a mass meeting in Newton to discuss registering and give instructions about how to answer questions that prospective registrants are asked under the Georgia voters' law. Later, a registration rally barbecue was given by one of the leaders. Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County drove nearby the barbecue site, stopped for a while and blew his sirens. He wanted the participants to know that he knew that they were there. The sheriff is said to have stated that this barbecue get-to-gether was an NAACP meeting. After blowing his sirens, Johnson left and nothing else happened except that the leaders knew that the sheriff was opposed to Negroes registering and "doesn't even want them to come into the court house."

In spite of this warning, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from nearby Albany. They recalled the time, following the Primus E. King decision in 1946, when approximately 475 Negroes registered in Baker County. Later, these registrants were purged from the rolls by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Subsequent efforts of Negroes to register in Baker County have been unsuccessful. Members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive devices, such as taking the would-be registrants' names under the pretense of registering them and having them find out later that they were not actually registered; and closing the books and/or office when Negroes sought to register. Occasionally a few Negroes have attempted to register after paying their taxes "just like some of the whites have done." However, their efforts were not successful.

After the Civil Rights Act was enacted into law in the fall of 1957, one of the Negro leaders in Baker County paid his taxes and asked about registering. He was told he would have to see the Board of Registrars. "Who is the Board?" he asked. One white registrar with whom he talked said he was not the chairman. This Negro, like other Negroes who wanted to register, had difficulty in pin-pointing the white person whom he should approach. Later, he discovered that Will West was the chairman of the Board of Registrars. Instead of having someone talk with the chairman as an individual, several Negro leaders decided to organize a voters' league and this led to some disastrous consequences.

Before this development occurred, the tax collector is said to have advised some Negroes to attempt to register as a group "since it was easier to turn them down one by one." Later, when one of the Negro leaders took a group of twenty-five to thirty Negroes to register, one of the registrars told him to bring them back after banking hours. When they went back after banking hours the registrars' office was closed.

A strategem to deter Negroes from registering is to have well-placed white persons advise them against doing so. The Negro leader, who sought to have the group register, was later approached by a white man who said to him: "I know you are a good nigger - just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Baker County and I advise you not to bother with this business (of registering and voting)."

Another evasive device is to keep outside Negroes out of Baker County "if they are stirring up trouble." As stated, one or two Negroes of the Voters League in Albany were encouraging Baker County Negroes to seek to register and vote. This further convinced law enforcement officers that they should discourage some of the Albany Negroes from making visits to Baker County. As a result, their actions were crystalized in the fall of 1957 when Scott Johnson, an Albany Negro, had a picnic (a social affair) in Baker County and invited a number of Negroes from Albany to attend. On their way back to Albany, virtually all of them were arrested for "speeding and drinking" and each fined from thirty-five to one-hundred dollars for a total of about $1,400. The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times due largely to outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful and this carefulness must be compounded if the drivers happen to be well-dressed Negroes.

Some Albany Negroes characterize Baker County as being "one step down from hell." One Albany Negro siad: "I stay out of Baker County because I wear a tie." To the uninitiated in race relations, this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas, the wearing of a tie (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays and holidays) or not wearing work clothes by Negroes is regarded as revealing a desire and ability to break away from the customary pattern of racial behavior and this is resented by most whites in subtle and overt ways. Actually, it may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house or his manner of speaking or his desire to register and vote.

For some time, the Voters League in Albany has been considering methods of helping to open up registration lists for Negroes in several nearby southwest Georgia counties. They feel that "if we can break through in Baker County, the others will follow." They are aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in southwest Georgia is centered in Albany which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities that are tied in with similar activities in Baker County and elsewhere in this region.

Albany Negroes list the editor of The Albany Herald, James H. Gray, as being a key Citizens Council leader. He is labelled as "a real reactionary" and is "far worse than some southerners". Gray is a Dartmouth College graduate, a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and has just been in Albany since World War II. His paper has a rather wide circulation in adjoining counties. The Albany Herald is known as an anti-Negro paper although every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People of Southwest Georgia". This news deals largely with marriages, deaths, illnesses, trips, social affairs, club and school activities. No news is carried on this Negro page about militant efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights. It is interesting that The Albany Herald would have much circulation among Negroes, in view of its avowed anti-Negro policies. In the October 4, 1958 issue, in which there was almost a full page of so-called Negro news, there appeared a derogatory letter in the

People's Forum. It was supposed to have been sent to the editor from Pelham, Georgia by a person who signed his name as Plowhand. It portrayed a friendly white man and a conversation he had with a Negro named Jake, who was ill. "Jake is a nigger that owns a farm next to mine. I went in to find Jake in bed." Jake said he had worked himself down trying to get more money to send to the NAACP. The white man then recounted that "the white folks" had helped Jake build his house after it had burned down, sat up with his wife when she was ill, and helped gather his crops when he broke his leg. "Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake." Jake acknowledged all this, "De white folks hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reeminder dat my dues wuz beehind." Then the white man asked Jake when were "the Southern niggers" going to wake up to realize that they were tools of the NAACP who insisted that "white hates black". Jake was warned against continuing to send dues to power-mad "fools as what sets in a air-conditioned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker." "Jake," said he in conclusion, "when is the nigger going to strike out on his own?"

Although many Negroes in this area resent this type of insult, they are more concerned about a network of opposition which appears set to "pick-off" progressive Negro leaders in southwest Georgia. The editor of The Albany Herald was among those white persons who brought pressure on Dr. Aaron Brown, then president of Albany State College (for Negroes) during the school year 1953-54, which culminated in his being "ousted" by the State Board of Regents. Dr. Brown was accused of aiding and abetting the program of the NAACP because he sat on the platform in the city auditorium when Attorney A. T. Walden, a noted NAACP lawyer from Atlanta, spoke at a public meeting in Albany. Later, Dr. Brown was called to the hotel room of Governor Herman Talmadge and talked with about his activities. Then, he was summoned to appear before the State Board of Regents which did not vote to renew his contract as president of Albany State College. Most of his difficulty really started when some of his faculty members and students decided to quietly boycott some businesses in Albany which advertised in The Albany Herald until they would be treated with more courtesy and respect. Behind most of the maneuvers against Dr. Brown was the late Dr. J. W. Holley, the retired president of Albany State College, who had "the ear" of many prominent white persons, including Herman Talmadge. These developments resulted in neutralizing any civil rights activities that were emanating from Albany State College (for Negroes) and served as a warning to other Negro leaders in southwest Georgia.

Fear and Violence: It is frequently contended that race relations have worsened since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision involving segregation in the public schools. Actually, what has happened in a number of instances is that many brutal aspects of bad race relations that have existed for a long time are being publicly revealed. This is why white photographers, newscasters, and newsmen have been assaulted by whites in many places where racial trouble has flared up. These people represent a threat to the network of silence which the perpetrators of racial violence have developed as a protective device in maintaining a system of segregation. Many instances of arbitrary arrests, beatings, and even killings of Negroes, which now shock the nation and even the world when they are publicized, have been common-place happenings for years. Virtually every county in Georgia has had historic instances of racial violence which continue as an ominous threat to those persons who would seek to enlarge the area of civil rights for Negro citizens.

Baker County has dramatically undergirded its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro residents. Brutality stemming from the sheriff's office, including the sheriff himself, has been constantly directed against Negroes for years. It was highly dramatized in 1943 by a public lynching in which the encumbent Sheriff Claude Screws was the main leader and instigator. The drama began to unfold when Bobby Hall, a Negro and a highly skilled mechanic, had his pistol, which he had a permit to carry, taken from his car's pocket by Sheriff Screws, who had arrested him for allegedly stealing an automobile tube. Hall sought in vain to have his pistol returned to him. Finally, he wrote a letter about this matter to a judge in nearby Camilla, Georgia. The judge showed the letter to Screws, who became infuriated. He and other whites took Hall out and proceeded to lynch him. At first they beat him. Then they tied him to the back of a car and dragged him around in the small town of Newton. They poured some acid on him and beat him again before they put him in jail. Apparently startled and frightened by the results of their cruelty, they called a Negro undertaker in Albany, 22 miles away, to send an ambulance to take Hall to a hospital in Albany, where he died. This heinous crime might have gone unpublicized had it not been for the ingenuity of two or three Negroes in Albany. They had pictures made of the victim "just as he was" and sent the negatives to Jacksonville, Florida to be developed. Next, they wired the FBI office in Macon, Georgia, and some agents came in. After this crime was committed, Screws drove to Albany and parked in front of the office of the Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, a weekly newspaper that is printed by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta, with his sirens "wide open". This was considered a warning to the editor not to print anything about the crime. However, this strategem did not work.

Screws was indicted and tried in federal courts. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney had to repeatedly challenge the presiding judge who kept referring to Hall, the victim, as a nigger. Screws finally got out of this difficulty. During the last state elections in 1958, Screws was elected to the State Senate as the "Senator from Newton", the county-seat of Baker County.

No attempt is being made here to discuss the Screws' case in all of its ramifications. However, it is still uppermost in the minds of those who think of obtaining the franchise for Negroes in Baker County.

The successor to Screws, Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County, "can hardly read his name." He had at sometime worked under Screws and seems content to carry on his tradition in meting out brutality to Negroes. Not only is he opposed to Negroes voting; he is also opposed to their coming into the court house unless they are to be tried for crimes that they are accused of committing. He, too, has killed a Negro. One night Sheriff Johnson walked up to a car which was parked in a Negro neighborhood and threw a flashlight in the face of an occupant who was a Negro. The Negro said, "Who in the hell got that flashlight in my eyes?" These were his last words, because Johnson without any discussion whatever "whipped out his gun and killed the Negro on the spot." He contended that he acted in line of duty and nothing was ever done about this killing.

These instances of violence, which have been discussed in this section, stand out in a broad context of violence which nutures it as a basis of preserving the system of segregation. These types of brutality reveal why Negro voters center their attention on the candidates for the sheriff's office. In many counties in Georgia candidates for the sheriff's office consider it politically helpful to have it made known that they are hard on Negroes. Thus Negro voters by prudent use of their ballots often seek to neutralize the brutality which stems from the sheriff's office. By this process, they feel more secure in extending their efforts to register and vote. And by registering and voting in larger numbers they help create an atmosphere which reduces brutality even though its threat very often remains as a reminder of what was and what could be again.

Not even the potential threat of federal intervention in behalf of Negro residents caused Baker County whites to concede that qualified Negroes should have the right to register and vote. After the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was passed by Congress, and signed by the President into law, four substantial Negro taxpayers decided that they would attempt to have qualified Negroes register and would register themselves. Actually, some of them had already been registered before the Talmadge purge. Therefore, they were not quite prepared for the violence which erupted following their efforts to become registered voters in Baker County, in the fall of 1957. On December 12, 1957 three separate bombings of properties belonging to three of the four Negroes who were attempting to register took place. Josh Williams' front porch was bombed; cars belonging to Ike King and Carl Broadway were bombed. Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in Baker County find it increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars. Although the bombings made a lot of noise in the silence of night, no whites came to see what had happened. This caused those Negroes who were the victims of these bombings to conclude that most of the white people in and around Newton knew in advance what was going to happen. They said that curiosity about what was happening ordinarily would have caused some whites to be attracted to the scene of the bombings. Negroes showed up at the site of each bombing. A white man showed up at one of the bombing sites the next morning. One of the victims who had lived all of his life in Baker County and thought he had some white friends said, "No white man has said a word to me about danger." This reaction on the part of the whites caused these Negro victims to be sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they had some white friends who would befriend them.

Not only did whites fail to show up after the bombings, they have also "clammed up" since then. They did not cooperate with FBI agents who investigated the bombings. The bombing victims think that those persons who set off the blasts were not after hurting anyone. They just "wanted to bluff us out--

scare us." However, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has caused the victims' families to suffer acute mental anguish. One victim's wife had to be sent away because she was losing a lot of weight over worrying about what the whites would do next. While she was away she continued to lose ground because she was then worrying about what was likely to happen to the members of her family whom she had left behind. She finally returned to be with her family, although her fears and those of others involved have not fully subsided. Carl Broadway's daughter, who was a school teacher, was "fired" from her job. The Negro bus driver, who was Broadway's brother-in-law, lost his job and his school teacher daughter suffered the same fate as Broadway's daughter.

Following these bombings, some whites spread the word that they were not the handiwork of "white folks"; instead "the NAACP was trying to start something." No white persons in Baker County have publicly condemned what has happened. Nor have any of them spoken out in behalf of maintaining law and order. They are risking the extension of approved lawlessness as a means of "keeping the Negro in his place." Such lawlessness, if left unchecked, will eventually recoil and strike those who tacitly or otherwise agreed to its original use. Some Negroes in Baker County bemoan the fact that the more genteel, aristocratic type of white people, who used to occasionally extend the touch of human kindness to individual Negroes, have either died out, left or have been submerged by "the mean Cracker element."

What happened to the fourth Negro, Tee Kunney, who was seeking the right to register and vote? He was arrested for having illicit liquor on his properties and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons with whom I talked declare that Kunney was framed. Such a development started when Sheriff Johnson and some of his deputies went to Kunney's house and questioned him about some illicit liquor which was said to be on his property. Kunney insisted that he knew nothing about the whiskey when the sheriff demanded that he go get it. The sheriff then walked with Kunney down a path leading from the house and pointed out a half-pint of whiskey which he asked Kunney to pick up. Kunney would not pick up the bottle because he said that he did not know anything about it and was not responsible for its being on his property. At this point he was arrested.

Following the dynamitings, which allegedly had the sanction of law enforcement officers, FBI agents came into Baker County to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the FBI agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reactions to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt that the FBI agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes would not talk" and the "good white poeple hold their peace too much"; and it was felt that "the FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in nearby Albany condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what was considered as an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. They stated that the FBI "seemingly worked in cahoots with the whites." Finally, they insisted that the "FBI man in Albany is a spy for the whites". When FBI agents entered Baker County following the bombings, some whites sent word to the Negroes that they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Racial violence in neighboring Terrell County during the spring of 1958 also served as further warning to Baker County Negroes and others in southwest Georgia not to continue to press their plans to register and vote. Cataclysmic violence meted out by policemen in Dawson, Georgia, the county seat of Terrell County, resulted in the deaths of two Negroes, Willie Countryman and James Brazier. A third Negro, Willie D. Latimer, was shot and wounded, and two other Negroes, Willie Gerald Flagg and Eugene Renfroe, were beaten with blackjacks. A Federal grand jury of the middle district of Georgia in August, 1958 refused to indict police officers Weyman B. Cherry, Randolph E. McDonald and Edwin H. Jones as the perpetrators of these acts of violence.

Before these incidents of violence, Terrell County had been in the news during the winter because five Negroes, four of whom were college graduates, were complainants in the first voting suit against a Board of Registrars ever to be filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Only 48 Negroes out of a total of 8,400 in Terrell County are registered, whereas 2,810 whites out of a total of 4,600 are registered. As soon as this suit was filed, one Negro teacher in Terrell County was fired. Eleven other Negro teachers were not issued contracts at the end of the 1957-58 term and others were employed in their places.

Prospects: Baker County is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in central and southwest Georgia which have decreed that the Negro shall not have the privilege of registering and voting at all or beyond a token number which will serve as a safety-valve against Federal intervention. Population and registration statistics, as compiled in the Secretary of State's office for fifteen southwest counties which cluster in proximity to Baker County, validate this statement. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and vote and by their example stimulate other Negroes to do the same. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions which are designed as an initial line of defense for the whites. Long before Negroes cross this line, the opposition seeks to detect idealogical leanings which indicate that stern warnings are necessary such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so." Negroes are pressing for the vote in Baker

County	Population White	Registration White	% White	Population Negro	Registration Negro	% Negro	Population % Negro
Mitchell	11,300	7,298	65	11,100	375	3.4	50
Miller	6,100	3,357	55	2,400	6	0.25	28
Seminole	4,700	3,172	67	2,900	29	1.0	38
Early	7,600	4,335	57	9,200	226	2.5	55
Randolph	4,400	2,585	59	7,800	493	6.3	63
Terrell	4,600	2,810	61	8,400	48	0.57	65
Lee	1,900	1,281	67	4,200	29	0.69	68
Turner	6,300	3,893	62	4,100	474	12	39
Worth	9,100	5,855	64	9,300	296	3.2	43
Colquitt	26,700	13,000	49	8,500	965	11	24
Thomas	21,800	8,422	39	14,300	1,579	11	40
Grady	12,200	5,076	42	6,500	831	13	35
Decatur	13,500	7,530	56	11,400	960	8.4	46
Brooks	8,800	4,321	49	8,200	695	8.4	48
Baker	1,900	1,670	88	3,300	0	0	63

County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if some Negro residents continue to press for their civil rights. "If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure. They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired. Some Baker County Negroes don't do business in Newton and the local merchants are feeling the effects. If a

Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on more civil rights, he is likely not to be qualified for welfare benefits or old age assistance.

Considering these factors, plus others which have already been discussed, there is little likelihood that Negroes in Baker County will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the reasonably near future. For quite a while, it seems unlikely that any formally, well-educated Negro litigants will create the basis of a federal suit such as was done in nearby Terrell County. This was due to two primary reasons. A number of Negro teachers have not established voting residency in Baker County. Then, too, they will be fired, or not rehired, and thus will have to leave Baker County if they wish to obtain "white collar" employment. There is a complete dearth of Negro professional and business personnel in Baker County which would have a reasonable degree of independence which would enable them to help in leadership roles. Our studies about the political status of Negroes in several other Georgia counties reveal that political leadership for Negroes varies directly with the number of Negro professional, business and religious leaders who live and serve in the county. And, too, the higher the level of education which is acquired, the more positive will be the response to appeals to register and vote.

Under the circumstances, the next most logical step would be for the federal government to initiate legal action against the Baker County Board of Registrars under the auspices of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. It would seek to restrain the Board of Registrars and their successors from denying would-be Negro registrants an opportunity to establish that they are or are not qualified to register and vote. This procedure would save money that Negro litigants would have to spend if they themselves brought suit against the Board of Registrars. Then, too, federal intervention would provide a degree of protective insulation for the would-be Negro registrants against the hostility of local power-structure people and their supporters.

Federal injunctive authority, when obtained, should be permanent so that the potentiality of federal intervention will give Negro residents some assurance of continuing protection. An an NAACP leader in Albany stated it, "we must pressure the federal government for protection because we will not get it from local law enforcement authorities." Unless there is adequate and constant federal intervention, which goes beyond local authority in support of civil rights, it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote in many counties in Georgia with a reasonable degree of personal safety. And Baker County is included in this number.

* * *

Mat - Special Suffrage Ga 1958

From Georgia Voters' Registration Act (As Amended Through 1960)

SECTION 17

When an applicant appears before the Board of Registrars for examination, the Board shall proceed as hereinafter provided.

(a) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of literacy, the Board shall submit to him a section of the Constitution of Georgia or of the United States and the applicant shall be required to read it aloud and write it in the English language. If the applicant reads the section intelligibly and writes it legibly, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected. If the applicant states that solely because of physical disability, he is unable to read or write, the section shall be read to him by any member of the Board and he shall be called upon to give a reasonable interpretation thereof. The interpretation shall be in the applicant's own words, giving words the significance ordinarily attached to them by a layman of average intellect and attainments. If, in the opinion of the Board, the applicant gives such a reasonable interpretation, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected.

(b) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of his good character and his understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, he shall be given an examination based upon a standard list of questions as hereinafter provided.

(c) In all situations arising under this law where the applicant of the voter, as the case may be, is required to be served with a notice of a hearing, said notice, unless otherwise provided herein, shall specify a date not less than one nor more than 30 days after the date of the notice. The notice may be served by mailing it to the applicant or the voter at the address given on his registration card. The registrars, if present or in session at the time an application is filed, may proceed to the examination of the applicant instanter and without notice.

(d) Failure to appear at the time specified in any notice given under the provisions of this law shall constitute cause for rejecting an application or of removing a voter's name from the list. In either event, no new application for registration shall be received from any such person until after the beginning of the new calendar year. Provided, however, an application may be reinstated and a voter's name returned to the list on motion of such person if he can prove in fact that he was not servedwith or furnished with a notice.

(e) In all cases under this section and under this law where an application is rejected or a voter's name is removed from the list, the registrars on the day of such event shall notify such person by mail addressed to the address shown on the registration card. If any adverse decision is reached when such person is present and he is so notified by the Board, no written notice shall be required.

QUESTIONS OF 1958 REGISTRATION LAW
GEORGIA

1. What is a republican form of government?
2. What are the names of the three branches of the United States government?
3. In what State Senatorial District do you live and what are the names of the county or counties in such District?
4. What is the name of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live and what are the names of the counties or county in such Circuit?
5. What is the definition of a felony in Georgia?
6. How many Representatives are there in the Georgia House of Representatives and how does the Constitution of Georgia provide that they be apportioned among the several counties?
7. What does the Constitution of Georgia prescribe as the qualifications of Representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives?
8. How does the Constitution of the United States provide that it may be amended?
9. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia and who is the Presiding Justice of that Court?
10. Who may grant pardons and paroles in Georgia?
11. Who is the Solicitor General of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live and who is the Judge of such Circuit?
12. If the Governor of Georgia dies, who exercises the executive power, and if both the Governor and the person who succeeds him die, who exercises the executive power?
13. (a) What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus?

(b) What does the Constitution of Georgia provide regarding the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus?

14. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following State offices in Georgia?

    (1) Governor
    (2) Lieutenant Governor
    (3) Secretary of State
    (4) Attorney General
    (5) Comptroller General
    (6) State Treasurer
    (7) Commissioner of Agriculture
    (8) State School Superintendent
    (9) Commissioner of Labor

15. How many Congressional Districts in Georgia are there and in which one do you live?

16. What is the term of office of a United States Senator?

17. What is the term of office of a State Senator?

18. What is the county site of your county?

19. How does the Constitution of Georgia provide that a county site may be changed?

20. What are the qualifications for jury service in Georgia?

21. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following offices in your county?

    (1) Clerk of the Superior Court
    (2) Ordinary
    (3) Sheriff

22. How may a new state be admitted into the Union?

23. On what day and how often is the general election held in Georgia at which members of the General Assembly of Georgia are elected?

24. What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the right of citizens to vote?

25. In what Federal Court District do you live?

26. What are the names of the Federal District Judges of Georgia?

27. Who are citizens of Georgia?

28. What is treason against the State of Georgia?

29. In what body does the Constitution of the United States declare that the legislative powers granted in such Constitution shall be vested?

30. How many electoral votes does Georgia have in the electoral college?

Baker County is located in southwest Georgia in an area often referred to as the "Blackbelt," both because of the color of its soil and its large Negro population. Still one of the most highly agricultural counties in Georgia, with four-fifths of the population living on farms, Baker depends upon peanuts, pecans, and cotton for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Newton is its County Seat.

Three large plantations cover a large portion of Baker County--Pinelands, belonging to the Mellons of Pennsylvania; Blacketts, owned by another northern family whose name it bears and who lives on it, and Ichaway, owned by Robert Woodruff of Atlanta. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted to the employment and racial mores of the area. Individually owned farms decreased from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954.

The county, then, has had little industrialization or urbanization, which would tend to alter provincial customs. In short, the dominant mentality of the county is rural, with a strong Old South motif. This is due to the racial, as well as the agricultural, composition of the county. In 1957 the total population of Baker County was estimated at 5,200, a decrease of 700 from 1950. Of this number, 3,300 were Negroes and 1,900 white.

VOTER REGISTRATION

The racial division of the county has generated fears on the part of the white population that if the voting system is not controlled Negroes might "take over."

Registration figures from the Secretary of State's office showed that 88 per cent, or 1,670 of the total white population of 1,900 were registered to vote in 1958. All but 230 white persons, or 12 percent of the white population had registered.

However, during the 1957-58 school year, there were 137 white children enrolled in Baker County High School and 239 in elementary schools for a total of 440. Hence, even though the legal voting age in Georgia is 18, and there might be a few of that age in high school, it still is logical to conclude that the white registration figures for Baker County are padded or inflated.

Although Negroes comprise 63 per cent of the total population, none of the 3,300 is registered to vote. In the mid-1940's, after the outlawing of the white primaries, approximately 475 Negroes were registered. However, they were purged from the registration lists by followers of former governor Eugene Talmadge.

Significantly, 836 white voters in Baker County, as a simple majority, of a total county population of 5,200 control the two county unit votes under the Georgia system of elections. These two county unit votes, along with those of the other 120 two-unit vote counties, are a formidable factor which forms the basic political strength for most successful Georgia politicians and give rural areas a predominant voice in state affairs. These two-unit vote counties have a total of 242 votes, as compared to 120 unit votes for the 30 four-unit vote counties and the 48 unit votes for the eight six-unit vote counties. Under the county unit system, Baker County has one-third as much political strength, for example, as Fulton County with its 133,291 registered voters and six unit votes.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Most Baker County Negroes work as farm laborers or domestic servants for from three to four dollars a day. There is a widespread belief among Negroes (which could neither be verified nor disproved) that welfare administrators are slow to put aged Negroes on their rolls. They insist that when they do get on they usually receive $35 a month, although aged white citizens generally qualify for $50. One Negro in the county commented, "A Negro is just about dead when he gets $50 a month."

Good housing is at a premium in Baker County. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in Newton, the county seat.

Most of the few white collar jobs in the county are available only to white persons, except for 35 teaching jobs open to Negroes.

Several Negroes own their own farms, which are reasonably large and profitable. However, these landowners must operate carefully within the bounds of racial restrictions that apply to the masses of Negroes. They feel this is necessary if they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress any group is to withhold the right and ability to obtain an education. For years, Baker County, along with many other counties in Georgia, failed to provide high school facilities for Negro children. In most instances, these children had only one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If parents wanted a high school education for their children they had to send them outside the county at their own expense. Needless to say, there was a high school for white children and many of them went on to college. Very few Negroes were able to attend high school and even fewer attended college. This meant that by and large Negroes could not form an educated nucleus to provide leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes themselves started a high school in an old house in Baker County. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from federal court decisions in other areas, the educational picture for Negro children in Baker County began to change. The West Baker Elementary School for Negroes now has eleven teachers. In 1956 the East Baker High and Elementary School for Negroes was built and now has 24 teachers. Unlike the long established Baker County High School for white children, the new Negro high school does not have a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped pay off a bond issue of $80,000 which financed the construction of a gymnasium for the white school. Each school has classes in agriculture but neither offers trade courses. White pupils, however, can go to an area trade school in nearby Americus. There is no area trade school available to Negroes.

Church leadership among Negroes in Baker County is a week-end affair. None of the Negro preachers live in the county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end and when the Sunday services are over they leave. Several of the Negro churches have received token building and maintenance contributions from the owners or managers of the county's three large plantations. These relatively small gifts--and the anticipation of more--were considered by most of the Negroes interviewed as one reason their ministers do not provide a citizenship program which would encourage registration. Also, some of the ministers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One person interviewed said, "I am going to tell you the truth about these preachers here in Baker County--no preacher will tell us about voting. They are scared." In any event, voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes have been rare, apparently because of a feeling of obligation to the leading whites.

Another consensus of the Negroes interviewed was that the overseers of the three large plantations support a rigid system of segregation and tend to exploit labor, both white and Negro. "These hunting reserves mainly for Northerners," as one Negro termed them, help in many ways to maintain the pattern of segregation.

There is a strong Citizens Council in the county which helps police Negroes, and also whites, who attempt to deviate from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior. Several of those interviewed said the white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council, as well as the general milieu in which they have to work, live and preach.

Whatever the reason, the white ministers do not have any line of communication with the Negro ministers who serve Baker County. One interviewer said, "Once there was a white minister here who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him." There seems to be no adequate, intelligent communication between the two racial groups in other fields. There is no contact between white and Negro veterans, teachers, or civic groups.

Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptitiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights problems unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions, Negro teachers feel that they dare not assert any leadership in the civil rights field if they expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly encourage, or even discuss, Negro voting nor do they seek this right for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. They know ~~that~~ already that two Negro teachers and a bus driver, have been fired, who are relatives of two Negro men who showed interest in registering and voting,

A Negro woman who was a visiting teacher in Baker County for 30 years decided "under pressure" that she should resign after she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. As recounted by Negroes who were interviewed, this is what happened: About three years ago the incumbent school superintendent, H. E. Hall, was running for reelection against William Geer, the principal of Baker County High School. Geer's campaign was designed to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro visiting teacher, who is regarded by those who know her as a woman of integrity, dignity, and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery used by the superintendent. The latter was attacked because, it was charged, that he tacitly admitted the equality of the races by placing the Negro woman's name along with the white names on the official stationery which was used by the Board of Education, ~~and his office~~. This was the crux of the campaign. Geer's slogan over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. Geer was not elected. But the visiting teacher left her job and her home.

EFFORTS TO REGISTER

All the above factors explain in part why there is not a single Negro registered to vote in Baker County. But many techniques have been used to disfranchise Negroes.

Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became effective in 1957 four substantial, tax-paying Negro residents of Baker County decided to sponsor a mass meeting in Newton to discuss setting up classes to help prospective registrants answer questions asked under the Georgia Voters' law. Later, a registration rally-barbecue was given by one of the leaders. According to several of those at the rally, Sheriff Warren Johnson drove near the barbecue site, stopped and blew his siren. Johnson left and nothing else happened, yet those at the rally interpreted this a clear signal that the sheriff was opposed to Negroes registering.

Nevertheless, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from Albany, in neighboring Dougherty County. Their efforts were unsuccessful. Negroes in Baker County said members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar, evasive tactics, such as taking would-be registrants' names under the pretense of enrolling them. Later these Negroes would learn they were not actually registered. At other times the registration books or office would be closed when Negroes sought to register. Some found that no one would tell them the names of the registrars. On one occasion, 25 to 30 Negroes went together to register but one of the registrars told them to come back after banking hours. When they returned at the time suggested, the registrars' office was closed. A Negro leader of the group was later approached by a white man who told him, "I know you are a good nigger -- just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Baker County and I advise you not to bother with this business." This kind of advice from white persons has been given frequently to deter Negro registration.

Another tactic has been to discourage outside Negroes from coming to Baker County to "stir up trouble." After it was learned that one or two members of the Voters League in Albany were encouraging Baker County Negroes to register, law enforcement officers seemed to feel that they should discourage visits by these outsiders. In the fall of 1957 Scott Johnson, an Albany Negro, had a picnic in Baker County and invited a number of Negroes from Albany to attend. On their way back to Albany, most of them were arrested for speeding and drinking and each was fined from $35 to $100 for a total of about $1,400.

The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times due largely to outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful, particularly if ~~the~~ a driver happens to be a well-dressed Negro.

Some Albany Negroes characterize Baker County as "one step down from hell." More specifically, one Albany Negro said, "I stay out of Baker County because I wear a tie." To the uninitiated this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark but it is not. In rural areas the wearing of a tie or dress, instead of work, clothing (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays or holidays) by Negroes is regarded as evidence of a desire to break away from the customary racial pattern and this is resented by many whites. It may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house, his manner of speaking, or his desire to register and vote.

For some time the Voters League in Albany has considered methods of opening registration lists for Negroes in several southwest Georgia counties. They feel that "if we can break through in Baker County, the others will follow." They are aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in southwest Georgia is centered in Albany, which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities in Baker County and elsewhere in this region.

The daily newspaper serving a large part of the area is the Albany Herald. Its editor, James H. Gray, a vigorous segregationist, is a Dartmouth College graduate~~,~~ and a native of Springfield, Mass~~.~~achusetts, who has been in Albany since World War II. He has characterized the South's segregation laws as no more immoral than United States laws concerning Indians and immigrants. The Supreme Court he has said is "very much bent on fostering social revolution."

To Negroes, the Herald is known as an anti-Negro paper. However, Every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People of Southwest Georgia," but this deals only with such personal items [illegible] as marriages, deaths and social events. No news is carried on the page about efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights.

In the Oct. 4, 1958 issue, in which there was almost a full page of ~~social~~ news items about Negroes, there also was a derogatory letter in the People's Forum. It was supposed to have been sent to the editor from Pelham, Ga., by a person who signed his name as Plowhand. It portrayed a friendly white man and a conversation he had with a Negro named Jake who was ill. "Jake is a nigger that owns a farm next to mine. I went in to find Jake in bed." The letter continues, reporting Jake as saying he had worked himself down trying to get more money to send to the NAACP. The white man then recounted that "the white folks" had helped Jake build his house after it had burned down, sat up with his wife when she was ill, and helped gather his crops when he broke his leg. "Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake." Jake acknowledged all this: "De white folks hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reminder dat my dues wuz behind." Then the white man asked Jake when were "the Southern niggers" going to wake up to realize that they were tools of the NAACP who insisted that "white hates black." Jake was warned against continuing to send dues to power-mad "fools as what sets in a air-conditioned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker." And, in conclusion, he said, "Jake, when is the nigger going to strike out on his own?"

Although many Negroes in the area resent this type of insult, they are even more concerned about a network of opposition they believe is set to "pick off" progressive Negro leaders in southwest Georgia. They list the editor of the Albany Herald ~~Journal~~, ~~a weekly~~, as among those white persons who brought pressure on Dr. Aaron Brown, the president of Albany State College (for Negroes) during the school year of 1953-54, which culminated in Brown's being ousted by the State Board of Regents. Dr. Brown was accused of aiding the NAACP because he sat on the platform of the City Auditorium when A. T. Walden, prominent Negro lawyer of Atlanta and an NAACP leader, spoke at a public meeting in Albany. Later, Brown was called to the hotel room of Governor Herman Talmadge to discuss his activities. Next, he was summoned to appear before the State Board of Regents, which subsequently failed to renew his contract. (Brown is now Director of Projects for the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York City.)

Brown's difficulties apparently started when some of his faculty members and students decided to boycott quietly some businesses in Albany, which advertised in the Albany Herald, until they were treated with more courtesy. The effect of the pressure on Dr. Brown ~~all this~~ was to neutralize any civil rights activities emanating from Albany State College and ~~to~~ serve as a warning to other Negro leaders in southwest Georgia.

FEAR AND VIOLENCE

Baker County has underscored its opposition in a number of ways to even a fractional extension of civil rights to Negro citizens. Negroes feel that the sheriff's office has used brutality to keep them "in line" for years.

This was dramatized in 1943 by the public lynching of a Negro mechanic, Robert Bobby ?? Hall. Sheriff Claude Screws had arrested Hall on a charge of stealing an automobile tire. Subsequently, Hall was lynched in a ~~particularly~~ brutal manner ~~fashion~~ -- he was taken from jail and beaten, tied to the back of a car and dragged around the town of Newton, acid was poured on him, he was beaten again and thrown back in jail. Apparently frightened by the results of their cruelty, his attackers called an ambulance and Hall died in an Albany hospital. The sheriff and two former policemen were indicted by the federal government and convicted of depriving Hall of his life without due process of law and conspiracy to violate the law. Eventually, on a technical legal point, the United States Supreme Court, in a split decision, sent the case back for a new trial. The second trial ended in an acquittal. In 1958, former Sheriff Screws was elected to the State Senate as "the senator from Newton".

A man who had worked under Screws succeeded him as sheriff--Warren Johnson. Negroes interviewed said that Johnson is opposed to Negroes voting and ~~in fact~~ also to their coming to the court house except for trial. He, too, has killed a Negro. Johnson contended that he acted in the line of duty in shooting to death a Negro who was sitting in a car and that ended the matter.

Instances of police brutality explain why Negro~~es~~ ~~in other~~ voters in a number of counties in ~~the~~ Southern States center so much attention on candidates for the sheriff's office. But, in Baker County, Negroes have no political voice.

On December 12, 1957, there were three separate bombings of property belonging to three of the four Negroes who attempted to register to vote and ~~to~~ persuade others to do the same. Josh Williams' front porch was bombed, as were cars belonging to Ike King and Carl Broadway. (Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in Baker County report that it is increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars.) Although the explosions were extremely ~~noisy~~ loud in the silence of night, no white persons came to see what had happened. Those persons whose property was bombed wondered if most of the white population in and around Newton knew in advance what was going to happen. Negroes quickly showed up at the site of each bombing. The victims were sorely disillusioned in that no whites came to find out what had happened because all of them thought they knew some white persons who would befriend them. No white person has publicly condemned these bombings.

Since the bombings, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has been a source of deep anxiety to the families whose property was damaged. Meanwhile, the daughter of Carl Broadway, has lost her job as a school teacher; Broadway's brother-in-law was fired as a bus driver and his school-teacher daughter suffered the same fate.

The fourth Negro who sought to register, Tee Kunney, was arrested for having illicit liquor on his property and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons interviewed believed Kunney's arrest was attributable to his registration activities.

Following the dynamitings, FBI agents came into Baker to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or revealed that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reaction to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt the agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes wouldn't talk" and the "good white people held their peace too much." Nevertheless, they felt the "FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in nearby Albany condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what they considered an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. They stated that the FBI "seemingly worked in cahoots with the whites." Finally, they insisted that the "FBI man in Albany is a spy for the whites." When the agents entered Baker County, some whites sent word to the Negroes that they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet. No attempt was made to prove or disprove either reaction to the FBI investigations--if, indeed, this could be done--but they are mentioned to reflect the varied feelings of Negroes in the area.

Finally, racial violence in neighboring Terrell County (outlined elsewhere in this report) served as further warning to Baker County Negroes and others in southwest Georgia who might otherwise have pressed their plans to register and vote.

PROSPECTS

Baker County is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in central and southwest Georgia which have decreed that the Negro shall not have the privilege of registering and voting at all or beyond a token number that would serve as a safety valve against federal intervention. They are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic minded Negroes from attempting to register and by their example to stimulate other to do the same. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions. Before this develops Long before Negroes go this far, the opposition seeks to detect signs which indicate that stern warnings are necessary such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so."

Negroes who are pressing for the vote in Baker County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes in turn watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if some Negro residents continue to press for their civil rights.

"If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure.

They think, too, of the Negro school teachers and bus driver who have been fired.

Some Baker County Negroes don't do business in Newton now, and the local merchants are feeling the effects. On the other hand, if a Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on civic and legal rights, it is charged that he is unlikely to qualify for welfare or old age assistance benefits.

Considering all these factors, there is little likelihood that Negroes in Baker County will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the near future. For quite awhile it seems unlikely that any formally well-educated Negro lititants will initiate a federal suit. For one thing, a number of Negro teachers have not established voting residence in the county. Then, too, they feel they would be fired and would thus have to leave the county to obtain another white collar job. ¶ There is a dearth of Negro professional and business men and women who would have a reasonable degree of the economic independence which would enable them to provide leadership.

Under the circumstances, most Negroes in the county who are interested in voting feel that their only hope in the near future must come from federal action against the Board of Registrars. They reason that federal intervention would provide a degree of protection to would-be Negro registrants from local white hostility. Without this federal intervention they feel it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to register and vote in Baker and many other counties in Georgia with a reasonable degree of personal safety.

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THE NEGRO VOTER IN GEORGIA POLITICS, TODAY

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Negro vote municipal election, Presidential

INTRODUCTION

This paper on "The Negro Voter in Georgia Today" attempts to present generalized and over-all comment on the political climate within which Negroes operate as electors in the State of Georgia, and will place heavy emphasis on the agricultural, rural, and small communities within which, often, the Negro population is heaviest; a second section will discuss the Atlanta Metropolitan area in terms of the especial factors which operate in the larger cities which make the political climate quite different from that of the rural farm and non-farm communities; another section is devoted to the Republican party in Georgia; and a final section will attempt to summarize in the form of conclusions and generalizations on the role and function of the Negro voter in Georgia today.

The Political climate in Georgia

January 12, 1943 marked a new era in Georgia politics, for on that day Ellis Arnall was inaugurated as Governer, having defeated the late Eugene Talmadge in the democratic primary. Under Governor Arnall's leadership(1943-47) the legislature repealed the poll tax and lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 years. For Negroes, however, April 1, 1946 was far more significant, for on that date the United States Supreme Court, in the Primus King case, invalidated the white primary in Georgia. This marked the first time since 1898, when the white primary was adopted in Georgia, that Negroes had a difect voice in choosing their elective officials. Governor Arnall ignored the please of some politicians to take steps to circumvent the decision, stating that "he would not be a party[1] to any subterfuge, or scheme, designed to nullify the orders of the court."

The gubernatorial election of 1946 provided the necessary spark to arouse the Negroes from their political lethargy. This race saw ex-Goveno r Talmadge, who was running on a white supremacy ticket, pitted against James Carmichael, the candidate of the Arnall faction, as Governor Arnall was

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Atlanta Politics", Phylon, XV(Fourth Quarter,1955),344 ineligible to succeed himself. Talmadge 's anti-Negro rantings in the past as well as the anti-Negro policy he threatened to pursue if elected left no choice for the Negro, as far as the two candidates were concerned[1]. A state-wide registration drive was conducted by Negro leaders and when the books were closed on May 8 of that year, 118,000 Negroes were qualified to vote as compared with 10,000 in 1944[2].

In 1949 the legislature passed a new "Voters Registration Act" by which registration was made permanent if the elector voted at least once every two years. Furthermore, to qualify one must be able to read and write any selected part of the Constitution of the United States or Georgia, to the satisfaction of the registrar, or pass a test on a list of standard questions. It was expected that this law would provide Georgia with a model registration system which would eliminate any irregularities. However, as Mrs. Olive Shadgett of the University of Georgia political science department points out, the law is far from perfect. It fails to designate clearly the officials who are responsible for registration in the various countries, so that incompetent personnel officiate in some counties, and, further, many counties lack the funds to purge the registration list. As a result, it is almost impossible to ascertain accurately the number of registered voters in the state[3]. For example, in Marietta, Georgia one group checked the registration rolls and found listed sixty of their friends who had died long ago. When they asked the officials about the situation they were told blandly "We'll leave their names on the rolls. The poll watchers know who they were, and besides they permit only the living to vote[4]. In Telfair County (home of the

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[1] Ibid. p. 345.

[2] The Georgia Republican, VII (March,1957) 5

[3] Ibid

[4] Atlanta Constitution , May 24, 1957

Talmadges) a reform civic group sent out 1,000 letters to voters whose names were on the official voters list in the general election. All of these letters were returned with "not at this address". This was done after 2,000 other names were purged from the list. In Long County the registration list includes as many names are there are residents in the county.[1] These facts are cited to show the sordid picture in areas outside the metropolitan counties. Despite these imperfections the figures reported for Negroes, and their registration, are fairly accurate as compared with those of the whites, since Negroes have been subject to frequent purges.

Eleven years have passed since the white primary was declared unconstitutional in Georgia, and today there are 163,842 Negroes registered in the state, as opposed to 1,168,010 whites. Negro registration represents 15 per cent of Georgia's total 1956 population, and 26 percent of the state's potential Negro voters. Thirty-three of Georgias 159 counties have 50 percent or more of the eligible Negroes registered, while only in 5 counties does Negro registration exceed the white[2] . Furthermore, 59,802 or 35.8 percent of the Negroes registered reside in the five largest metropolitan counties, which are Fulton (Atlanta), Chatform (Savannah), Muscogee (Columbus), Richmond (Augusta), and Bibb(Macon).

Thus since 1946, Negro registration in the whole state has increased only 45,000. According to the Southern Regional Council four major factors are responsible for this relatively low increase: 1) discriminatory practices in administering the registration law; 2) political apathy among Negroes; 3) fear of economic reprisals; and 4) violence, threates, or subtle forms of intimidation. The degree to which these factors are dominant depends largely on the ratio of Negro to white population, predominance of rural or agricultural life, low educational status, and economic condition of the people in the community. In most of the rural areas, Negro leadership is conspicuous by its absence, and no civic organizations exist to promote political activity. Furthermore, because of lack of police protection, Negroes dare not assert themselves politically for fear of being victims of police brutality and economic reprisals. An examination of seventeen counties in this category, shows that there are 2,420 registered voters out of a potential Negro vote of 43,685; on the other hand, in these same seventeen counties , there are 47,717 white registered voters, or 94 percent of the total registration in these areas.

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[1] Atlanta Constitution, May 24, 1957

[2] Information based on survey of Negro voting in Georgia by the Southern Regional Council.

This huge discrepancy between Negro and white registration is largely responsible for United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell, telling the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights that many southern Negroes could have voted in the Presidential election of 1956 had the Administrations civil rights bill been in effect[1] . Speaking before this same Committee in February 8, 1957, Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta, head of the Negro Democrats in Georgia, pointed out that the problem of Negro voting was most crucial in the rural areas, which fact, he attributed, partly to the County Unit system, which enables politicians to ride into office on the Negro question. He cited many forms of intimidation, like cross burnings, shots being fired into Negro homes, and the staging of parades in Negro areas on election eve. Dean B. R. Brazeal, of Morehouse College, who conducted a survey of political conditions in several select counties for the Southern Regional Council, reports that in one county the Sheriff conducts the examination for prospective Negro registrants, which in itself is a form of intimidation. In another county, a Negro, who had been married twice and was legally divorcedd, was accused of living in adultery and was therefore accused of being unfit to register to vote. The use of separate ballot boxes is another form of intimidation, since many Negroes in small communities fear economic or other forms of reprisal if it is known how they voted. In one county, according to Brazeal, the Negro and white voters are separated at the polls, Negroes going to the rear of the City Hall and depositing their ballots in a black box, and whites going to the Front door and placing their ballots in an unpainted box. Yet, in this same county, there is no effort to prevent Negroes from voting. In this particular county Negroes outnumbes whites by a ration of 6-4, but the Negro registration amounts to only 18.1 percent of the total. In some of the Black Belt counties there are instances where the office holders permit a controlled number of Negroes to register so that they might be held in reserve for voting purposes when the opposition appears to be too strong. It was also asserted that the whites in these areas are willing to resort to violence as a means of keeping Negroes from bringing court cases against them.

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[1] The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, February 17, 1957, p. 5B

While the whites are chiefly responsible for these conditions, there are some conditions within the Negro group which contribute to this situation. One informant, who lives in a county not far from Atlanta, states that so-called Negro leaders in some small communities too often are divided over petty issues. Instead of presenting a united front, these leaders go their separate ways and, as a result, leave the Negro voters more confused than ever. Then, too, there are others, whom we might call "Uncle Tom's", who discourage any effort to alert the Negro to his civic responsibility and frequently report such activities to their white "friends". Further, Negro ministers have failed to preach a social gospel to their congregations because of fear of offense to certain whites whom they fawn on in the community. Most of the Negro teachers, who are best qualified to best promote citizenship among Negroes, say very little, and when they do speak out they usually side with the power structure of the community.

Although the picture presented thus far, with reference to Negro voting in rural areas appears gloomy, there is a bright side. In Baxley, according to Attorney Walden's statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, the Mayor and 11 other prominent citizens asked the Department of Justice to probe the discriminations practiced against Negro voters. In Ware County, two registrars resigned because of the illegal purging of Negro names. And in Polk County the Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, Mr. Lon Duckworth, stated that it was illegal for a single person to challenge 499 Negro registrants.

Furthermore, because of irregularities revealed in many counties, a special committee of the legislature is conducting hearings for the purpose of revising Georgia's election laws. Among those appearing before this Committee is the Late Primary Party group, from Telfair County, which is demanding, among other things, that permanent registration books replace looseleaf notebooks and that these records remain in the office of the Registrar, that the Sheriff be removed as a participant in the registration process, and that the County Board of Registrars be elected instead of appointed. If these reforms are carried out, the election certainly will be taken out of the hands of the "courthouse clique" , and a step will be taken in the direction of democratic government. However, this will not take place without a struggle, because, as Attorney Dan Duke of Atlanta stated, "Many county governments exist solely for the benefit of individuals so that they can have power that they can "hawk off" in Atlanta". As it is although Negroes in Georgia represent a little less than one-third of the population, they do not have a single member in the state legislature. Maybe these reforms, and a strong Federal Civil Rights Bill, will bring about the desired end.

Negro voting in Atlanta

Any analysis of Negro political participation would be misleading if it failed to divorce Atlanta from the rest of the State. While other metropolitan areas in Georgia, such as Savannah, Columbus, Augusta, Macon, and Brunswick, have witnessed increased Negro political activity, Atlanta is an "oasis" in a desert in this regard. As a result of an intensive registration campaign in 1946, 24,441 Negroes were qualified to vote in Fulton County, of which number 21,244 lived in Atlanta; as opposed to this, 56,854 whites were eligible to vote in Atlanta elections. Negroes represented 27.2 per cent of the registered voters. The most amazing aspect of this registration drive was that over 18,000 names were placed on the registration books during the last fifty-one days of the campaign. This success would have been impossible without a superb block-to-block organization by the NAACP and the Atlanta Urban League and excellent leadership. In addition, citizenship schools were conducted by the NAACP in every heavily populated Negro precinct to educate the new registrants on their responsibilities as voters.

In 1949, Negro Democrats and Republicans joined hands to organize the Atlanta Negro Voters League. This left the members free to vote in national elections for their particular party, but in state and local elections they were to support the most desirable candidates seeking office in the city-wide primary. This concentration of strength was recognized by the city fathers. No longer was it political suicide for a candidate for public office to openly seek the Negro vote. In every local election the League has scheduled mass meetings in the Negro areas at which time candidates have solicited the Negro vote. In the city election of 1949, the Negro vote was the deciding factor in the Mayor's race, and all but two of the candidates endorsed by the League for City Council were elected.

On May 13, 1953, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, was elected in a city-wide primary to the Board of Education as representative from the Third Ward. He received 22,259 votes to his white opponent's 13,936, carrying forty out of the fifty-eight precincts in the city, and losing nine of the precincts by less than twenty-two votes. Since Dr. Clement received 12,000 white votes in his race, credit reflects on the thousands of fair-minded white citizens who cast aside the question of race and voted for the candidate whom they regarded as best qualified. This marked the first time since December 7, 1870, that Atlanta had elected a Negro to a public office. In this same election two Negroes, Attorney A. T. Walden and Dr. Miles G. Amos, were elected to the City Executive Committee from the same Ward.

The impact of the Negro vote in Atlanta, however, was best documented in the primary held on May 8, 1957. Realizing the importance of this election to the Negro's political future, Negroes in January began planning for increased registration and the drive lasted until April 8. Since many Negroes had failed to vote at least once in two years, their names had been dropped from the registration list. Whereas there had been 21,244 Negroes eligible to vote in Atlanta in 1946, there were only 16,654 in 1952, about 19,000 in 1953, and less than 24,000 in September, 1956. Once again, the All-Citizens Registration Committee succeeded in increasing Negro registration to 28,604, opposed to 95,995 whites, or 22.7 per cent of the total registration.

Forty-one candidates sought election to nineteen positions in the city government, including two Negro candidates, Dr. Clement, who was seeking re-election, to the Board of Education, and Mr. T. M. Alexander, prominent businessman, who was offering for the City Council from the Seventh Ward. The Atlanta Negro Voters League held eight mass meetings, climaxed by a final rally at Wheat Street Baptist Church with over 1,000 in attendance. All of the candidates, with the

exception of three or four, were in attendance. In his appeal for the Negro vote, Mayor Hartsfield closed his remarks by asserting that "I have been a mayor to all the people, and nobody had to apologize for his mayor regardless to what part of the country he travelled. Because I have given nineteen years of honorable service." (*Atlanta Daily World*, May 8, 1959). Mayor Hartsfield and Dr. Clement had the endorsement of the white dailies, the *Atlanta Daily World* (Negro), and the Atlanta Negro Voters League. Mr. Alexander had the endorsement of the *Atlanta Daily World* and the Atlanta Negro Voters League, while
7 the white dailies endorsed one of his white opponents, Mr. Jack Summers, a barber supply dealer.

This election is significant in that it witnessed the largest turnout of voters in the city's history. A total of 73,495 voters out of a total registration of 124,599, or about 58.9 per cent, went to the polls. The Atlanta Negro Voters League provided free transportation to any polling place in the city by securing volunteers who offered their cars. Furthermore, one of the large Negro taxi companies made its entire fleet available for this service, free of charge. In addition, several hundred college students went from door to door the Sunday preceding the election to remind Negroes to go to the polls. The extent of the Negro vote is ascertainable by examining the returns from eight predominantly Negro precincts. According to the records of the Fulton County Registration offices, these precincts have a total of 14,899 Negro registered voters, and only 34 whites. This number represents 52.08 per cent of the 28,604 Negroes registered in the entire city. The analysis of the votes for Mayor Hartsfield and his opponent, Fulton County Commissioner Archie Lindsay, reveal some interesting facts.

Ward	Precinct	Negro registered voters	White registered voters	Hartsfield	Lindsay
3	B	2,482	0	1,744	117
3	H	2,095	6	1,443	104
3	K	1,268	0	760	78
3	N	771	0	424	64
4	I	1,902	6	1,167	87
6	H	2,311	12	1,480	72
7	A	1,957	9	1,244	98
7	D	2,113	1	1,521	83
		14,899	34	9,783	703

Total number of Negro votes cast in Mayor's race	10,486
Percentage of Negro registered voting for Mayor	70.38
Total Negro vote for Hartsfield	9,783
Percentage of Negro vote for Hartsfield	93.27
Total Negro vote for Lindsay	703
Percentage of Negro vote for Lindsay	6.73

Allowance should be made for those Negro voters who did not vote for either candidate for Mayor. Using 3B as an example, 1,919 voters entered the booths but only 1,861 votes were cast in the mayoralty race, or 96.7 per cent of the Negro vote in the precinct. Adding this 3.3 per cent to the number of votes cast in the mayoralty race in these eight precincts there were 10,800 votes cast in these areas. Using the above data as being representative of the Negro vote in the entire city, the following conclusions are reached in regards to the city wide election, conducted on May 8, 1957.

Total registration	124,599
Total registration of Negroes	28,604
Negro percentage of total registration	22.7
Total white registration	95,995
White percentage of total registration	77.3
Total votes cast in primary	73,495
Percentage of total registration voting in primary	58.9
Total Negro vote cast in primary	20,730
Percentage of Negro vote cast in primary	72.48
Total white vote cast in primary	52,765
Percentage of white votes cast in primary	54.9

Mayor's Race

Total vote cast in Mayor's race	71,420
Total vote cast for Mayor Hartsfield	37,612
Total vote cast for Archie Lindsay	33,808
Total Negro vote cast in primary	20,730
Percentage of actual Negro vote cast in race	96.7
Total Negro vote cast in race	20,045
Total white vote cast in race	51,375
Percentage of Negro vote for Hartsfield	93.27
Total Negro vote for Hartsfield	18,695
Percentage of white vote for Hartsfield	36.8
Total white vote for Hartsfield	18,917
Percentage of Negro vote for Lindsay	6.73
Total Negro vote for Lindsay	1,350
Percentage of white vote for Lindsay	63.2
Total white vote for Lindsay	32,458
Percentage of Hartsfield's total from Negroes	49.7
Percentage of Hartsfield's total from whites	50.3
Percentage of total vote for Hartsfield	52.67
Percentage of total vote for Lindsay	47.33

Although Mr. Lindsay conducted a campaign along dignified lines and did not inject the race issue, Mayor Hartsfield's record of nineteen years in office was one that promoted the growth of Atlanta as well as serving the interests of all of the people without regard to race, color, or creed. Negro voters recognized these achievements and were eager to see Atlanta continue its forward march, and not be subjected to reactionary elements that dominate state politics. This factor, along with the efforts of the Atlanta Negro Voters League, was responsible for bringing out 72.48 per cent of the Negro registered voters to the polls.

No one could question Dr. Clement's qualifications and record for another term on the Board of Education from the Third Ward. His opponent, Charlie Vaughn, ran on a white supremacy platform, being the only one of the forty-one candidates seeking public office to inject the race issue. Despite the controversial issues involved in the school board races, Dr. Clement defeated his opponent in the city-wide primary by a vote of 35,200 to 29,036, and carried the same thirty-four precincts that were carried by the Mayor. He was one of three

35,200
29,036
6,164

incumbent members of the Board to be re-elected, while five others were defeated. Whereas 70.38 per cent of the total Negro registered voters cast ballots in the mayoralty race, only 63.24 per cent voted in this bracket (17,891). This indicates that many voters cast their ballot for Mayor and ignored the other brackets. Of the 35,200 votes for Dr. Clement, 17,500 were Negro votes (97.28 per cent) and 17,700 were white (26.6 per cent). His total of 35,200 votes, which was 12,961 more than he received in 1953, placed him fourth highest in the total votes received by the forty-one candidates seeking various offices. An interesting sidelight of this race is that in one precinct, which neither the Mayor nor Dr. Clement carried, the latter received more votes than the Mayor. On the other hand, of the 29,036 votes received by Vaughn, 98.2 per cent or 28,525 came from white voters, and 1.8 per cent or 511 were cast by Negroes. The outcome of this race was best analyzed by Dr. Clement when he said that it appeared that the people of Atlanta "wanted to say to the world that race relations here remain good and that there is no tension between the two groups."[1]

When Mr. Alexander announced his candidacy for the Board of Aldermen from the Seventh Ward, it was the first time since 1887 that any Negro had sought such a position.[2] This was a three man race, the other two candidates being white. Mr. Alexander conducted a dignified campaign and was well received by white civic groups that invited him to speak. As in Dr. Clement's race, Negro voting in this bracket fell below that in the mayoralty bracket with only 65.28 per cent or 18,673 of the Negro registered vote participating. Mr. Alexander received 17,958 or 96.17 per cent of the Negro vote, and 4,888 white votes for a total of 22,864 or 33.35 per cent of the 64,891 votes cast in the bracket. This placed him second to Mr. Summers, who received 27,993 votes, while the third candidate polled 14,052 votes. Since no candidate received a majority, a run-off was necessitated on May 22, 1957.

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[1] *Atlanta Journal*, May 9, 1957, p. 15.

[2] Bacote, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

This remarkable showing made by Mr. Alexander, along with the re-election of Dr. Clement, induced Governor Marvin Griffin, who is a die-hard white supremacist, to issue a public statement in which he injected the race issue into the local Atlanta election. In a step unprecedented in the history of Atlanta politics, Governor Griffin urged the citizens of Atlanta to vote against Mr. Alexander and support his white opponent because he "is in complete sympathy with the preservation of the traditions and customs of the Southern people."[1] When asked to comment on this statement, Mayor Hartsfield said, "I think this matter can be left to the good judgment of the voters of Atlanta."[2]

There were only two aldermanic contests involved in the run-off primary, and the Alexander-Summers race was responsible for breaking all records in such an election. A total of 54,625 voted in this bracket, as compared to 48,035 in the other contest. Mr. Alexander received 20,028 Negro votes, or 70 per cent of the total Negro registration, and 2,432 white votes, for a total of 22,455, while his opponent garnered 32,170 votes. Mr. Alexander got 2,070 more Negro votes in the runover than he did in the first primary, but received only half as many white votes in the runover as he did in the first primary. There are several explanations for this situation. First, in the first primary the Mayor's race overshadowed the others, and many Negroes voted only in that bracket and neglected the others. Second, since ohly four candidates were to be voted for in the runoff, Negroes concentrated more or less on their candidate. As for the whites, it is probable that many who voted for Alexander in the first primary failed to go to the polls in the second.

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[1] Atlanta Constitution, May 18, 1957, pp. 1, 3.

[2] Ibid.

It is probable that Mr. Summers would have won without the Governor issuing a public statement in his behalf. Mr. Alexander had become an issue. Since the white supremacist candidate for the Board of Education had lost to Dr. Clement and since Fulton County Commissioner Archie Lindsay had lost to Mayor Hartsfield, the followers of these defeated candidates were determined to give their support to the white candidate. Furthermore, Mr. Alexander faced an uphill fight from the start in that he was seeking election from a ward which had a white registration of 13,094 as compared with 6,151 Negroes. In the Third Ward, on the other hand, there are 10,733 Negro registrants and 8,117 whites. To Mr. Summers' credit, he did not publicly inject the race issue in either campaign.

Although defeated, Mr. Alexander made a contribution which cannot be overlooked. The record outpouring of voters was due primarily to Mr. Alexander's seeking to be the first Negro alderman in Atlanta since William Finch and George Graham served in City Council in 1871. " . . . it is a healthy thing indeed," commented the Atlanta Journal, "that a Negro man ran for Alderman if his doing so produced such a turnout of an ordinarily sluggish electorate." However, concluded the Journal, "It's really shameful that only slightly more than 124,000 are registered. A whole lot more of the city's 500,000 plus population is eligible."[1]

This apathy poses a serious problem for the Negroes of Atlanta. While it is true that there are 28,604 Negroes registered in Atlanta and 29,613 or 29.7 per cent in Fulton County, there are 99,347 potential Negro voters or 68,624 unregistered voters. The chief reason offered by Negroes for not registering to vote is that they have no interest in politics and also that they will be taxed if their names are placed on the books. Furthermore, the novelty of voting has worn off since 1946, and an educational campaign must be instituted to revive interest. In 1946, Negro registration constituted 27.2 per cent of the total registration, whereas in 1957 it represents only 22.14 per cent. It should be explained, however, that this sharp decline in registration is due in part to the expansion of the city limits which brought in many more white people and few Negroes. Nevertheless, if Negro registration does not make significant gains, there is a danger that the Negro vote may become a liability instead of an asset. Thus it becomes the duty of the Atlanta Negro Voters League to call upon all churches and civic groups to make registration their primary goal. Only through the intelligent exercise of the ballot can the Negro eliminate race-baiting from political campaigns. So far Atlanta is more progressive in its political thinking and planning than any of the other cities in the Deep South. It is also a great commercial center as well as an outstanding cultural area for both whites and Negroes. Then too, Atlanta has been a pioneer in developing a better understanding between the races. Being the birthplace of the Interracial Commission, leading churchmen of both races have been instrumental in producing a greater respect for the law. Without the sympathetic cooperation of a large element of the white group, the political climate would be much different.[1] Many whites disapprove of the demagoguery practiced by some of their public officials, but they need the help of Negroes to curb it. Only in this way can Atlanta remain an "oasis" in Georgia.

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[1] Editorial, May 23, 1957, p. 18.

The Republican Party in Georgia

One of the healthy signs in Georgia politics in recent years has been the effort of the Republican Party to challenge the control of the Democratic Party in certain areas. Ever since the Reconstruction period, the Republican Party has been a collection of factions struggling for a seat in the national convention and for federal offices as spoils of victory. There has been race conflict within the party, and between the party and the Democrats. The Republican Party came to be labelled the "Negro Party" led by corrupt whites, a few Negro spoils-seekers and some leaders hopeful of enlarged Federal protection of the rights of Negroes.

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[1] Bacote, op. cit., p. 350.

Today, however, as a result of a complete re-organization of the party set-up, the Republicans are drawing into their fold many respectable white citizens who realize that a one-party set-up, as well as the nefarious county unit system, disfranchises them as much as it does the Negroes. The Republican State Central Committee has purged those county leaders who were concerned only with the spoils of office and who made no attempt to build up the party from the "grass roots." Furthermore, Republican organizations are very active in Richmond County (Augusta), Dekalb, Muscogee (Columbus), Fulton (Atlanta), and in Chatham (Savannah). The Republican organization is aware of the fact that before it can offer candidates for congressional seats it must be more active in local elections. In other words, as Mr. W. S. Shaw, prominent Atlanta Negro businessman and Secretary of the Georgia Republican State Central Committee, so aptly put it, the party must win more courthouse offices before they can win congressional elections.

In the presidential election of 1956, President Eisenhower polled 216,652 votes in Georgia, or 32.9 per cent of the total vote. He had a clear cut majority in eleven of the 159 counties and 40 per cent of the vote in 23. This is an increase over 1952 when the President got 198,691 votes or 30.4 per cent of the total vote. However, at that time he carried only three counties and obtained 40 per cent of the vote in 15 counties. The Republican showing in the 1956 congressional race in the Fifth District (Fulton County-Atlanta, Dekalb and Rockdale) indicates the rising trend in Republican strength. Randolph Thrower, the Republican candidate, polled 58,777 votes, or 39.1 per cent against

85,292 for James Davis, the Democrat. Two years before, when Charles A. Moye ran for Congress, he was beaten by Davis by a vote 54,069 to 29,911. Thus, in two years the Republican candidate gained 29,000 votes.

The race baiting tactics of Governor Griffin, along with those of the Eastlands and others, caused a sharp reversal of the Negro vote in the presidential election of 1956. Whereas in 1956 Stevenson received 74.3 per cent of the Negro vote, in 1956 the eight predominantly Negro precincts in Atlanta gave Eisenhower 7,767 votes or 86.35 per cent and Stevenson 1,215. This proves that neither party can take the Negro vote for granted--that the Negro will not be influenced by past deeds of either party, but is concerned primarily with the party's position on current affairs, especially civil rights.

In local politics, however, the Republicans have much spade work to do before they become a factor of any importance. In only a few counties in the North Georgia mountains does the party control local affairs. Out of the present membership of 259 in the Georgia legislature, only four are Republicans. Nevertheless, it is a wholesome trend, and if Georgia politics is to be free of race baiting, it must come largely through the development of a fairly balanced two-party system.

On the basis of the analysis presented in this report, the following steps are necessary to increase the voting power of Negroes in the State of Georgia:

1. An educational program, in the form of citizenship schools, should be instituted immediately to teach the Negroes the importance of the ballot. Many Negroes regard politics as the "white man's business" and do not realize that only through the ~~beast~~ ballot is it possible to obtain the full benefits of democracy.
2. A more intelligent and aggressive leadership must be developed and/or activated, to give Negroes guidance in political matters. Ministers and teachers must assume leadership of the civic and political organizations which will make their influence felt in the community.
3. An effective registration campaign must be conducted in each of the counties. If necessary, these campaigns should be operated by a paid person who would devote full-time to this project. The funds for this expensive campaign should come from a state-wide organization, since the political welfare of the Negroes in the metropolitan areas is more or less limited or linked with the voting strength of Negroes in the smaller communities and counties.
4. A greater line of communication must be established with liberal whites both at the local and the state level, and these lines of communication must be immediately effected.
5. As a last resort, suits should be instituted against the officials who persist in denying Negro voters their constitutional rights to participate in all levels of local, and state elections.

Speci Suff. Ga. 1954

This is a copy of Mozell Hill's case study on Atlanta.

John A. Griffin

Negro Suffrage in Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia

A case study of registration and voting performance of Negroes; related socio-economic factors which motivate Negroes to register and vote or not to register and vote; discriminating techniques employed to discourage Negroes from voting and registering; organized efforts to increase or decrease Negro registration and voting; and some indicated trends and prospects of future registration and voting among Negroes.

I

The following studies should be consulted as suggestive materials for background in the analysis of the raw materials presented in this case study.

C. A. McMahon. The People of Atlanta. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1950.

William M. Boyd, "Southern Politics, 1948-52," Phylon, Volume XIII, No. 3, 1952, pp. 229-35.

Hylan Lewis, "Innovations and Trends in the Contemporary Southern Negro Community," Journal of Social Issues, Volume X, June 1953. p. 14.

L. D. Reddick, "Victory in Atlanta," Nation, Volume 176, May 30, 1953. p. 444.

Henry Lee Moon, "The Southern Negro Vote, 1943-53," a paper presented at the Tenth Annual Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, July 10, 1953.

C. A. Bacote, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," Phylon, Volume XVI, No. 4 (1955) pp. 333-350.

Two studies are of special relevance to the case materials to be presented in this report. They are:

Phyllis A. Wallace, "Survey of Voter Registration Behavior Among Negro Eligibles in Atlanta, Georgia," an unpublished manuscript in the files of the School of Business, Atlanta University, 1956.

Cleo Roberts, "Some Correlatives of Registration and Voting Among Negroes in the 1953 Municipal Election of Atlanta, Georgia," unpublished master's thesis, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1954.

These two studies will be reviewed in some detail because the particular focus of each is upon similar questions which guided the interviewing of key and knowledgeable figures in Atlanta concerning the political participation of Negroes in Fulton County, Georgia.

Dr. Phyllis Wallace, Professor of Business Administration at Atlanta University, conducted a survey of voter registration among Negro eligibles in Atlanta during the spring of 1956. A sample of 200 individuals was selected from three census tracts: F. 38, F. 28 and F. 47.

In her report, she describes the rationale for the census tracts selected and gives the essential characteristics of each tract in respect to such factors as age and sex ratios, income, median grade attained, mobility, etc. Dr. Wallace also explains and analyzes the "reliability of sample probability" of her study population and computes the standard error of her sample percentage. In estimating the precision of her sample, her tests reveal that the study group of 200 cases has a high degree of reliability and she hypothecates that the sample is highly representative of the universe (Negro voters and non-voters).

In testing the validity of the data collected in the survey with the factors of age, sex, education, length of residence in Atlanta, census tract, home ownership, attitudes concerning value of Negro votes and reasons for non-registration, Dr. Wallace made the following observations:

1. Registration behavior among Negroes is not independent of sex as is frequently assumed. Thus, her study rejects sex as a significant factor in voting registration behavior (no special appeals are necessary to motivate Negro women to vote.).

2. Census tract location of Negroes is a significant factor for voter registration. However, she found that high income residential areas are not significant in voting behavior, but that it is apparent that certain socio-economic factors are operative to account for voting differentials between and within census tracts: Income, class, education, location of educational and cultural institutions, cultural patterns, organizational participation, etc.

3. Age is a significant factor in voting among Negroes. However, age is positively correlated with education. The largest concentration of non-voting Negroes are under thirty-five years of age.

4. Length of residence in Atlanta is another highly significant factor. Persons with the longest residence in the City

have the high performance in registration and voting.

5. Ten reasons (most frequently) given for nonregistration were: illness, lack of transportation, lack of interest, lines too long, forgot date, not allowed to leave job, refused registration, not qualified, don't know location, and others: There was no sex difference in the sample in the use of these reasons. Lack of interest and disgust with politics in Georgia and ignorance of location were more frequently given by these nonregistered Negroes.

6. The most significant criteria for registration behavior among Negroes in Atlanta is education.

7. Home ownership is another significant factor. By far the majority of nonregistering Negroes are renters.

8. Seventy-five percent of the nonregistered indicated that they did not believe their vote would benefit Negroes.

9. Other factors associated with registration behavior among Negroes are: occupation, marital status, organizational identification, newspapers read and time of going to and from work.

10. Church clubs are the most effective organizations increasing registration among Negroes.

Cleo Roberts studied a sample of Atlanta Negroes in an effort to identify and analyze some of the factors related to registration and voting of Negroes in the 1953 municipal election. His study is similar to Dr. Wallace's survey. However, Roberts focused his investigation upon certain socio-economic characteristics and political opinions elicited from his informants. His sample of 150 Negroes was chosen from the 1952 Atlanta City Directory. He explains his sampling technique and points out the limitations and possibilities of bias of his sample and his interviewing technique.

Robert's findings are summarized below:

> When considering such factors as age, length of residence, occupation, education, home-ownership--all of which seemed to have had a favorable bearing on voting behavior--it appeared that they tended to be measuring the same thing. This raised the possibility of further research isolating one or two of these factors which might serve as a valid index of the variations in the phenomenon under study.
>
> The proportion of registered voters tended to decrease as age

increased, declining rather rapidly after fifty. On the other hand, the incidence of those who registered but did not vote increased with age.

Males tended to register at a higher rate than females, but females, if registered, were more likely to vote.

Marital status made little difference with respect to registration but it made a great difference in voting behavior.

Apparently there was little difference in terms of length of residence except for those who had been in Atlanta less than five years in respect to voting behavior.

As indicated, the area in which a person lived was associated with other socio-economic factors, such as occupation, education, et cetera. The data showed that persons who lived in the Northeast and Southeast sections tended to be more active politically.

The voting behavior of persons in the clerical-business and professional group taken as a whole was similar. On the other hand, the behavior of the occupations below clerical taken as a whole was also fairly uniform. However, the upper group tended to be significantly more active than the lower group.

The more education one had the more likely he was to register and vote.

Home-owners were more likely to participate in politics than those who were renters.

There was a relationship between religious affiliation and voting behavior. The Congregationalists, Methodists and Baptists appeared to be ranked in that order, in so far as political interest and activity were concerned. As pointed out earlier, this factor also reflected or was related to other socio-economic characteristics.

About one in fifteen of the informants were members of political organizations; all such persons had registered, and ninety percent had voted.

With respect to the Atlanta Negro population a composite active voter would have had these characteristics: under forty years of age, married, a resident of the city for more than five years, residence in either the Northeast or Southeast section, a clerical or white collar type of occupation, education beyond high school, a home-owner, a Congregationalist or Methodist and a member of a political organization.

In respect to the relationship between selected opinions elicited from his informants and their voting performance, Roberts concluded that:

> A favorable general attitude toward the city made some slight difference in the disposition to be politically active; those who were more favorable tended to register more and to vote more.
>
> There was a positive relationship between favorable opinion about Atlanta as a city for the Negro and the degree to which the persons participated in political affairs.
>
> Satisfaction or dissatisfaction about the economic standing of the Negro in Atlanta made little difference in registration rates; however, slightly larger proportion of the satisfied respondents on this score were in the registered nonvoter category.
>
> Those persons who indicated satisfaction with political progress of the Negro tended to register and vote at a higher rate than those who indicated dissatisfaction. The percentage difference was small and may not be statistically significant.
>
> Informants who expressed favorable opinions about political leaders and organizations tended to register more, but they also tended to fail to vote after registering in larger numbers.
>
> Persons who thought that Negroes should let things stay just about as they are in politics tended to register and vote less. Voting was positively correlated with the feeling that Negroes should register and vote more; that they should run for more public offices; and that they should actively support the leaders they have at present. Persons least likely to vote were those who advised Negroes to cooperate less with whites.

Both Roberts and Wallace's studies confirm, in the main, and give some precision to much of the interview materials given in this case report. One thing that stands out in bold relief in these studies and interviews is that organized efforts to increase registration and voting among Negroes have been more effective among the better educated and more economically stable and cohesive group in the Negro community. These campaigns have had little, if any, significant impact upon the less educated, the newcomers to the city, and the marginal and unstable elements of the Negro population. Moreover, this case report suggests that newer and fresher approaches are needed for effectively attacking political apathy and voting inactivity among Negroes in Atlanta.

II

The case study of the voting behavior of Negroes in Atlanta presented below is based on intensive interviews with thirteen (13) informants who are citizens of Atlanta and who are known to have been involved in political activity of the City. All these persons have participated in politics one way or another, and some have attempted to make observations of the political climate. In any event, the interviews were focused on the experiences, opinions and subjective attitudes and feelings of these citizens, selected because they are perhaps among the most knowledgeable informants in the Negro community.

Moreover, the informants represent various segments of life in the city:

Historian	1
Educators	2
Social Workers	2
Business and Professional	5
Clergymen	2
Housewife	1
Total	13

All of the informants belong to organizations that are politically orientated and each organization in some concrete way has been engaged in efforts to increase registration and voting among Negroes. One of the informants is presently an elected official in Atlanta and four occupy strategic positions in political organizations.

The interviews were focused upon four areas that relate to Negro suffrage in Atlanta: (1) voting performance; (2) socio-economic factors as they relate to political apathy and consciousness among Negroes; discriminatory techniques that decrease Negro voting activity; (3) organized efforts to increase or decrease Negro voting; and trends and prospects of future political activity among Negroes.

A

There was a series of questions raised while interviewing the thirteen informants to elicit opinions from them regarding voting performance of Negroes in Fulton County. Such questions, among others, were:

> To what extent have Negroes been sensitive to the importance of registering and voting in Atlanta?
>
> What segments of Negroes persist in registering and voting and what group appears apathetic?
>
> Does the voting performance of Negroes seem to be increasing or decreasing or does it fluctuate around issues and candidates?

In replying to these questions, several informants insist that the voting performance of Negroes has never risen above 60% of the voting potential of registered voters. For example, one person said, "We had 19,000 registered in 1953 when Rufus Clement was running for the School Board, but we were able to get out 10,000 (or slightly less) voters. This was the peak performance of Negroes voting in Atlanta. Negroes just haven't been educated to know the importance of what voting means."

This informant went on to explain and give figures to support his contention of registration and voting apathy among Negroes in Atlanta. He stated that in Fulton County there are 100,000 Negroes of voting age (the 1950 census reports 99,437 Negroes who are 18 years of age and over), yet in 1952 we had less than 20,000 Negroes registered. "This is just 1/5 or 20 per cent of the voting potential. Now this is simply ridiculous." "Negroes just don't realize that with a voting potential of 100,000 votes they can be powerful. They can hold the balance in city politics. It seems to me that the number one problem in the South for improving the position of Negroes is to get them on the books; every eligible Negro living in Atlanta ought to be voting."

"One thing that makes me sick is all this talk about block voting. Sure Negroes, if they've got any sense, will vote for their best interests. Who will vote for a bigot like Herman Talmadge or Marvin Griffin when all they stand for is based on racism. Take race out of politics and Negroes will vote like anybody else. The South needs a two-party system. When we get a real two-party system , a strong Republican party, then nobody will have to worry about Negroes voting en bloc. But as long as the stupid politicians make race the primary issue and are trying to maintain white supremacy, sure Negroes ought to vote as a block. This is the only way we can stop this foolishness."

In respect to voting performance of Negroes, several informants were more optimistic. They feel that progress, although gradual, nevertheless, has been very encouraging.

"Negroes have always registered and voted in Atlanta. One's got to see this thing in historical perspective. I've been around a long time and I've seen Negroes take more and more active interest in politics. You've got to remember that Negroes have been battling against a one-party system, poll tax, rigid residential requirements and other techniques of disfranchisement. Every since Georgia adopted its Constitution way back in 1877, Negroes have had an uphill fight. The new Constitution was to reduce the number of Negroes eligible to vote, but it also affected the number of white eligibles. But despite these handicaps, Negroes voted and they have always voted in significant numbers in Atlanta.

"At first the number was very small, but it has steadily increased, until today we have over 25,000 Negroes registered and more and more are voting. Surely, we have had our ups and downs, but if you look at this thing from an over-all view, we are making great gains."

One informant has made a careful statistical study of voting of Negroes. He presented the table of figures presented below to show the registration and voting performance of Negroes in the fifth Congressional District in which Atlanta is located.

THE NONWHITE POPULATION 18 YESRS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE 5th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT GEORGIA, 1950

COUNTY	COURTHOUSE	UNIT VOTE	POPULATION 18 y'rs & over 1950	NO. REGISTERED VOTERS, 11-2-52	NO. NOT REGISTERED
1. Dekalb	Decatur	6	8694	1464	7230
2. Fulton	Atlanta	6	99437	19362	79985
3. Rockdale	Conyers	2	1321	399	922
	TOTAL	14	109362	21225	88137

These figures, in his judgment, are most revealing. "It shows the amount of work that we have got to do in getting Negroes registered and voting in Fulton County."

B

In regard to socioeconomic factors related to registration and voting activity among Negroes in Atlanta, all of the interviewees were asked to focus their attention on the following:

1. Factors that tend to motivate Negroes to registr and vote or not to register and vote.
2. The kinds of situations and events that make them especially sensitive to voting.
3. The social pressures which serve as deterrents to registration and voting.

4. The nature and extent of political apathy among different classes of Negroes.

One of the interviewees stated that "There has to be something tangible, something that Negroes can feel, something that stirs them up before they express any political consciousness. Talmadgism in 1946 did more to create political consciousness among Negroes than anything else. Here was a clear-cut racial issue and many Negroes felt that voting was related to survival. Therefore, they got out and voted."

"When voting is impersonal, Negroes do not feel inclined to participate in elections. There must be something about which they feel very strongly."

"One thing that appears clear to me," says one informant, "is that education does not appear to be a significant factor in getting Negroes out to vote. You would be surprised at the large number of educated; that is, college trained Negroes — even some college teachers — who have never registered or voted in Atlanta."

Another informant stated that "It is silly to appeal to Negroes to vote when there are no rewards for them if they vote and there are no punishments if they don't vote. Voting is pragmatic in America. There are certain rewards which people get, particuarly Negroes in northern cities like Chicago and New York: jobs, personal favors, etc. Negroes are not considered as a part of the spoils system in southern politics. In fact, they are not considered in politics at all. Appeals must be made to Negroes to vote because of dignity and respect, good citizenship, vote and feel good; these are not strong enough motives to get out large numbers of Negroes. Voting represents the democratization of the spoils. To be motivated to vote, one must feel that he will share in the booty. Given the above as it is, voting campaigns to get Negroes out to vote in Atlanta will of necessity fall short of expected goals."

"In order to get Negroes to vote, they have to be sensitized that they are part of the spoils system. They have to feel that they have a part in policy making. As long as they feel that the white folks are running things, they don't want any part of the system. To motivate Negroes to vote, they must be brought into the mainstream of things; that is, politics. They must come to feel that voting is tied up with their personal welfare. This citizenship stuff is much too vague for the average Negro. He wants to know what will I get out of it and when he answers this question, he doesn't see very much personal benefit coming from voting.

Another informant thinks that many Negroes "have made peace with the lack of citizenship participation and that making an appeal to him to become a citizen of Georgia and helping to perpetuate an evil system doesn't encourage him to make the effort to get registered."

Still another informant talked about the problem of the Negro's deliberate disassociation from any feelings of wanting to be a part of politics as they are practiced in southern cities. For example, he cited the Attorney General of Alabama, speaking of the attorney for the Negroes and the attorney for the State of Alabama and referring to Negroes as "you people" and whites as defendents of the system. This strengthens the Negro's disassociation. As far as semantics are concerned, the Negroes accept the Attorney General's position, which is in effect that "You people are not a part of the system of spoils in the southern community." "So it is silly, says the interviewee to expect Negroes to vote in large numbers in the South. If political apathy among Negroes is to be overcome, a completely new political climate must be created."

Another interviewee, in addressing herself to the question, "What motivates Negroes to register and vote?, took the position that "there are too many canned speeches which bounce off of Negroes and do not really stir them up. They do not believe in the leaders or the speech makers. They are convinced that the whole thing is a fraud. They resent the ordeal of standing in line to register and the subtle insults and discriminations. Racial pride, feeling good, and citizenship do not touch the majority. If they are going to be motivated to register and vote in larger numbers, they must come to believe in their leaders and their programs. There is too much disunity and friction between Negro leaders. They don't understand that the average Negro resents them in the first place and many look upon them as phonies. To really motivate Negroes to vote, campaigns must take on a grass root flavor. The best place to start is in the churches and with the women. Women are very important. They will work if they believe that what they are doing is important. But up to this point, very few women have come to believe that it is worth their while to get into politics. Then, too, there is the feeling that the leadership in the Negro community is but the mouthpiece for the white people and that Negro politicians are paid off; they are in this thing for the money and material things that they can get out of it. At least, this is the opinion of a large number of Negroes with whom I have talked. Another complaint about Negro leadership is that everybody wants to be the Moses. Nobody is following, but everybody is trying to lead.

A lot of Negroes feel that if they get too involved in politics, they will lose their jobs. This is especially true of teachers, social workers, and some workers who try to please their bosses. These people are so economically dependent upon others for their welfare that they are timid, apathetic, and sometimes afraid to express a political opinion.

C

The interviews with the thirteen informants were also focused on various organized efforts to increase or decrease registration and voting among Negroes. All of the informants were agreed that the NAACP has been the most successful organization in Atlanta in getting Negroes to register and vote than any other single organized effort. The All-Citizens Registration Committee, sponsored by the local branch of the NAACP, has done a tremendous job in Fulton County.

Perhaps, the second most important organized effort has come through the Atlanta Urban League, which has provided the "know-how"; that is, trained staff and technicians in community work. The Urban League is responsible for designing several gimmicks for getting the people out and attracting Negro citizens to the problem of political participation.

The Atlanta Negro Voters League, a bipartisan organization, has been effective and perhaps today is the most effective organization. This League is responsible for mobilizing community resources and pulling them into various organized campaigns for increasing voting and registration.

The CIO and some labor unions have provided some financial aid and materials through the Political Action Committee, who, from time to time, has sent some of their ace men to Atlanta to assist in the organization of campaigns for increasing Negro votes.

Schools, particularly high schools and colleges, have devoted some limited attention to increasing the Negro vote. High school principals have cooperated with organizations in sensitizing their eighteen-year-olds to register and vote. The Negro colleges in Atlanta have devoted some time and action research to various efforts. They have also enlisted the support of college students. Fraternities and sororities have also participated in various organized efforts, especially the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority. In fact, one of the national slogans of Alpha Phi Alpha is "A voteless people is a hopeless people." They have tried to implement this by assisting local chapters in divising programs for increasing registration among Negroes.

Churches, practically all denominations, have participated in these efforts to increase Negro registration and voting. Ministers have preached sermons on citizenship, devoting part of the sermon to the need to register and vote. They have conducted all sorts of educational and citizenship programs.

There are various and sundry social clubs, too numerous to list, that have also had a part in programs to increase Negro voting. The Negro press, the Atlanta Daily World, has also worked consistently in various campaigns by editorializing and in general, keeping the issues alive through articles, advertisements, and the importance of voting. Various civic leagues such as the West Side Voters League, the South Atlanta Voters League, the Dixie Hill Voters League, and the Summer Hill Voters League, all-Negro organizations plus others have had a part in the effort.

The Fulton County Democratic Club and the Young Men's Republican Club both have given financial assistance and aid to increasing Negro votes.

In respect to organized efforts, several informants agreed that 1943 to 1944 was the beginning of a new period in the Negro participation in Atlanta politics. This was the period where there was a definite split in Georgia politics with the two leading figures being Ellis Arnall and Eugene Talmadge. It was shortly after this period that the poll tax was repealed and voting age was reduced from twenty-one to eighteen. This is when the Atlanta Civic and Political League and the Atlanta Daily World made a major move to increase Negro registration. At the end of this effort, when the books closed, almost 7,000 Negroes had qualified for voting. In 1946, the NAACP launched a very important registration campaign. The Atlanta Urban League made available trained personnel, its industrial secretary, who surveyed the Negro community and divided it into blocks, census tracts and precincts. Eight hundred and seventy men and women were mobilized to contact every household in Atlanta. In fact, the effort was to contact every Negro of voting age in the city. They also distributed 50,000 handbills and 300 placards which explained the procedure in registration. Stickers were used with the words, "We are registered voters." These were to be placed in conspicuous spots like windows and doors and on automobiles. Car pools were formed to take people to the Courthouse.. And a speakers bureau was provided for talks with church groups, social affairs, public dances, etc. Boy scouts distributed materials throughout the city, the Atlanta Daily World carried editorials, Negro business men insisted that their members register. Labor unions and college fraternities made registration their main project. Outstanding ministers delivered sermons, college and university professors helped to guide the program. The YMCA on Butler Street participated. WERD, the radio station, furnished spot annoucements free of charge. This concerted drive in 1946 was responsible for substantially increasing Negro registration. On May 4, 1946, 21,~~000,~~244 Negroes living in the City of Atlanta were registered as opposed to 56,854 whites.

This was repeated in 1949 under the direction of the Atlanta Voters League. Candidates for office were invited to attend Negro political rallies and candidates for office were indorsed by the Atlanta Negro Voters League.

The increase of Negro voting and registration took a new twist in the city election of 1953 when Rufus Clement, President of Atlanta University, was nominated to the School Board. Two other Negroes were also candidates for office to the City Democratic Executive Committee. This is significant because this was the first time since 1870 that a Negro was elected to a city office. This organized effort also, in the words of one informant, had a tremendous effect upon increasing the political consciousness among Negroes.

In evaluating the organized efforts to increase Negro votes, one informant says, "We could do much better if it were not for certain distracting elements in the community. These are "personalities who get in the way; people who make status and power claims that they may or may not have; just plain skulduggery;ingroup cliques and political rings and racketeers; mixed values; this produces ~~superstition~~ suspiciousness and distrust among Negroes, and they say, 'What is this thing all about any way and what does it mean to me, how will it affect me and what does it mean to others?' This takes us back to the same old problem of who is going to share in the spoils? Whatever anybody says about American politics, it is ~~not~~ nothing more than a democratization of the spoils." Finally, one informant, in comparing the 1946 campaign for registering Negroes with that of the 1956 campaign, states that "It was much easier in 1946 than it is today. Registration in 1946 was something new and Negroes Voting in large numbers ~~were included~~ for the first time. They saw it as a new frontier, but many of them now feel that they have been betrayed. They do not see the significant improvements. Though we could point out a lot of improvements in Atlanta since 1946 such as housing, schools, parks, the golf course and a whole lot of other things. Also, the Negro leadership in 19~~4~~56 was much more divided. They started the campaign too late. There were disputes as to who was running it, there was insufficient staff, not enough people volunteered, and a whole lot of other factors interfered. In some respects, I think that we are losing ground in terms of registration and voting because the list has dropped from 24,000 to 19,000 in 10 years.

D

Discriminatory Techniques

The same informant places some of the blame for a decrease in Negro registration and voting on some subtle discriminatory techniques that have been allowed to creep into the city administration.

One interviewee says that the 1946 campaign to register Negroes was successful because "everything was in our favor." The Atlanta Negro Civic and Political League had excellent cooperation from the city officials during that campaign and every effort was made to locate registration booths in neighborhoods where it was convenient for Negroes to register. The tremendous increase in Negro registration in 1946, he feels, has made the officials more conscious of the threat which comes to the security of their position from getting too many Negroes registered. Therefore, neighborhood registration has been eliminated and city officials have made it a little more difficult for Negroes to register by forcing them to come to the Courthouse and to stand in line. The ordeal of standing in a long line that is segregated makes many Negroes resentful and they are not willing to go through these subtle discriminatory techniques just to get their names on the books.

One informant felt that a subtle discriminatory technique is to let Negroes register; that is, offer no apparent resistance because if you offer resistance, you create a racial crisis and precipitate voting consciousness into the minds of many Negroes who might otherwise remain apathetic. make voting impersonal and negroes lose interest. Therefore, he believes that it is a subtle technique on the part of the Mayor and other city officials to offer no resistance but, at the same time, to offer no encouragement.

Still another informant was emphatic in saying that there was no organized effort on the part of the whites in the community to keep Negroes from registering and voting. In fact, this informant states that the county administration, especially the Tax Commissioner, is very cooperative. That city officials, especially, the Mayor, have done more than just encourage Negroes to vote, but have pushed registration among Negroes by offering the services of his office like the use of sound trucks and other equipment.

It seems, however, to be the consensus of most of the informants that recently there has been a slowing down process when Negroes in large numbers appear at the Courthouse. For example, they explained that there may be five or six clerks to handle white applicants but only one or two to serve Negroes. This means that Negroes must wait longer and develop more hostility against the white officials.

When this situation was put to the city officials, all of them stated that they would do everything they could to try to correct this situation.

All informants agree that Negroes and whites are required to do the same thing in registering, that there appears to be no discrimination in this instance. Another discriminatory technique which one or two informants mentioned was that of "keeping the leadership among Negroes divided." This tends to decrease registration and voting, particularly if you can "have the Negroes fighting and bickering among themselves." Another informant was disturbed over what he termed the "growing apathy among Negroes to vote." The novelty appears to have worn off after the defeat of the white primary and Negro political consciousness seems to be waining. Many city and county officials know this and take advantage of it in every way they can. Then, too, the same informants think that the big problem centers around the failure of the Negro community to develop a sustained and permanent registration organization. "The leadership never gets busy until election time and then, it is only a spurt or spasmodic push after which everybody settles back to the usual attitudes and apathy. This is also played up and understood by city officials. Another subtle technique of keeping the Negro registered voters low comes from the recent legislation signed by Governor Griffin which prohibits the decentralization of registration. It is the opinion of several informants that this is deliberate since the working hours of most Negroes will not permit them to go to the Courthouse and register.

E

Prospects — Gains and Losses

Several informants were asked to talk about what is up ahead in respect to Negro political participation in Atlanta and to give what they think will be some of the advantages and disadvantages of Negroes' failure to register and vote. One informant was emphatic in saying that "unless the Negro vote shows a significant increase in the very near future, there is a danger of its becoming a liability rather than an asset." He implied that he was quoting Mayor Hartsfield. "If the Negro is to provide a balance of power in voting in Atlanta, the percentage of Negroes registered will have to very quickly and sharply increase from 20% of the eligibles to 60%. Then, too, it must be remembered that whites are beginning to register in larger numbers which threatens to pull down the percentage of Negro voters. This, in the opinion of the informant, poses a grave problem for the future. He believes that there ought to be some pilot studies which would get at the reasons for the growing apathy among Negro voters and the techniques to be employed in significantly increasing the percentage. This informant was not optimistic about the future. He believes that there is a long, hard, pull ahead and that the problem will revolve around leadership, resistance movements and other forces that are operating to hold the Negro vote at the irreducible minimum.

Another informant, however, was more optimistic. He thinks that Negro registration and voting will continue to increase and he feels that a number of gains have been made as a result of the increase and that more are to come.

He lists such events as Mayor Hartsfield's decision with reference to desegregating the golf course, the outlawing of masquerades of the Klu Klux Klan by the City Council, the attitude taken by city officials with reference to desegregation at the airport, train stations, bus stations, etc., and he believes that as voting increases, Negroes can ask for and get Negro firemen, Negro bus drivers, better residential areas, improved streets and lights, more parks, more recreational facilities, better health services, and improved schools. This informant feels that the future is tied up with voting and believes that Negroes will become more politically conscious and participate more in political affairs of the city. In this connection, more and more Negroes will offer for political office. This will serve to increase the political consciousness of the masses and will result in better housing, better recreation, better health, and a greater respect for Negroes.

Note: I suggest very strongly that the person who analyzes these raw materials might read Professor Bacote's article, which appears in the 4th Quarter, 1955 issue of Phylon and is called "The Negro in Atlanta Politics."

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

MH ✓

spec suff file

LWD – ✓

During the morning, I unearthed this — apparently a copy of John Griffin's report on Ga. in the first Voting Survey.

HCF

I.

INTRODUCTION

The opening of "white" primaries to Negro voters during the mid-1940's produced in Georgia and in other Southern states a spontaneous increase in the number of Negro registrants and at the same time generated a high optimism concerning the future participation of Negroes in elections. The feeling was widely held that Negro suffrage would continue its dramatic gains. In 1948 Luther P. Jackson wrote that "it is highly improbable that the progress made by the Negroes as voters during the 1940 decade will wane."[1] But the analysis of registration data for Georgia Negroes since 1948 does not justify the optimism of the times.

In 1948 Negro registration in Georgia totaled 138,458. This was approximately 13 percent of the total Negro population in Georgia. The 1956 Negro registration is 163,842. This is approximately 15 percent of the total Negro population in Georgia. The increase of only two percentage points from 1948 to 1956 shows that the rapid acceleration in Negro registration immediately following the opening of the primaries has not continued and that the trend has leveled off.

The purposes of this study are to observe these state trends and to identify the patterns within which the registration falls, to look at voting performance by Negro voters, to examine the practices followed in some areas to discourage Negro registration and voting, to apply statistical analysis to the registration data in order to test registration trends for association with other socio-economic indexes, and finally to point up whatever prospects for Negro voting may be indicated and to discuss the future of Negro suffrage in Georgia.

The first part of the study will be based on the analysis of the data for all the counties of the state. The second part will be based primarily upon field data gathered in a sample of counties selected to represent the various subregional areas of the state.

II.

THE DATA EMPLOYED

The County Registration Data

Registration data by race for Georgia's 159 counties are available through the Secretary of State. Georgia law requires the counties to report to the Secretary the total registration figures. It has been the practice in the Secretary's office to request that the registration be reported with a racial breakdown. The reports in 1948, 1952, 1954 and 1956 are fairly complete. The 1950 report has the racial breakdown in about half the counties.

In order to provide an estimated registration by race in the counties reporting only the total in 1956, the ratio of Negro to white registration in a previous year when such a breakdown was given has been applied. Two counties have not yet reported even their totals for 1956, and so 1954 figures have been used. Similarly in calculating total registrations for years previous to 1956, it has been necessary to apply such ratios to the totals in certain years and to use figures for other years when no data werereturned by a county for a particular year.

It should be noted that two counties, Dawson and Union, had no Negroes 18 years of age in 1950. Thus medians have been based on a total of 157 counties.

The accuracy of the registration figures reported to the Secretary of State is open to serious question. This is best illustrated by the comparison of the registrations with the county population data. In 1956 some 63 counties reported white registration totals which exceed the white population 18 years of age and over.

The number of persons, white and Negro, 18 years of age and over has been calculated from the 1950 census data.[2] Thus it was found that 63 counties reported registrations in 1956 which were 100 percent or more of the eligible voters as of the 1950 census.[3] Although population change since 1950 is not available by age groups, population estimates of the total Negro and white population by counties is available from the Georgia Bureau of Public Health. These estimates were studied to see to what extent increase in population from 1950 to 1956 might account for the impossible white registration figures in these 63 counties and the impossible or unlikely Negro data in three counties. Of the 63 counties reporting registration in excess of 100 percent or more of white citizens, only 17 had population increases from 1950 to 1955. Those where the increases are sufficient to account in part for the excessive registration percentages are Camden with 13 percent increase in population during the period, Clayton with 30 percent, Coffee with 5 percent, Walker with 9 percent.

On the other hand, only three counties reported 1956 Negro registration in excess of 100 percent. These were Fannin with 134, Long with 153, and Whitfield with 110. Population change since 1950 does not account for the abnormally high registration in Long, where Negro population decreased from 1950 to 1956, but it would seem to account for the high registration in Fannin, which gained 182 percent in Negro population during the period, and Whitfield, which gained 40 percent.

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[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950. Population. Vol. 1

[3] All persons in the voting age group have been included as eligible. No effort has been made to determine the number of those eligible by age who might be disqualified for the other reasons provided by law.

It has been presumed in this study, then, that the Negro registration data are more dependable than white registration data and that they are relatively accurate. This conclusion is based on internal and external evidence. In the first place, only the three counties report Negro registration of 100 percent or more. Furthermore, it is clear that whereas names of white registrants may have been on the books for forty to fifty years in some cases, it is unlikely that there are names on the Negro registration list which were placed there before 1946, when the primaries were opened to Negroes. Furthermore, there is evidence that there have been various attempts to purge the Negro registration lists more carefully than the white lists. Thus it is concluded that the Negro data is more dependable than the white, that the white is so badly inflated as to render meaningful comparison between the two groups impossible.

The inaccuracy of the white data is due to a number of causes. Most of these are related to the system of voter registration itself. The Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Georgia compared the Georgia system to the requirements of an adequate system of registration, particularly as set forth in a study by the National Municipal League, and came to the following conclusion.

> Judged by these criteria [the criteria set by the National Municipal League], the Georgia law seems to be fundamentally sound. It either includes, or could easily be made to include all of the features held necessary for a safe and efficient system. A distinction should be made, however, between the law itself and the administration of that law by 159 different counties. If any one conclusion stands out in this study of registration procedures in Georgia counties, it is the great diversity which exists in the administration of the registration laws. Some counties report excellent, highly efficient systems; others seem extremely lax in their methods.[4]

The most notable reason for the inflation of the Georgia registration figures apparently is the fact that even though the Georgia law provides excellent procedures for purging names of voters who have died, moved away, or otherwise become disqualified, only a small percentage of counties take advantage of the methods provided in the law. The law does not make mandatory specific means for carrying out these procedures. One of the weaknesses of the Georgia law is that the responsibility for registration is divided in counties between the board of registrars and the tax collector. A further weakness of the system is the inadequacy of the personnel charged with registration procedures in some counties and the inadequacy of the equipment employed.

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[4] Olive H. Shadgett. Voter Registration in Georgia. Public Administration Studies No. 7, University of Georgia, 1950.

It is notable that in 1955 only 27 of the 159 counties reported to the Bureau that they had employed the purge process provided under law. It is significant that an inspection of the white registration figures for these counties shows a significantly lower percent of eligibles who are registered.than the percentages in other counties.

The median percentage of white eligibles who were registered in 1956 in these counties is 73. This is to be compared with the 1956 median for all counties of 95 percent. A further comparison is seen in the median percentage of white registrants among the counties who have used the purge process when only those are considered where a significant percentage of the voters have been challenged. The median percentage of eligibles registered in this group is 64 percent.

In order to derive an estimate of the active white registrants in Georgia counties, the data from the counties reporting in 1955 that they had purged their registration lists was analyzed. Some challenged only a token number of registrants; others challenged a significant percentage of their lists. It was observed that those issuing only a limited number of notices still have registrations in excess of 100 percent. Thus it is obvious that the registration percentages for the counties where a sizeable number of notices had been sent were the more nearly accurate. From the report on the total number of votes cast in 1954 by counties, the actual vote was compared with the 1956 registration. The ratios of votes cast to total registration were calculated and the median of the array of the counties was selected. Thus a formula was derived for estimating the registration from the voting data. From the estimates thus calculated, the actual Negro registration figures were subtracted to give the white estimates.

For purposes of comparing with the actual registration figures, these data are shown in the Appendix.

Other County Statistics

In addition to the registration data by counties certain other data related to socio-economic characteristics of the population by counties have been employed. These data have been taken from the Census of the United States 1950, the Census of Agriculture 1950, and the annual population statistics of the Georgia Department of Public Health.

The Field Studies Data

Because of the expense involved, it was possible to make field investigations in only a very small sample of Georgia's 159 counties. It was determined that counties should be selected to represent sub-regions of the state. These sub-regions are: "dormitory" counties where rural non-farm population is increasing, western old plantation black-belt counties, eastern plantation counties, upper-coastal plain counties, coastal counties, agricultural counties where small farms still predominate, counties in the limestone valley area northwest of Atlanta, and the mountain counties. With the exception of the mountain counties where Negroes constitute only small percentages of the population, representative counties were selected to represent all these areas, and an effort to validate these selections was made by asking the judgment of a number of persons well acquainted with socio-economic profiles of Georgia. The counties selected were: Spalding (dormitory), Early (western plantation), Laurens (eastern plantation), Peach (upper-coastal plain), Walton (small farm), Floyd (limestone valley).

To include a county representative of the metropolitan counties, Fulton was added to this list.

A field investigator was sent into each of these counties. Negro persons, particularly Negro leaders, were interviewed on questions related to Negro suffrage. The working schedule of questions guiding these interviews is supplied in the Appendix. An exception was Fulton, where a more detailed case study type approach was employed.

How the Data Have Been Treated

The data obtained for state totals have been observed for trends from 1944 to 1956 and these have been compared with population trends. The analysis of the county data has been limited to the 1956 figures. These figures have been compared with other county data related to socio-economic characteristics. Extensive correlation techniques were not employed because of the expense involved, but the data have been analyzed by gross association techniques. Much of the data have been reduced to dichotomus patterns—such as "high" and "low" Negro registration. Such summaries have been tested for association with other dichotomus data, both quantitative and qualitative.

The field data have been treated in the manner of "interpretive sociology" and generalizations have been made.

Such analysis has real limitations; nonetheless it renders results which are relatively satisfactory in relation to the stated purposes of the study.

III.

TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN NEGRO REGISTRATION IN GEORGIA

Historical Trends in Negro Suffrage in Georgia

Historically Negro suffrage in Georgia dates from Reconstruction days, when the Negroes were first given the vote. During the Reconstruction period the Negro vote was important and Negro names had an even-handed representation in Georgia's registration lists. But as the Democrats were returned to power in the 1870's, Negro voting declined to numbers which have been described as "most convenient" for the Democrats--not sufficient to threaten Democratic dominance but enough to serve as an issue to be held over the heads of rival Republicans.[5]

There was some revival of Negro voting under the Populists, but by the turn of the century the state-wide primary had been established and rules adopted which limited participation to white persons only. The period beginning about 1900 and continuing to about 1945 has been described by Bacote as the "Dark Ages" of Negro participation in politics.[6] During this time the white primary, the poll tax, and laws pertinent to literacy, property, and character requirements served effectively to reduce Negro registration to token figures.

The new era in Negro suffrage came with the Primus King case in 1945. Before the King decision, Negro registration in Georgia was insignificant.

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[5] Hugh C. Owen. The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia 1944-1950, p. 3

[6] C. A. Bacote. "The Negro in Atlanta Politics." Phylon, XVI, No. 4, Fourth Quarter, 1956, p. 343.

Dr. Ralph Bunch estimated in 1940 the total at about 10,000.[7] Dr. Luther P. Jackson estimated as many as 20,000 registrants in 1940.[8] Henry Lee Moon estimated in 1944 Negro registration in Atlanta at 5,000 and at 1,200 in Savannah.[9] Owen concludes, "If the total for the state, prior to 1945, were put at 10,000 with half in Atlanta, the larger portion of the remainder could be ascribed to the state at random."[10]

The Supreme Court delivered its decision in the Smith v. Allwright case on April 3, 1944, stating,

> It may now be taken as a postulate that the right to vote in a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the State, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution.[11]

It was this decision and the abolition of Georgia's poll tax on February 5, 1945, which commenced in Georgia the dramatic changes in Negro registration. Negro leaders laid plans promptly for a registration campaign.

On October 12, 1945, Judge Hoyt T. Davis delivered his ruling in the case of King v. Chapman, which involved the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus. He had attempted to vote in Muscogee County and had brought suit when his effort to vote was denied. In his decision Judge Davis said:

> Defendants, acting as duly constituted authorities of the Democratic Party, in refusing to permit the plaintiff to vote in said primary solely on account of race or color, deprives the plaintiff of a right secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States and were in violation of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Amendments....

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[7] Gunnar Myrdal. An American Dilemma, p. 48.

[8] Luther P. Jackson. "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," p. 4.

[9] Henry Lee Moon. Balance of Power: The Negro Vote, p. 179.

[10] Owen. op. cit., p. 11.

[11] 321 U. S. 649 (1944).

> So we conclude from this long established practice that the primary is, in fact, an integral part of the electoral process of this state. It may be fairly said that it is the hub of the process. When the Democratic party holds a primary in this state the system is substantially the same in substance and objective, as the Texas and Louisiana systems.[12]

Following Judge Davis' ruling, Negroes were admitted to primaries in several counties and Negro leaders accelerated their promotion of Negro registration. In March, 1946, Negroes voted in an orderly primary in Valdosta. The Lowndes County News commented, "it proved whites and Negroes can go to polls at the same time on the same issues without any bitter feeling."[13]

In Atlanta attention was focused on Negro voting in a special Congressional election held in March, 1946, to fill the seat vacated by Robert Ramspect. Neither of the leading candidates--Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin nor Thomas Camp--advertised in the Negro newspaper, but Mrs. Mankin solicited Negro support. In the vote count the two were running within a few votes of each other until Precinct 3-B, an all-Negro precinct, reported most of its thousand-odd votes for Mrs. Mankin and turned the election.

On April 1, 1946, the Supreme Court declined to review the Primus King case, and there was no longer any doubt that Negroes would participate in Georgia primaries. Among Negro leaders there was increased determination to push Negro registration. The Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs appointed a state director for the Negro registration drive, and Negro Republicans and Democrats collaborated in a bi-partisan league for the campaign. In Atlanta a block by block registration campaign was organized. Despite such efforts in Atlanta and other areas, the Atlanta Daily World pointed out on June 25, 1946, three weeks before the primary, that six counties had no Negroes registered and twenty-five had less than 100. The World concluded, "The Negro vote up to this point is not even a factor in the state."[14]

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[12] King v. Chapman, 62 F. Supp. 639.

[13] Cited by Owen, op. cit., p. 17.

Nonetheless, when the registration closed Georgia Negroes had accounted for a registration total of 118,387, an increase of 1100 percent over 1944. This total was also impressive when compared with Negro registration in other Southern states.

As seen in Table I, Negro registration made additional gains in succeeding periods but lost the rapid rate of growth during the period from 1944 to 1946. By 1954—almost a decade later—the total had increased by only about 28,000 registrants.

The Situation in 1956

In 1956 Georgia's Negro registration totals 163,842 in comparison with the white registration of 1,168,010. The Negro total represents approximately 15 percent of Georgia's total estimated 1956 population, and it represents 26 percent of Georgia's adult Negro population (18 years of age and over) using 1950 census data. As pointed out above no data are available by age groups to provide a calculation on the eligible persons in 1956 and so the 1950 census data have been used. It should be observed also that the total Negro population of the state from 1950 to 1956 is estimated to have increased about 5 percent. The general effect of this increase on the ratios of 1956 registrants to eligibles as calculated from 1950 census data is that the percentages so derived are slightly inflated.

Among Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population the median percentage which registration represents of eligible persons 18 and over is 25. The range is from Baker, Towns, and Webster counties, which have Negro population but no registrants, to Long county, where a registration of 1,061 Negroes constitutes 156 percent of the eligible Negro citizens.

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[14] Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION AND NEGRO REGISTRATION FOR SELECTED YEARS 1944 TO 1956

Year	Registration	Population
1944	10,000	1,084,000
1946	118,387	1,083,750
1948	138,458	1,083,000
1952	146,158	1,080,000
1954	154,353	1,095,000
1956	163,842	1,120,000

It may be noted that 37 counties have less than 10 percent of eligible Negroes registered; 24 counties have 10 to 19 percent registered; 28 counties 20 to 29 percent; 16 counties 30 to 39; 19 counties 49 to 49. Some 33 Georgia counties have 50 percent or more of eligible Negroes registered.

Thus the range of the registration figures is widely scattered; it is not a normal distribution and there is little tendency of the county percentages to cluster around the median which is 25 percent. This pattern of distribution tends to justify the dichotomous division of the counties into "high" and "low" registration categories, as used in the analysis in the following section.

In only 5 counties do the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of reported white registrants, although the number of eligible Negroes exceeds the white eligibles in 27 counties.

As pointed out above, the white registration figures are so badly inflated as to make general comperisions by race most unreliable. Nonetheless, the ratios of registration to eligibles may be usefully compared in the counties reporting in 1955 that they had issued challenges to a significant percentage of their registrants. As seen in Table 2, the Negro percentages in these counties are generally about one-third of the white percentages.

Patterns in County Registration

What kinds of counties are those in which Negro registration is high and what kinds of counties are those in which Negro registration is low? By using statistical measures of association, the tendency toward high or low registration was related to a number of other factors showing varying educational, economic, and population characteristics of the counties.

Concerning the relationships between the registration tendencies and population characteristics, it was found that there is a negative association between the tendency toward larger percentages of Negro population in a county

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE REGISTRATION OF ELIGIBLES BY RACE AMONG COUNTIES WHERE REGISTRATION LISTS HAVE BEEN PURGED

County	White Percent Registered	Negro Percent Registered
Ben Hill	64	34
Bibb	55	20
Brooks	73	15
Chatham	58	25
Cobb	78	49
Crisp	77	19
Dekalb	69	30
Evans	92	37
Fulton	42	25
Jackson	71	28
Richmond	46	23
Screven	65	14
Spalding	64	23
Taylor	102	14
Thomas	67	21
Tift	58	25
Toombs	83	6
Upson	51	14
Wilkes	92	7

and a tendency toward higher Negro registrations. Among the counties in which the percentage of Negroes in the population was less than the state average, 69 percent had Negro registration above the state median and 31 percent were below this median. On the other hand, 68 percent of all the counties having more Negro people than the state average fell in the lower half of the array of the counties according to their percentage of Negro registration and 32 percent above. Thus the high negative association between larger percentages of Negroes and high percentages of registration--the more Negro residents in a county the fewer the Negro registrants.

Among the counties having more than half of their population Negro, the association between the higher Negro population of the county and the tendency toward low registration was even more marked. Eighty percent of all the counties having 50 percent or more Negro population fell below the median Negro registration figure. In contrast, 44 percent of the counties with less than 50 percent Negro fell below the median on Negro registration, and 56 percent of the counties with less than 50 percent of the Negro population were above the state median for Negro registration. Considering the counties in two groups--those above and below the state median of Negro registration--it was found that 89 percent of all the counties above this state median in Negro registration were in the group having less than 50 percent Negro and only 11 percent in the group where Negroes made up more than half the population.

Further association between the percentage of registration and population factors was found in the closeness in relationship between counties losing population and the tendency toward the lower percentages of Negro registrants. On the other hand, counties gaining population tend to have the higher percentages of Negro registrants. Only 36 percent of all the counties in the state losing population are above the state median of Negro registration; but 65 percent of all the counties gaining population have Negro registrations falling above the state median.

There is only a very slight association between low Negro registration and percentage of total population classified as rural farm, but there is a significant association between the tendency toward larger rural non-farm population and the tendency toward higher Negro registration. Of the counties above the state median for rural farm population, 56 percent have "high" Negro registration (that is, above the median in percentage of eligible Negroes who are registered), but only 40 percent of the counties below the state median in rural farm population have "high" Negro registration.

The data on median years of school completed by Negroes in the counties was tested in relation to Negro registration. This data reveals that there is a significant association between the higher Negro educational attainments and the higher percentages of Negro registration. Some 89 percent of all the counties above the state median in the number of years of school completed by Negroes were "high" in Negro registration; in contrast only 37 percent of the counties with less than the state median in Negro educational attainment had "high" registration figures.

Testing for relationships between economic factors and registration tendencies, it was found that there is a moderate degree of association between the tendency toward higher median incomes for individuals and the tendency toward higher percentages of Negro registration. Of the counties having median income above the state figure of $1,130, some 61 percent had high Negro registration and 39 percent had low Negro registration. The tendency was the opposite among the counties below the state median income; only 35 percent of these counties had high Negro registration, but 65 percent had low Negro registration. Thus Negro registration figures tend to go up from county to county with the increase in median income.

Further analysis of associations between Negro registration and economic factors reveals a significant association between the tendency of manufacturing income to exceed agricultural income in counties and the tendency toward high Negro registration. Among all the counties in which agricultural income exceeds manufacturing income, some 63 percent have low Negro registrations and only 37 percent have high Negro registrations. On the other hand, among the counties where manufacturing income exceeds agricultural income 69 percent have high Negro registrations and only 31 percent have low Negro registration. The counties in which manufacturing predominates are thus the counties in which Negro registration is higher and those in which agriculture predominates are those in which registration is lower.

A further analysis of the agricultural counties reveals that there is a significant negative association between the tendency to have more than 50 percent of the Negroes in the population engaged in agriculture and a tendency toward higher registration. Thus in the counties where half the Negro population is not engaged in agriculture some 58 percent have high registration percentages; but in the counties where more than half of the Negro population is engaged in agriculture only 36 percent have high Negro registration percentages. Of all the counties where more than half the Negroes are engaged in agriculture 36 percent have high registration figures and 64 percent have low registration figures.

The type of agricultural county in which Negro registration is low is further defined by the negative association between the tendency to have more than two-thirds agricultural income from crops and a high registration figure.[15] Thus the counties having more than two-thirds of agricultural income from crops have 63 percent low registration and only 37 percent high registration. It appears, then, that the agricultural counties deriving more agricultural income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are likely to be those which have a somewhat higher registration of Negro voters than those in which agricultural income comes predominately from crops.

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[15] The state average is 66 percent of all agricultural income from crops.

The definition of the agricultural county with low Negro registration is further sharpened by the negative association between percentage of tenants and the registration data. Of the counties which exceed the state average for the numbers of farms operated by tenants only 34 percent have high registration figures, but 66 percent have low registration figures. In contrast, among the counties with tenancy figures that fall below the state average 63 percent have high Negro registrations and only 37 percent have low Negro registration percentages.

Although it has not been possible to apply refined statistical analysis such as multiple and partial correlation to the data on Negro registration and the data on other socio-economic data, the tests of association do provide a basis upon which to make a rough construct of the type of county in which Negro registration is lowest. If this is seen as one end of a continuum, then it can be assumed that the opposite type would be the county with the highest Negro registration. From the associations among the factors as discussed above, then, it appears that the county with low Negro registration is a county where much of the population is rural non-farm and where it is predominately Negro. The Negro people of the county have a low educational attainment. The white and Negro people of the county have a low median income, and they are employed in Agriculture rather than manufacturing. A large percentage of those in agriculture derive their income from crops, rather than livestock, poultry, or dairying, and among these deriving their income from crops a high percentage are farm tenants.

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH PERCENTAGES POPULATION ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE

	Low (Below 50 percent of population engaged in agriculture)	High (Above 50 percent of population engaged in agriculture)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	48	26
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	35	47

$$Q = \frac{35(26) - 48(47)}{35(26) + 48(47)},$$

$$Q = -.42.$$

DISTRIBUTION OF LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION AND HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH INCOME

	Low (Below state median income)	High (Above state median income)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	29	45
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	53	30

$$Q = \frac{53(45) - 29(30),}{53(45) + 29(30)}$$

$Q = .42.$

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTIES LOSING AND GAINING POPULATION BY HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION

	Losing	Gaining
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	34	40
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	61	22

$Q = \frac{61(40) - 34(22)}{61(40) + 34(22)},$

$Q = .53.$

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH PERCENTAGES OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION

(Above or Below 50 Percent Negro)

	Low (Less than 50 percent of total population Negro)	High (More than 50 percent of total population Negro)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	32	8
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	51	66

$$Q = \frac{51(8) - 32(66)}{51(8) + 32(66)},$$

$Q = -.68.$

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH PERCENTAGES OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION (Above or Below State Median Negro)

	Low (Below state median Negro)	High (Above state median Negro)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	63	30
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	20	44

$$Q = \frac{20(30) - 63(44)}{20(30) + 63(44)},$$

$Q = -.65.$

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

	Low (Below state median non-white educational attainment)	High (Above state median non-white educational attainment)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	39	23
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	67	8

$$Q = \frac{67(23) - 39(8)}{67(23) + 39(8)},$$

$Q = .66.$

DISTRIBUTION OF LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION AND HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH PERCENTAGES FARM TENANCY

	Low (Below state average farm tenancy)	High (Above state average farm tenancy)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	45	29
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	26	56

$$Q = \frac{26(29) - 45(56)}{26(29) + 45(56)},$$

$$Q = -.54.$$

DISTRIBUTION OF LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION AND HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION

	Low (Below state median rural non-farm population)	High (Above state median rural non-farm population)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	31	44
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	47	35

$$Q = \frac{47(44) - 31(35)}{47(44) + 31(35)},$$

$Q = .51.$

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION AND LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY LOW AND HIGH INCOME DERIVED FROM AGRICULTURE

	Low (Less than 2/3 income derived from agriculture)	High (More than 2/3 income derived from agriculture)
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	49	28
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	32	48

$$Q = \frac{32(28) - 49(48)}{32(28) + 49(48)},$$

Q = -.45.

DISTRIBUTION OF LOW NEGRO REGISTRATION AND HIGH NEGRO REGISTRATION COUNTIES BY PERCENTAGES ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURE*

	Agriculture	Manufacturing
High (Above Median Negro Registration)	40	34
Low (Below Median Negro Registration)	67	15

$$Q = \frac{67(34) - 40(15)}{67(34) + 40(15)},$$

$Q = .54.$

*Counties are divided by predominance of agriculture and manufacturing as a source of income.

Suffrage

Block Voting

☆

by

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON
INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Block Voting

Politicians, columnists, and a host of dubiously authoritative observers — most of them resembling stone-throwing people who live in glass houses — have had a lot to say these past two years about "the Negro bloc" in Georgia.

Some of their talk has ben malicious, some of it well meaning, some of it no more sinister than bridge club gossip. With few exceptions, however, such talk has been based on no more than superficial knowledge of the facts.

Negroes do vote in blocs, of course. There is as much a Negro bloc as there is a labor bloc, a farm bloc, or a Southern bloc. But this bloc is not formed on the signal of corrupt Negro leaders, as some people would have us believe. In the main, Georgia's Negro leadership has been responsible, sensible, and admirably restrained. Rather, the bloc has been merely the Negro's inevitable reaction to the vicious race baiting of some politicians and to a long history of cultural, economic, and political discrimination.

Since March 6, 1946, when the U. S. fifth circuit court of appeals granted Negroes the right to participate in Democratic primaries, Georgia Negroes have voted in about a dozen elections, including the 1946 state primary. The record is not complete on Negro voting, neither as to its extent nor character. In some counties, purposely, no separate count has been made of Negro ballots. In others, Negro ballots have been deliberately miscounted. In still others, Negroes haven't been permitted to vote at all. Nevertheless, from the record as it stands one can draw a highly significant judgement: to date, the chief result of Negro enfranchisement has been to stimulate the dormant white electorate to a more serious concern for politics, and to aid immeasurably in the accomplishment of needed political reforms.

Perhaps more pertinently, the Negros' voting history of the past two years shows these things about bloc voting:

1. In state elections the solidifying factor almost invariably is the Negro's right to vote. Negroes will vote in a bloc only when white supremacy is the issue.

2. In county and municipal elections Negroes tend to vote in a bloc against candidates who have demonstrated a disregard for Negro rights and aspirations, and for those who have proved themselves sympathetic. Sometimes, too, local issues may force them into a bloc vote, especially when those issues relate directly to the welfare of the Negro communities.

3. In those few counties where the Negro's right to vote has come to be accepted, and it is the practice for all candidates to bid for the Negro vote as earnestly as they do for the white, there is no Negro bloc.

The first Georgia primary to which Negroes were admitted was held in Glynn County in March, 1946, less than a month after the Primus King decision. It was in this election, it will be recalled, that all but one of seven incumbent commissioners were turned out of office.

Even without the not unexpected enfranchisement of the Negro, Glynn County politics would have been in ferment that spring. Very simply, people had grown tired of county commissioners who, in the words of one citizen, had acted for too long "as if the county and the court house belonged to them."

A total of 7,200 persons voted in that election — 2,160 Negroes and 5,040 whites. Except in the election of one Commissioner who had a particularly strong following in the Negro community, white and Negro votes were cast on about the same percentage. The majority of Negroes opposed the old commissioners; so did the majority of whites.

Four months later, when the State Democratic primary was held, Negroes again went to the polls in Glynn County. This time, they cast what probably will become a typical Negro vote. They voted in a bloc against a gubernatorial candidate. who had used white supremacy as his rallying cry. But in the election of Representatives to the General Assembly, they voted proportionately as white citizens voted, scattering their votes among all candidates; in this race no candidate had pitched his appeal to prejudice.

The Richmond County primary of April, 1946, was in many ways similar to the earlier primary in Glynn. Here, however, the reform movement was rooted in more than resentment against incumbent office-holders. In opposition to the entrenched Cracker Party, which had dominated the city of Augusta for 34 years, a well-organized Independent party had sprung up with a long range program for municipal progress.

The extraordinary interest with which Richmond County Negroes viewed the campaign was considerably heightened during its last ten days by the injection of the Negro issue. In posters, leaflets, and speeches, the Crackers repeated that the Independents were a bunch of "niggers" and "nigger-lovers", whose election was sure to bring a mixing of the races on public vehicles and in the schools. This was a lot of nonsense, of course. The Negroes, quite intelligently, sided with the insurgents, but how little the Independents owed them for victory was shown conclusively when the ballots were counted. The total number of votes cast was 20,241, of which only about 2,500 were cast by Negroes. The three Independent candidates for the legislature won with an average majority of 5,022 votes — a white majority of 3,526, a Negro majority of 1,497. Cracker Party candidates, to whom in times past many Negroes had looked for jobs, received an average of 474 Negro votes, and actually carried the Negro vote in Augusta's Fourth Ward. Thus, the Independents won with a white majority that was greater by a thousand-odd votes than the total number of Negroes voting. They would have won even if every Negro vote had gone for the Crackers.

In Chatham County, coincident with the 1946 state primary, the Negro bloc expressed itself similarly in a local election that saw the successful beginning of a movement to replace the oldline Administration machine with the Citizens' Progressive League. It was not so much the race issue that caused Negroes to oppose the Administration, although they had ample reason to distrust an Administration tax collector who had tried, unsuccessfully, to block Negro registration. Savannah Negroes had been plugging for some specific benefits for a long time, and they figured merely that their chances for getting them were better with the CPL.

Both the CPL and Administration made bids for the Negro vote. The Administration, though, got a polite turndown. Negro leaders had little faith in the promises of Administration forces who in 25 years had failed to provide anything more than bare minimum services to the Negro community. With the Citizens Progressive League however, they talked straight politics. The Negroes would like some Negro policemen to patrol colored residential districts, several Negro matrons in the city jail, some paved roads, more street lights, better schools, and better health facilities. The CPL said it would do its best.

As it turned out, Negroes voted in a bloc for CPL candidates for the legislature, who won, and voted in a bloc for an independent candidate for judge (a woman lawyer who had declared herself unequivocally in favor of the Negro's right of ballot), who lost. In the legislative race, CPL candidates polled an average of 23,005 votes, and against 13,359 for the Administration slate, giving a total majority of 9,646. The CPL's white majority was 4,542, its Negro majority 5,106. Administration candidates received an average of 1,463 colored votes. The majority of Negroes did vote for the Citizens Progressive League, but, significantly, so did the majority of whites.

Despite the irrefutable evidence of the returns, there is a persistent opinion, encouraged by some of the defeated candidates, that the Negro vote alone was responsible for the reform victories in Chatham, Glynn, and Richmond Counties. Negro participation was an important factor in those victories, but for an entirely different reason. It was important because, in each instance, it brought to the whole electorate — predominantly white — a new sense of civic responsibliity.

This was manifested particularly by some phenomenal increases in registration. The result was that in all three counties registration lists soared far beyond the limits of machine control. In Glynn, registration went from 3,500 to 9,157 (2,400 Negroes); in Richmond, from 9,000 to 26,541 (4,716 Negroes); in Chatham, from 15,000 to nearly 60,000 (19,000 Negroes). Then, sometimes to their mutual surprise, the newly franchised Negro and the newly registered white found themselves on the same side of the political fence.

Since present Georgia laws do not provide for educational qualifications for voting, since most rural Negroes are poorly educated and kept in poverty, it is undeniably true that in some Counties Negroes, like many whites, can be controlled and "voted" — just as in others they can be controlled and not allowed to vote. They can be bought exactly as any oppressed, dependent people can be bought — by threats, by cash, by deceptive promises, sometimes by a simple display of kindliness.

The Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, the statewide Negro group for political action, has recognized this danger and has consistently fought to avert it. From the beginning the Association has resisted the impulse to rush the Negro population politically beyond the natural limits of its preparedness for citizenship. Wherever feasible, the Association has set up regular orientation classes, their purpose being to acquaint eligible colored voters with the mechanics of the election process and to teach them some simple principles of democracy. It has insisted that Negroes look to their own leaders for political guidance, rather than to white politicians. To further reduce the Negroes' vulnerability, it has maintained that all programs with political implications be financed exclusively by the Negro communities. To preclude the charge of "outside control", the Association has scrupulously avoided taking any partisan stand in local elections.

Yet it has been charged, not without substance, that a recent election in Liberty County was swung by a Negro bloc controlled by a white politician.

Liberty County is one of the 39 Georgia counties where Negroes outnumber whites. It is a coastal county, however, and unlike that of most counties in the Black Belt, in recent years its dominant political temperament has been pro-Rivers, or anti-Talmadge. In 1946 it was perhaps the only county in the Black Belt where no effort was made to purge Negroes illegally from the registration lists. It is the only such county where Negroes have voted in strength.

The outstanding political figure in Liberty is Sheriff Paul Sikes, part owner of the Lilberty Oil Company and an employer of many Negroes. Whether his reasons were laudable or not, it was he who championed the Negro's right to vote in 1946. Liberty County Negroes have been grateful ever since.

When Sikes came up for reelection last January, his reputation as a law enforcement officer was hardly exemplary. A citizens' committee had charged him with having conspired in the illegal operation of slot machines and had filed a petition seeking to remove him from office. Nevertheless, he was reelected by an overwhelming majority. He polled 1,500 of the 2,316 votes cast. His nearest opponent received 449.

The Liberty County election seems to be a unique instance in Georgia where a candidate has won entirely on the strength of a Negro majority. It is reported that of the 2,316 voters, between 1,200 and 1,500 were Negroes and between 800 and 1,100 were whites. It is impossible to know exactly how, or in what percentage, votes were cast, but in Liberty County it is generally believed that all but a few Negroes voted for Sikes—so many that he would have won even if all the white voters in the county had united solidly behind one of his three opponents. Besides the evidence of the election count, indignant white citizens cite the fact that for weeks before the election Sikes had been appealing directly to the Negro population.

Negro leaders do not deny that Sikes actively courted the Negro vote. They do resent the inference that Negroes were "voted." They say that the Negroes supported Sikes primarily because two years earlier, at a crucial time in their political growth, he had defended their right of franchise. Their voting for him indicated only that) they recognized where and with whom their fundamental interests lay. To them, the slot machine scandal—as deplorable as it was—was strictly a side issue.

Such has been the character of local elections during the past two years that Negroes frequently have viewed candidates simply as friend or foe. It may be regrettable that in their support of a friend they have sometimes overlooked what to other people seem to be the superior merits of opposition candidates, but it's nonetheless understandable.

In voting solidly for Lewis Wilson for mayor of Macon last summer, Negroes were voting for a proven friend. Wilson is a progressive-minded grocer who through the years has demonstrated a generous understanding of his Negro customers. They would have voted for him in a bloc, even if his opponent hadn't solidified their loyalties by raising the race issue. "After all he'd done for us," one Negro man said, "we had to back Mr. Wilson. Why, if we hadn't, no white man running would ever again have any faith in us."

In Albany last November, Negroes voted in a bloc against the winning candidate for mayor, because, in their minds, he had proved himself "foe." Of 864 Negro votes cast, 819 were cast against him, a fact The Albany Herald decried as evidence of "thoughtless leadership." On the contrary, Albany's Negro leaders were quite thoughtful. In 1946 Smith had managed Eugene Talmadge's campaign in Dougherty County. On several occasions he had taken the stump for Talmadge and employed the Talmadge brand of race baiting. At a rally in Mitchell County he had presented Talmadge a check for $500. Negroes simply did not have it in them to support such a man, no matter how many worthy municipal reforms he might advocate.

It was this same psychology, of course, that caused some 100,000 Negroes throughout the state to vote in a bloc against Eugene Talmadge for governor. Talmadge ran in 1946 on a white primary platform, and, undisputably, Negroes opposed him with all the strength they could muster. As one legislator has explained it, "They voted against him for the same reason that I would have voted against him if my name were Knucklehammer and he'd said that if elected he would see to it that nobody named Knucklehammer would be allowed to vote."

For Georgia Negroes, these past two years have been a severely taxing transition period. Having finally won a fundamental political right, that of the ballot, they have had to exercise it in a segment of society which had taught them from birth to regard citizenship as the special prerogative of the white man. The amazing fact is that, despite their own unpreparedness and the prevalent hostility of election officials, they have, on the whole, handled themselves in such a way as to be a healthful and constructive influence. That influence promises to be more and more healthful as the fact of Negro participation becomes less and less restricted.

Considering the terribly irresponsible attitude of all too many white voters, it would be impertinent to make any special apology for the voting conduct of Negroes. With respect to bloc voting, the experience of the past two years would seem merely to confirm a verity: the trouble with Negroes is the trouble with whites - and that is, simply, that they're human beings.

Detailed information on the characteristics of the Negro registrant in terms of age, educational attainment, income, and such factors are available only in a very few isolated studies of particular areas in the state. In a study of Precinct B of Atlanta's Ward 3, William Charles Hamman found the tendency to register associated with older age groups. He found some indication of more interest among males than females in registering and voting and he found a similar association between voting and marital status--married interviewees indicating more interest in voting than unmarried persons. In this study he also found a positive correlation between the length of residence both in Atlanta and the precinct under study and in registration. Furthermore he found a positive relationship between higher paying occupations and registration. In terms of education his comparison of the educational attainment of registrants and non-registrants revealed that with the passing of years and the completion of the interviewees formal education those interviewees possessing more years of schooling were more likely to be registrants.

Received
1960

MAT - Special Suffrage
GA -

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

RE: Conclusions Based on Studies of Political Status of Negro Residents in Eight Counties in Georgia

Registration and Voting Indifference: Admittedly, there is some indifference among Negro residents even when they have unimpeded access to the franchise. This reaction is not "a racial characteristic" in spite of beliefs to the contrary in some quarters. It should be emphasized that indifference on the part of Negroes about registering and voting in erstwhile restricted areas is usually not an isolated phenomenon. It is compounded in nature and is due to a composite of economic reprisals, implied and actual; threats and fear of physical violence; inertia by some Negroes who have difficulty in reversing their thinking in as much as they were deprived of the franchise for many years and had to be content to let "the whites run things because they are going to do so anyway;" lack of leadership and educational opportunities; and an unwillingness to challenge the political basis of segregation because of fear of losing other privileges in an already racially restricted societal system. Racial segregation has stifled initiative and civic interests of many Negroes and keeps them back from power-structure areas that are controlled by whites. As a result some Negroes contend that there is no need for them to register and vote because their votes won't count anyway. They reason that if "the white folks" vote dead people and ones who have moved away they will throw out the "colored votes" if they need to do so from their point of view. When whites have to modify their restrictive pattern against Negroes' voting they seek to do so within the prescribed limits of the system of racial segregation. Thus, they usually provide for racially separate registration and voting places. IN one county which was investigated the segregated ballot box which Negroes used was painted black! These restricted concessions are regarded as reminders to Negroes not to seek further citizenship privileges.

Network of Evasions: Whites who do not want Negroes to register and vote resort to a number of devices to keep them from doing so.

Their techniques of evasion are not vicarious. A network of evasions is formed. They rely greatly on a persuasive ideological atmosphere which is designed to help cause Negroes not to want to vote. When this negative approach is not successful then Negro residents who break through this psychological curtain are flatly denied the right to register. The reasoning at this point is simple and to the effect that if Negroes can't register then they can't qualify to vote. This is one of the first lines of "defense." As Negroes have sought to register in some places they have had to establish the fact that t they were direct taxpayers and were not in debt. Some who had been divorced and had legally remarried were declared to be living in adultery and as a result were not eligible to register. Misdemeanor charges have been cited as reasons why others could not register. Other evasive techniques have been as follows: boards of registrars have decreed that a majority of their members had to be present to certify to the registration of Negro residents, who could never find more than one or two registrars at the same time; would-be Negro registrants had to secure white character references but often found it difficult to find any or get the requisite number at any one time; often the registrar's office was closed when it was scheduled to be open or the registration books would be closed even when the office was open; at times Negroes seeking to register had to wait several hours before they were talked with and there have been instances when they were told that they would have to report on another day. When Negroes were required to take educational tests, the registrars usually required more of them than they did for the whites who wanted to register. In some instances, registrars have permitted Negroes seeking to register to sign their names and subsequently be required to return ~~later~~ to establish their right to register when all along they thought they were already registered.

Another technique of evasion is to permit Negroes to actually register and then purge the list before an important election in which Negro voters' strength would prove to be a formidable factor. Negro registrants would be summoned to report usually to the Court House, which in itself was a symbol of persecution to many Negroes, to validate their qualifications for being registered voters. White registrants were not required to report. Very often after the Negro registrants had taken time off from their jobs they were required to return again to the Court House because only a very few would be questioned during the course of a day. Although they were usually summoned in alphabetical order, the registrars would skip down the line albetically thus overlooking many of the persons who had reported. Discouraged and dejected, some of the registrants would not return again but their names were then stricken from the lists of qualified registered voters. Those who did not report when summoned had their names automatically purged from the list of registrants.

Still another technique of evasion is to permit a token number of Negroes to register but not "permit" them to vote. Some Negroes have said that they were told that they could register but could not vote. By this step the Board of Registrars exonerates itself from legal responsibility for not permitting Negroes toregister. Maneuvers to keep Negroes from voting are sometimes vague and indirect. Shortly before an election a Negro or a group of Negroes may be arrested on routine charges. One of them may be beaten up or shot for attempting to escape, assulting an officer or resisting arrest. Often the person or persons involved are among those who are registered to vote. They and other Negro registrants read between the lines. Usually, there are Negroes who do not seem to understand this type of message. Then, there are times when crosses are burned in or near some

Negro registrants' yards and white men ride "evil looking" through Negro neighborhoods and park their cars for a while in front of Negro homes. These harrassments usually ease up after the elections. They are more effective in small towns and rural areas, the backbone of county unit strength in Georgia, where individuals can be readily singled out for reprisals. Very often law enforcement authorities cooperate or acquiesce in these maneuvers against Negro registrants and voters who, too often, find themselves alone and unprotected in their efforts to exercise their franchise rights.

More respectable devices to keep the registered Negroes from voting are to get employers to let one or two of the registrants out of their jobs without revealing the real reason why; have Negro registrants work overtime on election days; send messages to Negro registrants by white and Negro people that they had better not attempt to vote.

The practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some Negro registrants who are not willing to take a chance of having "white people" discover how they voted. They take the position that "we've got to live here with these people after the elections are over!" Segregation of ballot boxes is a means of voter discrimination and should not be approved anymore than if the separation were worked out on a demominational basis.

In the event the strategems listed above do not succeed in deterring Negroes from attempting to register and vote then violence is likely to erupt. The Negroes' participation in politics in many counties in Georgia and some other Southern states is usually fraught with danger. Those who resort to violence do not always wait until all the other devices of evasion have been resorted to. However, in most instances violence is used as a last resort. Usually, this violence results from white residents taking matters into their own hands as they move against Negroes "who want to get out of their place." Law enforcement officers usually acquiesce in this violence. At least they seldom arrest anyone for the acts of violence. Nor do they give real meaningful protection to the victims of the acts of violence. As a matter of fact, in many instances, they augment the acts of violence with police brutality, as directed against Negroes who seek to enlarge their civil rights.

There are those whites who would risk having law and order break down if this will result in keeping the Negro firmly within the walls of segregation.

As Negro registration and voting increase in spite of a pattern of violence and police brutality there is usually a decrease in violence and police brutality as directed against Negroes. As police brutality decreases there is usually an increase in political activity and leadership among Negroes generally. As Negro political leaders emerge they feel uneasy and insecure because they know that most law enforcement officers and their supporters are avowedly against what they are doing. Further, they know that it is difficult to have a jury selected that will convict any of its "white brethren" who more violently are against Negroes "who get out of their places." These are some of the reasons why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff, the solicitor general, and the mayor who often appoints the chief of police. By this process, they seek to reduce the force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal physical security. As this happens their minds are relieved somewhat and they forge on with their leadership. However, there are those Negro leaders, here and there, who continue to face danger as they insist on expanding their citizenship rights by means of the franchise.

Leadership: Negro political leaders very often resort to the organization of voters' leagues which often meet in churches for Negroes. At times, a rotation system is used so as to engage the interest, participation, and support of several denominations and fact~~ors~~ions. Registration and voting clinics are often sponsored so that Negroes may learn how to answer questions that are asked them by the registrars. Arrangements are often made during these meetings for transportation of registrants to and from the registration headquarters -- and later to and fron voting places. This technique works more effectively in large cities and towns than it does in rural areas where pressures against Negroes registering and voting are formidable. In these places the NAACP does not operate citizenship schools, because it is non-existent in many of these places as a result of intense opposition. In many cities and good-sized towns Negro principals and teachers sponsor the registration of eighteen year old Negro students. This has become an annual event in some places whereregistration is unrestricted.

In some places some reliance is placed on the use of leaflets, newspapers and radio announcements. In other places information about Negro political meetings is passed on secretly.

Our studies about the Negroes' political status have established that response to appeals to register and vote is more pronounced as the level of education in a county increases. Where educational opportunities and facilities have been greatly limited one finds an inept response to ~~these~~ citizenship appeals and/or clinics.

Negro leadership becomes more pronounced and effective as its economic welfare becomes increasingly dependent on the Negro masses and inversely independent of whites. This gives them a degree of independence which they would not have if they were dependent largely on whites. Although many Negroes will not openly articulate their racial grievances in their communities they will often silently display their gratitude by giving further support to outspoken leaders. Although this strategem does not work in every instance, its general reliability has been established. Studies in several counties in Georgia reveal that Negro political leaders have come from the following categories: doctors, dentists, dry-cleaners, filling station, grocery store and restaurant operators, insurance agents with companies owned and operated by Negroes, lawyers (confined mostly to large cities), undertakers, taxicab operators, land-owning farmers, real estate operators, a few teachers and some retired postal employees. Where there is a dearth of most or all of these types of leadership personnel there is little or no leadership. In some places efforts are made to neutralize this leadership by frightening it off, obligating it financially or otherwise, and economic reprisals. As an example of the latter, some white farmers in a southwest Georgia county passed down that word that a certain "nigger undertaker" was not to handle any more "nigger bodies" from their farms. The undertaker had been active in helping to secure a new school and encouraging Negroes to register and vote.

Political Benefits: The easing of police brutality is one of the factors that have high priority as a political payoff after Negro residents begin to register and vote. They seek relief from its potential and explosive nature which is an effective technique of preserving the status quo. Where the Mayor, chief of police and sheriff are politically indebted to Negro voters they are not likely to eagerly encourage or acquiesce in having other whites assist in helping to manhandle Negroes seeking to register and vote. More

Negro voters are increasingly realizing that they will get more sewage, paved streets, schools, street lights, traffic lights, playgrounds and swimming pools, parks et cetera as they register and vote in larger numbers. They get more recognition as citizens when white office seekers or holders appeal for Negro votes, openly or secretly. Negroes are also beginning to realize that voter participation ~~is~~ in government enables them to help make decisions that involve municipal growth beyond considerations of race.— and they, too, benefit by this growth.

Conclusions: Increased political participation by Negroes usually follows urbanized growth and development of cities and towns. ~~A reasonable~~ An increase in urban population usually takes some of the pressure off the individual Negro who becomes more anonymous as a political participant.

Negroes are usually more active politically as leaders as their economic status becomes more secure and ~~somewhat~~ reasonably independent of the economic dictates of some white people who wield substantial economic power. Negro political leaders are usually the ones whose economic security and progress depend more on racial good-will and support than otherwise.

Very often racial incidents, involving political participation and otherwise, have their effect in adjacent counties to the extent that some Negro political leaders observe the warning and lessen their political activities at least for a while. ~~In some instances, Negroes have been per~~mitted to register without any restraints but have been discouraged from exercising their right to vote by overt and subtle devices. On the other hand, some registrars will quickly permit Negroes to register because they have discovered that some of the Negroes will not vote because of inertia and further because they do not want to be accused of invading "the white man's territory." Some Negroes register and vote because of pressure from members of their racial group. And some fail to register and vote because of pres~~sure from white people.~~

Generally, when the Negro population in a county is larger than that of whites, there is more intense opposition to Negroes registering and voting. Usually, when an exception is made it is because of compelling Federal Court rulings or because the politicians in office decide to permit a controlled number of Negroes to register and vote if such action will aid the persons in office. There has been a break-through in the solidarity of some of the so-called "Black Belt" counties in Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. One of the reasons for this variation has been the potential and actual force of the intervention of court decisions. ~~Virtually~~ Otherwise, no current local factors or combination of ~~such~~ these factors was likely to result in Negroes being afforded an opportunity to participate in political affairs. This is one reason why "court cases" are dreaded by many of the whites and why they move with violence, if necessary, against Negroes (or anybody else for that matter) who seem to be the type who will go to court to press their claims.

As organized labor penetrates more of the counties in Georgia it could well have a formidable ally in Negro voters on many political issues. However, as it stands, there is not much of a line of communication, in many, between organized labor and Negro voters in counties where organized labor is reasonably strong. Negro voters will have to further entrench themselves before organized labor will cooperate with them on a formal basis. Aside from shedding some of their prejudices, labor union members do not now want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance, with the second developing because of an alliance with Negro voters. However, there are some labor leaders who feel that the strength gained by this alliance will more than balance the increased opposition.

There is no definitive line of communication between white and Negro voters by means of which they can clarify issues, appraise candidates and their platforms, and then vote in such a way as to enhance the meaning and practice of good government. Usually, the Negroes' political status is further vulnerable in that they are not an integral part of the political power structure.

In most instances, Negroes who have had some access to educational opportunities are the ones who furnish most of the political leadership for their racial group. This is especially true if they also have an opportunity to achieve a reasonable degree of economic independence. Almost invariably, the counties which have furnished meager educational opportunities to Negroes are also the ones which have succeeded in keeping them subjugated politically, as well as otherwise. Their dictum has been that a Negro who wants an education and is given an opportunity to get it is likely to want other things. As one white person stated it: "If a Negro gets in by the window, he will next try to get in through the door" to an enlarged area of citizenship.

Finally, ~~In conclusion,~~ it should be emphasized that increased political participation is a must if Negroes are to succeed in protecting and expanding other areas of their progress. The protective strength of entrenched, intelligent political action will augment and actively support the multiple technique approach involving legal, civic, educational, economic, interracial and intercultural processes as a means of furthering civil rights and strengthening democracy.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

September 17, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing two copies of the first half of the results of the Kentucky Negro Suffrage Fact-Finding Project. This part deals with estimates of county by county Negro registrations for 1956.

I have included, along with five tables, a short explanation of the tables and commentary on their significance. I have not gone into great detail about the findings mostly because I do not feel that they are very meaningful on a county by county basis because of the difficulty of obtaining dependable statistics in most counties. For the same reason, I would caution your staff against making income, educational, etc. correlations with registration for each county.

On the other hand, I feel that the statewide totals do give a general picture of the status of Negro suffrage which is usable in comparing Kentucky with other border states.

I am now working on the findings for Louisville which I hope to complete within the next several weeks. These, I feel, are much more accurate and will give a detailed picture of Negro political behavior in Kentucky's largest city.

I am including two vouchers for consultants' fees and expenses.

Sincerely,

Louis C. Kesselman

Louis C. Kesselman
Chairman

KENTUCKY NEGRO SUFFRAGE FACT-FINDING PROJECT

SEPTEMBER, 1956

I. INTRODUCTION

Kentucky, in common with other border states, has a melange of northern and southern attitudes towards the status of the Negro. In the area of political participation the pattern in Kentucky is clearly more like that of her neighbors to the north than those to the south. This survey has found no evidence of the existence of legal, administrative or social restraints upon Negro registration or voting in Kentucky. Nevertheless, a statistical analysis of Negro political behavior in Kentucky has value because it suggests what the political role of the Negro might be in some of the other states which are being studied, if the existing restrictions upon Negro participation were removed.

II. STATEWIDE REGISTRATION

Voting registration lists, as maintained by the counties in Kentucky, run the gamut of those which are highly reliable as guages of voting eligibility to those which are absurdly inflated. Kentucky has had statewide registration since 1936 and statewide purgation since 1938 and yet, notwithstanding purgation law improvements in 1952, outside of Jefferson County (Louisville) and a few others, the remainder of the counties continue to keep large numbers of ineligible voters on the rolls. This appears to be true of Negro as well as white voters.

The major difficulty seems to be that only in Louisville does Kentucky law require a house-to-house canvass in each precinct of the city before every general election.[1] In the other counties a house-to-house canvass may be made at the discretion of the county boards of registration and purgation.[2] The cost of such canvasses, which must be borne by the counties, limits the number of canvasses in the state.[3]

In 1951, it was estimated that there were from 300,000 to 400,000 names illegally registered in Kentucky.[4] Table I appears to bear out the accuracy of these estimates. In 54 of the 120 counties there were more registrations in 1952 than there were residents 21 years of age and over according to the 1950 census. If Jefferson County is subtracted from the totals on Table I, 95.9% of those in the eligible age group in the state were registered for voting, unquestionably an inflated figure.

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[1] K.R.S. 117.825.

[2] K.R.S. 117.810.

[3] Fayette County spent $6,729.20 in 1949 in a thorough-going canvass which resulted in the reduction of the number of eligible voters from 42,486 to 30,892. Registration and Purgation. Research Publication No. 13, Legislative Research Commission, Kentucky, 1951, pp. 57-8.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 1.

In short, Tables I and II serve to warn us against accepting Kentucky registration statistics at their face value. It would be safe to assume that official registration figures overstate legal registration by 20% or more in the state as a whole. It is difficult to say whether the overstatement of Negro registration is as great as for the remainder of the population. Jefferson County's Negro registration comprises 28.7% of the state's total and is highly reliable. On the other hand, most of the other county figures are "horseback guesses" by county clerks and county party leaders because separate tabulations are not commonly kept of Negro registrations despite the fact that racial identification appears on the registration card. An indication of the caution with which these county returns must be approached is found in the fact that nine counties report more Negro registrations than they have Negroes in the qualified age group and thirteen more report more than 80% of this group to be registered.

Table II also shows approximately 45,000 fewer registered voters in 1956 than in 1952 in spite of an estimated increase in Kentucky's population from 2,944,806 in 1950 to 3,005,300 in 1956.[5] Furthermore, the size of the state electorate has been increased by roughly 9% as a result of a constitutional amendment in 1955 which lowered the voting age from 21 to 18.[6] These population and age eligibility changes suggest that there has been a decline of approximately 15% in the proportion of registrations for the 1956 election since 1952.

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[5] _Sales Management_, May 10, 1956.

It is doubtful whether the decline in registration in 1956 is due to better purgation since 1952. If Jefferson County is a dependable barometer, it would appear that there is less interest in registering for the 1956 election than there was in 1952. Registration in this county is up 9% over 1952. Yet the population of Jefferson County has increased by an estimated 13% since 1952 and, if an additional 9% is added to the electorate as a result of the lowering of the voting age, it would appear that there has been a decline in the proportion of registrations for the 1956 election by approximately 13% in Kentucky's largest county.

Table III provides a county by county comparison of estimated current Negro registrations with the total Negro population in 1950 and with the estimated Negro population 18 and over for 1956. Column one is taken from the 1950 census. Column two containing 1956 registrations by county was derived from estimates by County Clerks, county party chairmen and field observation by consultants. In some counties, on which no information could be obtained from informed officials or party leaders, interpolations from comparable counties were employed to arrive at estimates. Column four states the consultants' estimate of current Negro population eighteen and over for all counties except Jefferson, for which an estimate by the research department of the Louisville Chamber of Commerce was used.[7] The estimates for the other counties were based upon age changes and mortality rates since 1950 but do not include migrations because of the lack of reliable estimates.

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[6] It should be noted, however, than many of these counties provided the consultants with registration statistics four to five weeks before the registration books closed on September 8, 1956. On the other hand, the 1952 registration figures are presumably after purgation and the 1956 figures will be reduced similarly by purgation before the 1956 election.

Similarly, it would have been desirable to have had a comparable estimate of total population 18 and over for 1956 but the consultants felt that the migration factor was even greater for the white group in Kentucky and that age distribution estimates for 1956 were completely unreliable.

Finally, Tables IV & V represent an effort to obtain statistics on party registrations for both Negroes and the total population for 1956. While the figures presented in these tables are not by any means complete, they throw needed light on the pattern of Negro registration in a border state.

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[7] The 1950 census listed Jefferson County's Negro population as 62,750; the Louisville Chamber of Commerce estimated the Negro population to have been 67,624 in 1955.

III. VOTING PERFORMANCE

It has not been possible to make any statewide estimates of Negro voting performance, except for party registrations as set forth in Table IV, because of the scattered geographical character of the Negro population in Kentucky and the limited resources on which the project has been carried out. On the other hand, a variety of aspects of Negro political behavior in Louisville are being studied closely and will comprise the second half of this fact-finding survey.

IV. DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination against Negroes in registration or voting is not a problem in Kentucky. Neither the state's constitution, nor statutory requirements, nor administrative procedures impose any barrier against Negro participation in Kentucky political life. Even in the counties where slavery once flourished and in the counties which are lagging in school desegregation, Negro voting is not controversial.

Paul Lewinson in his study of Negro suffrage published in 1932 found no evidence of disfranchisement in Kentucky in this century.[8] The last publicized litigation over suffrage arose out of the 1898 election in which it was charged that Negro voters in the Fifth Congressional District of Kentucky were prevented from voting by bribery and intimidation.[9]

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[8] Race, Class & Party. Oxford University Press, New York, 1932, p. 120.

[9] James v. Bowman (1901. 190 U.S. 127).

V. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Discrimination is not a limiting factor in Negro registration and voting in Kentucky;

2. Negro registration lags behind white registration in the state because of apathy in the Negro group explainable largely in socio-economic terms. Studies of voting participation all show that the lower his socio-economic status the less likely the individual is to register and vote. Because the proportion of Negroes in low socio-economic categories is high, it is to be expected that there will be more apathy towards political activity than is true of the general population.

3. Negro voters in Kentucky, contrary to the pattern in northern states, are still in the Republican party column, although it is likely that they are moving steadily to the Democratic party which is certainly the case of Louisville Negro registrations and voting. The explanations for this lag behind Northern states may be twofold:

A. Kentucky has a modified one party system in which the Republicans infrequently win statewide offices.[10] Consequently, it has not been necessary for the Democrats to go out of their way to appeal to Negro voters as has been necessary in the fiercely contested two party systems of the North; and

B. Kentucky Negroes are perhaps more isolated from many of the forces which mold public opinion in the North: less trade unionism, less industrialization, less urbanization, less education, etc. This perhaps also helps to account for the lag behind the Northern trend of the past twenty years in spite of the freedom of the ballot in Kentucky.

Louis C. Kesselman

Louis C. Kesselman
Chief Consultant
September 15, 1956

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[10] Ranney, Austin and Kendall, Willmore, "The American Party Systems," The American Political Science Review, vol. XLVIII, No. 2, June, 1954, p. 483. In 35 elections since 1914 for President, U.S. Senator and Governor, the Democrats have won 27 and the Republicans 8 in Kentucky.

TABLE I

TOTAL ELIGIBLE VOTERS, REGISTRATION AND VOTING, 1952

KENTUCKY

COUNTY	1950 - 21 and over	1952* Regis.	% Reg. of 21 & over	1952 Pres. Vote	% Voting of 21 and over	% Voting of Reg.
Adair	9,798	10,800	110.2	5,921	60.4	54.8
Allen	8,699	7,400	85.1	4,696	54.0	63.5
Anderson	5,578	4,546	81.5	3,598	64.5	79.1
Ballard	5,530	5,600	101.3	3,761	68.0	67.2
Barren	17,269	12,780	74.0	8,361	48.4	65.4
Bath	5,969	6,500	108.9	4,137	69.3	63.6
Bell	23,985	27,000	112.6	11,737	48.9	43.5
Boone	8,203	6,500	79.2	4,929	60.1	75.8
Bourbon	10,986	7,969	72.5	5,568	50.7	69.9
Boyd	30.201	30,000	99.3	20,671	68.4	68.9
Boyle	13,166	11,000	83.5	6,740	51.2	61.3
Bracken	5,391	5,200	96.5	3,443	63.9	66.2
Breathitt	8,984	9,588	106.7	4,764	53.0	49.7
Breckinridge	9,082	10,201	112.3	5,906	65.0	57.9
Bullitt	6,579	6,652	101.1	3,413	51.9	51.3
Butler	6,423	5,785	90.1	4,153	64.7	71.8
Caldwell	8,535	9,000	105.4	4,640	54.4	51.6
Calloway	13,053	11,413	87.4	7,263	55.6	63.6
Campbell	50,502	43,570	86.3	30,681	60.8	70.4
Carlisle	4,010	4,671	116.5	2,523	62.9	54.0
Carroll	5,362	5,125	95.6	3,624	67.6	70.7
Carter	11,433	12,577	110.0	7,240	63.3	57.6
Casey	8,731	11,100	127.1	5,353	61.3	48.2
Christian	26,889	19,732	73.4	11,645	43.3	59.0

TABLE I (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 - 21 and over	1952 Regis.	% Reg. of 21 & over	1952 Pres. Vote	% Voting of 21 and over	% Voting of Reg.
Clark	11,584	9,248	79.8	6,212	53.6	67.2
Clay	10,336	12,000	116.1	5,526	53.5	46.1
Clinton	5,550	5,750	103.6	3,534	63.7	61.5
Crittenden	6,674	6,350	95.1	3,898	58.4	61.4
Cumberland	5,272	4,679	88.8	3,335	63.3	71.3
Daviess	34,384	24,503	71.3	17,984	52.3	73.4
Edmonson	4,983	1,600	32.1	3,271	65.6	204.4
Elliott	3,372	4,207	124.8	2,703	80.2	64.3
Estill	7,800	6,000	76.9	4,530	58.1	75.5
Fayette	68,519	42,000	61.3	31,651	46.2	75.4
Fleming	7,159	9,000	125.7	5,038	70.4	56.0
Floyd	25,025	29,687	118.6	13,178	52.7	44.4
Franklin	17,108	15,069	88.1	10,406	60.8	69.1
Fulton	8,368	8,593	102.7	3,939	47.1	45.8
Gallatin	2,463	3,379	137.2	1,848	75.0	54.7
Garrard	6,579	7,800	118.6	4,325	65.7	55.4
Grant	6,094	7,545	123.8	4,154	68.2	55.1
Graves	20,502	20,887	101.9	12,517	61.1	60.0
Grayson	9,673	12,020	124.3	6,352	65.7	52.8
Green	6,771	5,600	82.7	4,630	68.4	82.7
Greenup	13,566	13,104	96.6	9,070	66.9	69.2
Hancock	3,621	4,144	114.4	2,518	69.5	60.8
Hardin	26,966	15,477	57.4	8,513	31.6	55.0
Harlan	35,365	33,701	95.3	17,309	48.9	51.4
Harrison	9,041	7,202	79.7	5,233	57.9	72.7
Hart	9,058	10,747	118.6	5,886	65.0	54.8
Henderson	19,292	20,300	105.2	10,842	56.2	53.4
Henry	7,137	6,812	95.4	5,052	70.8	74.2

TABLE I (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 - 21 and over	1952 Regis.	% Reg. of 21 & over	1952 Pres. Vote	% Voting of 21 and over	% Voting of Reg.
Hickman	4,878	3,881	79.6	2,859	58.6	73.7
Hopkins	24,109	20,610	85.5	11,442	47.5	55.5
Jackson	6,312	4,599	72.9	3,575	56.6	77.7
Jefferson	321,816	219,946**	68.3	180,711	56.2	82.2
Jessamine	7,777	7,945	102.2	4,771	61.3	60.1
Johnson	12,546	9,000	71.7	7,853	62.6	87.3
Kenton	69,496	56,290	81.0	38,657	55.6	68.7
Knott	8,915	8,000	89.7	5,561	62.4	69.5
Knox	15,383	16,500	107.3	8,236	53.5	49.9
Larue	5,979	7,000	117.1	3,862	64.6	55.2
Laurel	13,340	13,500	101.2	8,039	60.3	59.5
Lawrence	7,694	11,094	144.2	5,293	68.8	47.7
Lee	4,399	4,500	102.3	2,672	60.7	59.4
Leslie	6,610	6,600	99.8	3,944	59.7	59.8
Letcher	18,489	17,002	92.0	9,786	52.9	57.6
Lewis	7,143	6,800	95.2	4,873	68.2	71.7
Lincoln	10,322	11,000	106.6	6,096	59.1	55.4
Livingston	4,366	4,200	96.2	2,656	60.8	63.2
Logan	13,663	21,575	157.9	7,675	56.2	35.6
Lyon	4,598	3,972	86.4	2,150	46.8	54.1
Madison	18,409	23,128	125.6	10,787	58.6	46.6
Magoffin	6,497	7,000	107.7	4,336	66.7	61.9
Marion	9,086	12,250	134.8	5,421	59.7	44.3
Marshall	8,505	7,500	88.2	4,919	57.8	65.6
Martin	5,142	5,576	108.4	3,815	74.2	68.4
Mason	11,799	9,154	77.6	7,220	61.2	78.9
McCracken	32,281	27,000	83.6	18,353	56.9	68.0
McCreary	7,608	7,500	98.6	4,297	56.5	57.3

TABLE I (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 - 21 and over	1952 Regis.	% Reg. of 21 & over	1952 Pres. Vote	% Voting of 21 and over	% Voting of Reg.
McLean	6,021	6,998	116.2	3,752	62.3	53.6
Meade	5,170	5,612	108.5	3,305	63.9	58.9
Menifee	2,460	4,500	182.9	1,857	75.5	41.3
Mercer	9,257	8,000	86.4	5,285	57.1	66.1
Metcalfe	5,731	6,396	111.6	4,024	70.2	62.9
Monroe	7,665	9,000	117.4	4,759	62.1	52.9
Montgomery	7,842	7,528	96.0	4,934	62.9	65.5
Morgan	6,917	11,148	161.2	4,472	64.7	40.1
Muhlenberg	18,576	16,565	89.2	9,798	52.7	59.1
Nelson	10,759	9,000	83.7	6,481	60.2	72.0
Nicholas	4,742	4,826	101.8	2,975	62.7	61.6
Ohio	12,563	13,516	107.6	7,128	56.7	52.7
Oldham	7,242	4,536	62.6	3,458	47.7	76.2
Owen	6,093	5,485	90.0	3,993	65.5	72.8
Owsley	3,689	4,000	108.4	2,373	64.3	59.3
Pendleton	6,103	5,716	93.7	3,888	63.7	68.0
Perry	21,627	25,000	115.6	10,748	49.7	43.0
Pike	38,399	39,000	101.6	22,539	58.7	57.8
Powell	3,456	3,500	101.3	2,210	63.9	63.1
Pulaski	21,206	25,000	117.9	13,683	64.5	54.7
Robertson	1,819	2,200	120.9	1,450	79.7	65.9
Rockcastle	6,966	6,610	94.9	4,829	69.3	73.1
Rowan	6,667	6,500	97.5	4,205	63.1	64.7
Russell	7,473	6,227	83.3	4,084	54.7	65.6
Scott	9,629	8,940	92.8	5,248	54.5	58.7
Shelby	11,155	10,363	92.9	6,550	58.7	63.2
Simpson	7,442	5,000	67.2	4,034	54.2	80.7

TABLE I (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 - 21 and over	1952 Regis.	% Reg. of 21 & Over	1952 Pres. Vote	% Voting of 21 and Over	% Voting of Reg.
Spencer	3,516	2,914	82.9	2,006	57.1	68.8
Taylor	8,374	6,500	77.6	5,565	66.5	85.6
Todd	7,848	8,000	101.9	4,396	56.0	55.0
Trigg	5,803	5,606	96.6	3,719	64.1	63.4
Trimble	3,026	3,000	99.1	2,225	73.5	74.2
Union	8,884	7,658	86.2	5,412	60.9	70.7
Warren	26,539	25,353	95.5	14,373	54.2	56.7
Washington	7,076	6,400	90.4	4,404	62.2	68.8
Wayne	8,568	10,000	116.7	5,857	68.4	58.6
Webster	10,231	10,575	103.4	5,374	52.5	50.8
Whitley	16,856	15,000	89.0	9,988	59.3	66.6
Wolfe	3,667	6,000	163.6	2,433	66.3	40.6
Woodford	6,825	5,747	84.2	4,164	61.0	72.5
TOTALS	1,737,664	1,577,039	90.8	990,758	57.0	62.8

* Compiled by Kentucky Registration and Purgation Board, 1952.
** Estimated after purgation.

Louis Kesselman

TABLE III

ESTIMATED NEGRO POPULATION, 1950; NEGRO POPULATION 18 AND OVER, 1956; AND NEGRO REGISTRATION, 1956, KENTUCKY

COUNTY	1950 Negro Population	1956 Est. Negro No. Reg.	% Reg.	1956 Est. Negro Pop. 18 & Over	% Reg.
Adair	932	550*	59.0	657	83.7
Allen	253	125*	49.4	187	66.8
Anderson	463	250*	54.0	313	79.9
Ballard	527	380*	53.1	398	70.4
Barren	2,218	867**	39.1	1,505	57.6
Bath	544	300*	55.1	368	81.5
Bell	1,638	845***	51.6	1,173	72.0
Boone	182	69**	37.9	135	51.1
Bourbon	2,737	1,000****	36.5	1,976	50.6
Boyd	924	300****	32.4	720	41.7
Boyle	2,567	705**	27.5	1,920	36.7
Bracken	132	363**	275.0	98	370.4
Breathitt	83	13**	15.7	56	23.2
Breckinridge	674	451**	66.9	463	97.4
Bullitt	279	72**	25.4	202	35.6
Butler	151	41**	27.2	111	36.9
Caldwell	1,011	250**	24.7	763	32.8
Calloway	800	350**	43.8	575	60.9
Campbell	1,012	829**	81.9	1,043	79.5
Carlisle	104	50**	48.1	82	61.0
Carroll	265	160**	60.4	187	85.6
Carter	33	10*	30.3	29	34.5
Casey	65	15*	23.0	42	35.7
Christian	9,906	3,759***	37.9	7,072	53.2

TABLE III (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 Negro Population	1956 Est. Negro No. Reg.	% Reg.	1956 Est. Negro Pop. 18 & Over	% Reg.
Clark	1,869	851**	45.5	1,343	63.4
Clay	474	87**	18.4	306	28.4
Clinton	49	20*	40.8	40	50.0
Crittenden	129	81**	54.3	98	71.4
Cumberland	577	304**	52.7	408	74.5
Daviess	2,932	1,125**	38.4	2,141	52.5
Edmonson	128	45*	35.2	84	53.6
Elliott	--	--	--	--	--
Estill	69	45**	65.2	64	70.3
Fayette	17,465	5,622****	32.2	12,719	44.2
Fleming	354	260**	73.4	255	102.0
Floyd	624	350*	56.1	427	82.0
Franklin	2,468	851****	34.5	2,022	42.1
Fulton	2,336	1,100*	47.1	1,578	69.7
Gallatin	102	40*	39.2	64	62.5
Garrard	1,029	525*	51.0	759	69.2
Grant	77	40***	51.9	64	62.5
Graves	1,757	1,006***	57.3	1,293	77.8
Grayson	84	42**	50.0	62	67.7
Green	744	275**	37.0	509	54.0
Greenup	170	262**	154.1	115	22.8
Hancock	187	27**	14.4	114	23.7
Hardin	2,931	450****	15.4	2,441	18.4
Harlan	5,453	3,500**	64.2	3,620	96.7
Harrison	656	150**	22.9	478	31.4
Hart	1,455	500**	34.4	993	50.4
Henderson	3,540	1,478****	41.8	2,562	57.7
Henry	869	400**	46.0	608	65.8

TABLE III (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 Negro Population	1956 Est. Negro No. Reg.	% Reg.	1956 Est. Negro Pop. 18 & Over	% Reg.
Hickman	943	450*	47.7	602	74.8
Hopkins	3,685	1,800*	48.8	2,654	67.8
Jackson	3	--	0	2	0
Jefferson	62,750	25,000*	39.8	49,000	51.0
Jessamine	1,166	450**	38.6	818	55.0
Johnson	4	--	0	2	0
Kenton	3,994	2,100*	52.6	3,238	64.9
Knott	159	225**	141.5	110	204.5
Knox	520	200**	38.5	383	52.2
Larue	549	400**	72.9	366	109.3
Laurel	283	220**	77.7	189	116.4
Lawrence	71	30**	42.3	57	52.6
Lee	39	15*	38.5	24	62.5
Leslie	8	5*	62.5	9	55.6
Letcher	1,187	805**	67.8	772	104.3
Lewis	25	15*	60.0	25	60.0
Lincoln	1,052	515**	49.0	777	66.3
Livingston	111	41**	36.9	82	50.0
Logan	2,547	1,200*	47.1	1,769	67.8
Lyon	730	150**	20.5	624	24.0
Madison	2,749	1,650****	60.0	2,048	80.6
Magoffin	14	3*	21.4	10	30.0
Marion	1,383	700*	50.6	1,021	68.6
Marshall	14	4*	28.6	14	28.6
Martin	0	0	0	0	0
Mason	1,847	1,000*	54.1	1,350	74.1
McCracken	5,974	2,036****	34.1	4,451	45.7
McCreary	37	15*	40.5	24	62.5

TABLE III (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 Negro Population	1956 Est. Negro No. Reg.	% Reg.	1956 Est. Negro Pop. 18 & Over	% Reg.
McLean	100	28**	28.0	78	35.9
Meade	324	159***	49.1	212	75.0
Menifee	17	5*	29.4	12	41.7
Mercer	1,011	590**	58.4	731	80.7
Metcalfe	423	302**	71.4	304	99.3
Monroe	366	310**	84.7	271	114.4
Montgomery	1,310	540**	41.2	937	57.6
Morgan	2	--	0	2	--
Muhlenberg	1,640	900**	54.9	1,140	78.9
Nelson	1,609	700*	43.5	1,095	63.9
Nicholas	297	168***	56.6	210	80.0
Ohio	388	180**	46.4	284	63.4
Oldham	1,208	500**	41.4	967	51.7
Owen	407	100**	24.6	284	35.2
Owsley	34	15*	44.1	45	33.3
Pendleton	95	50**	52.6	71	70.4
Perry	1,533	700*	45.7	990	70.7
Pike	1,196	500*	41.8	837	59.7
Powell	142	140**	98.6	93	150.5
Pulaski	784	500**	63.8	565	88.5
Robertson	31	15*	48.4	24	62.5
Rockcastle	13	10*	76.9	13	76.9
Rowan	9	4*	44.4	11	36.4
Russell	154	40**	26.0	99	40.4
Scott	1,781	900*	50.5	1,283	70.1
Shelby	2,326	1,000*	43.0	1,573	63.6
Simpson	1,506	350**	23.2	1,042	33.6

TABLE III (cont'd)

COUNTY	1950 Negro Population	1956 Est. Negro No. Reg.	% Reg.	1956 Est. Negro Pop. 18 & Over	% Reg.
Spencer	353	125**	35.4	261	47.9
Taylor	1,062	550*	51.8	726	75.8
Todd	2,280	1,500****	65.8	1,568	95.7
Trigg	1,441	800**	55.5	1,002	79.8
Trimble	12	6*	50.0	12	50.0
Union	1,386	700*	50.5	936	74.8
Warren	4,455	2,500*	56.1	3,469	72.1
Washington	1,306	296**	22.7	826	35.8
Wayne	443	326**	73.6	279	116.8
Webster	1,522	400****	26.3	1,140	35.1
Whitley	187	90*	48.1	140	64.3
Wolfe	11	5*	45.5	6	83.3
Woodford	1,677	850*	50.7	1,325	64.2
TOTALS	202,713	86,973	42.9	150,526	57.8

* Estimated from Census data and/or observation

** Estimated by County Clerk

*** Estimated from total registration given by County Clerk

**** Estimated by Party County Chairman

TABLE IV

NEGRO PARTY REGISTRATIONS IN KENTUCKY, 1956

COUNTY	Negro Democrat	%	Negro Repub.	%	Negro Indpt.	%	Total
Barren	116	13.4	744	85.8	7	.8	867
Boone	21	30.4	48	69.6	0	0	69
Bourbon	400	40.0	600	60.0	0	0	1,000
Boyd	105	35.0	192	64.0	3	1.0	300
Boyle	200	28.4	500	70.9	5	.7	705
Bracken	128	35.3	235	64.7	0	0	363
Breathitt	8	71.5	5	38.5	0	0	13
Breckinridge	246	54.5	201	44.6	4	.9	451
Bullitt	42	58.3	30	41.7	0	0	72
Butler	4	9.8	37	90.2	0	0	41
Caldwell	50	20.0	200	80.0	0	0	250
Calloway	150	57.7	100	38.5	10	3.8	350
Campbell	430	51.9	393	47.4	6	.7	829
Carlisle	10	20.0	40	80.0	0	0	50
Carroll	60	37.5	100	62.5	0	0	160
Clark	621	73.0	230	27.0	0	0	851
Clay	12	12.4	75	77.3	0	0	87
Crittenden	1	1.2	80	98.8	0	0	81
Cumberland	1	.3	300	98.7	3	1.0	304
Daviess	800	71.1	300	26.7	25	2.2	1,125
Estill	2	4.5	43	95.5	0	0	45
Fayette	2,600	46.2	2,914	51.8	108	1.9	5,622
Fleming	60	23.1	200	76.9	0	0	260
Franklin	578	67.9	264	31.0	9	1.1	851
Grayson	0	0	42	100.0	0	0	42
Green	0	0	275	100.0	0	0	275
Greenup	7	2.7	253	96.5	2	.8	262

TABLE IV (cont'd)

COUNTY	Negro Democrat	%	Negro Repub.	%	Negro Indpt.	%	Total
Hancock	5	18.5	20	74.1	2	7.4	27
Hardin	75	16.7	355	78.9	20	4.4	450
Harlan	1,500	33.3	3,000	66.7	0	0	3,500
Harrison	100	66.7	50	33.3	0	0	150
Hart	100	20.0	400	80.0	0	0	500
Henderson	1,400	94.7	78	5.3	0	0	1,478
Jefferson	11,825	47.3	12,220	48.8	975	3.9	25,000
Jessamine	300	66.7	150	33.3	0	0	450
Knott	200	88.9	25	21.1	0	0	225
Knox	5	2.5	195	97.5	0	0	200
Larue	300	75.0	100	25.0	0	0	400
Laurel	0	0	220	100.0	0	0	220
Lawrence	0	0	30	100.0	0	0	30
Letcher	728	90.4	74	9.2	3	.4	805
Lincoln	15	2.9	500	97.1	0	0	515
Livingston	15	36.6	25	61.0	1	.4	41
Lyon	50	33.3	100	66.7	0	0	150
Madison	950	57.6	700	42.4	0	0	1,650
McCracken	812	40.0	1,200	58.9	24	1.1	2,036
McLean	15	53.6	13	46.4	0	0	28
Mercer	250	42.4	325	55.1	15	2.5	590
Metcalfe	50	16.6	250	82.8	2	.6	302
Monroe	10	3.2	300	96.8	0	0	310
Montgomery	380	70.4	160	29.6	0	0	540
Muhlenberg	150	33.3	300	66.7	0	0	900
Ohio	0	0	180	100.0	0	0	180
Oldham	100	20.0	400	80.0	0	0	500
Owen	25	25.0	75	75.0	0	0	100

TABLE IV (cont'd)

COUNTY	Negro Democrat	%	Negro Repub.	%	Negro Indpt.	%	Total
Pendleton	10	20.0	40	80.0	0	0	50
Powell	15	10.7	125	89.3	0	0	140
Russell	0	0	40	100.0	0	0	40
Simpson	100	28.6	250	71.4	0	0	350
Spencer	25	20.0	100	80.0	0	0	125
Todd	725	48.3	775	41.7	0	0	1,500
Trigg	500	62.5	300	37.5	0	0	800
Washington	12	4.1	280	94.6	4	1.3	296
Wayne	1	.3	325	99.7	0	0	326
TOTALS	27,400	45.1	32,081	52.9	1,228	2.0	60,709

TABLE V

TOTAL PARTY REGISTRATIONS IN KENTUCKY, 1956

COUNTY	Democrat	%	Repub.	%	Indpt., Etc.	%	Total
Barren	9,018	72.3	3,363	27.0	94	.7	12,475
Bell	7,143	34.7	13,377	65.0	74	.3	20,594
Boone	5,800	85.8	950	14.1	11	.1	6,761
Bourbon	6,814	78.5	1,608	18.5	273	3.0	8,695
Boyd	14,874	57.1	10,862	41.7	332	1.2	26,068
Boyle	7,641	82.2	1,603	17.3	47	.5	9,291
Bracken	2,840	57.7	1,930	39.2	154	3.1	4,924
Breathitt	10,150	87.1	1,500	12.9	0	0	11,650
Breckinridge	5,947	50.9	5,601	47.9	137	1.2	11,685
Bullitt	6,472	85.9	990	13.1	72	1.0	7,534
Butler	2,121	34.3	4,053	65.6	7	.2	6,181
Caldwell	4,374	65.7	2,249	33.8	34	.5	6,657
Calloway	10,500	89.0	1,200	10.2	100	.8	11,800
Campbell	18,326	51.9	16,578	47.0	393	1.1	35,297
Carlisle	4,700	93.8	300	6.0	10	.2	5,010
Carroll	5,000	89.3	600	10.7	2	0	5,602
Christian	11,369	70.5	4,413	27.4	351	2.1	16,133
Clark	7,831	86.9	1,183	13.1	0	0	9,014
Clay	700	8.0	8,000	91.9	4	.1	8,704
Crittenden	2,000	39.9	3,000	59.9	10	.2	5,010
Cumberland	1,350	28.7	3,350	71.2	3	.1	4,703
Daviess	24,000	73.7	7,800	24.0	750	2.3	32,550
Estill	2,850	47.4	3,150	52.4	8	.2	6,008
Fayette	30,977	70.4	11,337	25.8	1,700	3.8	44,014
Fleming	5,800	58.6	4,000	40.4	100	1.0	9,900
Franklin	12,178	92.5	910	6.9	83	.6	13,171

TABLE V (cont'd)

COUNTY	Democrat	%	Repub.	%	Indpt., Etc.	%	Total
Grant	7,034	89.8	780	10.0	18	.2	7,832
Graves	16,614	94.1	999	5.7	41	.2	17,654
Grayson	3,600	37.9	5,600	58.9	300	3.2	9,500
Green	2,250	44.4	2,790	55.0	30	.6	5,070
Greenup	8,592	55.9	6,388	41.6	382	2.5	15,362
Hancock	1,960	54.9	1,600	44.8	10	.3	3,570
Hardin	11,101	79.8	2,606	18.7	200	1.5	13,907
Harlan	17,000	45.6	20,000	53.7	250	.7	37,250
Harrison	6,142	86.5	925	13.0	35	.5	7,102
Hart	6,309	56.0	4,861	43.2	87	.8	11,257
Henderson	15,425	95.5	730	4.5	0	0	16,155
Henry	6,203	78.0	1,655	20.8	98	1.2	7,956
Jefferson	135,493	57.0	75,355	31.7	26,696	11.3	237,544
Jessamine	5,350	77.5	1,400	20.3	150	2.2	6,900
Knott	12,240	96.4	450	3.5	5	.1	12,695
Knox	2,500	29.4	6,000	70.6	0	0	8,500
Larue	4,500	77.6	1,300	22.4	0	0	5,800
Laurel	2,800	27.9	7,200	71.9	18	.2	10,018
Lawrence	6,483	52.4	5,836	47.3	31	.3	12,350
Letcher	11,333	62.0	6,929	37.9	18	.1	18,280
Lincoln	7,998	61.0	5,003	38.2	113	.8	13,114
Livingston	2,800	66.3	1,400	33.1	25	.6	4,225
Lyon	3,458	88.3	440	11.2	16	.5	3,914
Madison	10,100	64.5	5,365	34.3	182	1.2	15,647
McCracken	26,336	85.4	4,502	14.6	0	0	30,838
McLean	3,600	66.0	1,700	31.2	157	2.8	5,457
Meade	4,382	85.6	703	13.7	32	.7	5,117
Mercer	6,500	77.4	1,800	21.4	100	1.2	8,400

TABLE V (cont'd)

COUNTY	Democrat	%	Repub.	%	Indpt., Etc.	%	Total
Metcalfe	3,142	52.2	2,862	47.6	11	.2	6,015
Monroe	1,250	22.5	4,300	77.3	10	.2	5,560
Montgomery	6,004	79.7	1,524	20.3	0	0	7,528
Muhlenberg	8,912	62.8	5,186	36.5	103	.7	14,201
Nicholas	3,752	87.3	535	12.4	11	.3	4,298
Ohio	3,980	43.4	5,037	54.9	155	1.7	9,172
Oldham	3,860	77.9	970	19.6	125	2.5	4,955
Owen	5,700	92.6	430	7.0	25	.4	6,155
Pendleton	4,152	73.3	1,483	26.2	30	.5	5,665
Powell	2,250	59.1	1,550	40.7	10	.2	3,810
Pulaski	9,000	35.7	16,000	63.5	200	.8	25,200
Russell	1,898	31.4	4,135	68.5	6	.1	6,039
Shelby	8,185	78.9	2,102	20.3	86	.8	10,373
Simpson	4,554	84.7	800	14.9	25	.4	5,379
Spencer	2,445	86.0	387	13.6	11	.4	2,843
Taylor	3,400	49.4	3,400	49.4	80	1.2	6,880
Todd	6,250	90.3	675	9.7	0	0	6,925
Trigg	5,119	86.3	800	13.5	10	.2	5,929
Warren	18,000	76.6	4,600	20.1	300	3.3	22,900
Washington	3,640	55.5	2,890	44.1	27	.4	6,557
Wayne	3,250	38.8	5,125	61.1	10	.1	8,385
Whitley	4,000	25.0	12,000	74.9	12	.1	16,012
Woodford	4,325	84.2	763	14.9	50	.9	5,138
TOTALS	685,946	63.1	365,778	33.7	35,040	3.2	1,086,764

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

October 3, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am transmitting to you the second half of the Kentucky fact-finding study, this part dealing with Negro political behavior in Louisville.

Should you need another copy of the study, I can supply it to you.

The Courier-Journal has got wind of the local analysis and has asked me to write a summary of it for the paper to appear before the election. I have put them off until I could get clearance from you. It is immaterial to me whether I do it or not but I would like some indication of policy on this point.

I have enjoyed working on this project and have learned many things about Kentucky and Louisville which I did not know before in the process.

Please feel free to call upon me for any type of assistance in the future.

Cordially yours,

Louis C. Kesselman

Louis C. Kesselman
Chairman

2 vouchers included

Louisville Negro Voting

FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Background

Louisville is a border city both geographically and in its pattern of race relations. Historically, Louisville has had more of a southern approach to the Negro. In 1860 there were 4,903 slaves and only 1,917 free Negroes in Louisville.[1] Segregation was practiced in most areas of education and recreation until the 1950's and is still a limiting factor in local employment, housing, health facilities and service in privately-owned places of public accommodation.

On the other hand, Louisville Negroes have enjoyed uninterrupted freedom to vote and participate in party politics since 1870. The border character of Louisville has also been demonstrated by its success in desegregating its University, public and parochial schools, public library, parks, swimming pools and golf courses without incident, all within the last half-dozen years.

Louisville is not an important Negro population center. In fact, both Kentucky and Louisville have been gaining white population faster than Negroes since 1900. In the state, there has actually been a decline in Negro population from 268,071 in 1900 to 201,921 in 1950.[2] While Louisville has increased its percentage of Kentucky's Negro population from 13.7 in 1900 to 28.6% in 1950 and the Negro group has grown numerically in the community over the years, the Negro proportion of the total city population has declined from 19.1% in 1900 to an estimated 15.1% in 1955.[3]

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[1] Census of the United States, Population, 1840-1940. See Table I.

[2] Table II.

However, the political significance of the Negro population is potentially greater than its proportion of Louisville's total population because of three factors:

1. Concentration of Negroes with a limited geographical area.

Although Negroes reside in every one of the city's twelve wards and in the great majority of census tract areas, housing segregation has resulted in a heavy concentration of Negroes in precincts in Wards 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10.[4]

The area of greatest concentration commonly called "Downtown" begins just outside the central business zone and extends north and south from Broadway to Jefferson and west from Sixth to beyond Thirty-first Street. This area includes most of the Negro business establishments, amusement centers, churches and the high school. Housing in this area ranges from substandard tenements close to the business zone to more desirable homes to the west where Negroes of higher socio-economic levels reside.

To the east of the central business district is another Negro area, the northern portion of which is known as "Uptown." This area is qualid and undesirable. "Smoketown," the southern section, has better housing and is inhabited by many home-owning white collar and professional workers.

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[3] Table I.

[4] Table III.

TABLE I

NEGRO POPULATION BY DECADES BETWEEN 1840-1950*
LOUISVILLE

Date	Total	Negro	% Negro
1840		4,049	
1850	43,194	6,970	16.2
1860	68,033	6,820	10.0
1870	100,753	14,956	14.8
1880	123,758	20,905	16.9
1890	161,129	28,651	17.8
1900	204,731	39,139	19.1
1910	223,928	40,522	18.1
1920	234,891	40,087	17.1
1930	307,745	47,354	15.4
1940	319,077	47,158	14.8
1950	369,129	57,772	15.7
1955	412,234**	62,109**	15.1**

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* Census of the United States, Population, 1840-1940 and 1950.

** Estimate.

TABLE II

NEGRO POPULATION BY DECADES BETWEEN 1840-1950*
KENTUCKY

Date	Total	Negro	% Negro
1840		189,575	
1850	982,405	220,992	20.5
1860	1,155,684	236,167	20.4
1870	1,321,011	222,210	16.8
1880	1,648,690	271,451	16.5
1890	1,858,635	268,071	14.4
1900	2,147,174	284,706	13.3
1910	2,289,905	261,656	11.4
1920	2,416,630	235,938	9.8
1930	2,614,589	226,040	8.6
1940	2,845,627	214,031	7.5
1950	2,944,806	201,921	6.9

* Census of the United States, Population, 1940-1940 and 1950.

TABLE III

POPULATION OF LOUISVILLE BY WARDS, 1940*

WARD	Total	Negro	% Negro
1	29,566	828	2.8
2	38,435	536	1.4
3	20,888	4,565	21.8
4	20,471	3,905	19.0
5	24,627	2,479	10.0
6	23,530	1,370	5.8
7	16,808	6,433	38.2
8	30,936	7,741	25.0
9	19,743	7,257	36.7
10	31,545	6,112	19.3
11	26,201	2,538	9.7
12	36,327	3,394	9.3
TOTAL	319,077	47,158	14.8

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* Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1940. II, page 311.

Southwest of the central business zone a series of Negro communities known as "California," "Cabbage Patch," "Little Africa," and "Parkland" extend to the city limits. Other Negro sections include "Portland," a slum area near the river, and the "Bottom" near the southeastern city limits.[5]

2. Systems of Nominating and Electing Public Officials.

The concentration of Negro population in Louisville is made potentially politically significant by the fact that members of the Louisville Board of Aldermen are nominated on a ward basis although they are elected by the city at large.[6] Negroes have been nominated from wards with large Negro populations in aldermanic elections regularly since 1945 and three have been elected, one Republican and two Democrats.

Kentucky General Assembly elections, as well as nominations are made on a legislative district basis. The 58th Legislative District in the 1930's was estimated to be 90% Negro. Several other legislative districts also have large Negro populations. This has encouraged nomination of Negroes for these state offices in several of the districts. In 1929, Dr. A. G. Edwards, a Negro Republican, was defeated in the primary in the contest for state representative from the 58th District. In 1935, both parties nominated Negroes from the 58th District. Charles W. Anderson(R) won and served six consecutive terms in the Kentucky Legislature.

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[5] Above description taken from Kerns, Harvey J., A Survey of the Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Negro Population of Louisville Kentucky and a Review of the Program and Activities of the Louisville Urban League. 1948. pp.13-16.

[6] The contrast with the Louisville Board of Education elections will be discussed in a later section.

Dennis Henderson(R), and Jesse Lawrence(R) have also been elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives more recently from this general area.

3. Increasing Mobility of the Negro Voter in his Party Affiliations.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties are paying increasingly greater attention to the Negro voter because he is demonstrating more and more mobility in his party affiliations.

From the beginnings of Negro suffrage in Louisville in 1870 down until the 1940's, the overwhelming majority of Negro voters followed the standard of the Republican party. Table IV shows that as late as 1931 there were only 129 registered Negro Democrats out of 26,434 registrations, one-half of one percent of the total. Table V reveals Louisville to be consistently in the Democratic party column in registrations and points up the importance of the Negro voter to the Republican party.[7]

The only major break from the Republican party before the 1940's was attempted by Louisville Negro political leaders in 1921. Negro leaders had accused the Republican party of being ungrateful for Negro support when the party refused to run a Negro candidate from the Tenth Ward for the Board of Aldermen.[8] Thereupon, a Lincoln party was formed which nominated a full slate of candidates for city and county offices as well as for the Kentucky

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[7] City Registration Office figures in 1921 showed that Negroes constituted 45% of the total number of registered Republicans. Collins, Ernest. *Political Behavior of the Negroes in Cincinnati and Louisville*. University of Kentucky, 1950, p. 75.

[8] *Ibid*., pp. 73-7.

TABLE IV

PARTY REGISTRATION, NEGRO VOTERS
LOUISVILLE, 1927-56

Month	Year	Democrats	%	Republicans	%	Indpts. & Misc.	%	Total
November	1927	223	.6	34,150	99.4	--	--	34,373*
June	1931	129	.5	25,760	97.4	545	2.1	26,434**
	1942	6,997	29.6	16,083	67.6	548	2.8	23,628
	1945	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,055
	1947	5,414	23.6	16,826	73.5	665	2.9	22,905
	1948	--	--	--	--	--	--	24,820
January	1949	5,764	22.8	18,554	73.5	926	3.7	25,244
June	1952	6,980	32.2	13,812	63.8	858	4.0	21,650
September	1956	11,825	47.3	12,220	48.5	975	4.2	25,000***

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* Democrats claimed from 5,000 to 12,000 too many Negro names on the registration books. *Courier-Journal*, November 4, 1927. Quoted by Collins, Ernest, *Political Behavior of the Negroes in Cincinnati and Louisville*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1950, p.79.

** *Louisville Leader*, June 20, 1931. Quoted by Collins, *Ibid*., p. 83.

*** Estimate.

TABLE V

TOTAL REGISTRATION - ALL VOTERS
LOUISVILLE, 1942-1956

Month	Year	Democrats	Republicans	Indpts. & Misc.	Total	Negro % of Total
--	1942	91,000	49,000	11,000	151,000	15.5
June	1946	81,971	47,399	12,032	141,402	15.6
--	1947	75,550	50,340	11,375	137,265	16.7
December	1948	80,112	56,583	13,261	149,956	16.6
--	1949	88,488	64,091	14,221	166,800	15.1
March	1950	79,835	53,707	11,797	145,364	--
November	1951	82,006	56,154	12,252	150,412*	--
November	1952	90,503	53,374	18,494	162,371*	14.4
November	1954	85,392	45,773	15,963	147,128	--
September	1955	89,323	45,070	14,858	149,290	--
September	1956	98,762	52,165	18,079	169,006**	14.1

* After Purgation

** Estimated After Purgation

General Assembly.[9] Despite an aggressive campaign, the insurgents utterly failed in their attempt to detach Negro voters from the Republican party. The total vote in the mayoralty race was 66,332 for the Republican candidate, 56,199 for the Democratic nominee and 271 for the Lincoln party standard bearer.

The Democratic party in Louisville did not solicit the Negro vote until the advent of the New Deal. More typically, the Democrats in the period before the 1930's charged that there were large numbers of illegal Negro Republican registrations and Negro "repeaters." For example, in 1927, the Democrats charged that 5,000 to 12,000 of the 34,150 Negro Republican registrations were fraudulent.[10]

In 1931, there were more Negro independents registered than Negro Democrats.[11] The 1932 Presidential election similarly demonstrated the hold which the Republican party continued to have over Negro voters. In Wards 7, 8 and 9, 36.7%, 31.7% and 34.2%, Negro, respectively, according to the 1930 census, Hoover received approximately 60% of the vote, whereas his vote in the city was only 48.7% of the total.

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[9] The party ran on the following platform:
"1. Absolute equality of opportunity
2. Racial representation at the forum where laws are made to tax our property
3. Our proportional share in the emoluments of official preferment
4. We owe absolute allegiance to neither political party
5. We can neither be bought nor bluffed."
Louisville Leader, September 24, 1921, quoted by Collins, Ibid., p.76.

[10] Collins, Ibid., p. 79.

[11] Table IV.

As late as 1935, Louisville Negro leaders were skeptical about supporting the Democratic party. The Louisville Defender editorialized:

> ....Roosevelt came in on a tidal wave of the forgotten man. It is fair to say that he has tried to serve the common man, but in a real sense he has forgotten us. In all the various setups of the New Deal, we are the least considered. Our race is disappointed with Roosevelt and disgusted with Hoover.[12]

The election returns from Ward 7, 8 and 9 in Louisville in 1936 gave Roosevelt 56.9%, 54.4% and 52.6% of the vote, a considerable increase for the Democrats over 1932. However, these wards, in which Negroes constituted about one-third of the population, were less Democratic than the city at large.

In the presidential election of 1940, the percentage of Democratic vote in districts with large Negro populations was approximately the same as in 1936. Again, the percentage of Democratic vote in these Negro wards was less than in the whole city.

The rise in Louisville Negro Democratic support seems to have resulted primarily from economic benefits received from the New Deal rather than from any special efforts of local Democrats to woo Negroes.[13] Indicative of the reaction of Negroes to the New Deal is a Louisville Defender editorial:

> That the Negro has shared some of the benefits of the New Deal is because it [sic] is so integrated with American life that it would be impossible to emerge from any economic dilemma without reasonable consideration of our largest minority group. The Negro has been denied a fair chance in American life for so long, that he is eager to show his appreciation for whatever rightful consideration is directed toward him.[14]

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[12] November 30, 1935. Quoted by Collins, op. cit., p. 85.

[13] In 1936, John C. Walker, a Louisville Negro Democrat, was an alternate to the Democratic National Convention.

[14] November 16, 1940. Quoted by Collins, op. cit., p. 89.

In the 1944 presidential election, Louisville Democrats made their first strong bid for Negro support. Emphasizing the economic contributions of the Roosevelt administration, the Democrats placed an advertisement in the Louisville Defender:

> The first, last, and only Republican president who honestly tried to do anything for the American Negro was Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln has been dead for 79 years. Ever since the Civil War the Republicans have been cashing in on Lincoln. They have been long on promises and short on performance. The Democratic party and Roosevelt have done more for the Negro than all the Republican presidents put together. They gave the Negro decent homes. They gave the Negro social security. They gave the Negro old age benefits. They gave the Negro greater equality in employment opportunities through FEPC.[15]

The 1944 Negro vote was almost evenly divided between Roosevelt and Dewey in Louisville. Of 5,526 votes cast in twenty-three precincts about 85% Negro in composition, Dewey received 50.1% and Roosevelt 49.9%. In Louisville at large, Dewey received only 42.1% to Roosevelt's 57.9%.[16]

1948 saw a decline in Louisville Negro support of the Democratic candidate for the presidency. In 23 precincts in which 88.4% of the registered voters were Negroes, Dewey received 63.1% of the vote and Truman only 35.7% of the total in contrast with his 52.3% of Louisville's total.[17] The passing of the magic of the Roosevelt personality is important in explaining the decline. It was also alleged that the failure of the local Democratic party to appoint Negroes to important posts in city government stirred up a rebellious mood on the part of Negro Democratic leaders.[18]

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[15] October 28, 1944.

[16] See Table XV.

[17] Ibid.

The ground lost in 1948 was almost complete regained by the Democrats in 1952 when Stevenson's percentage of the vote for President in these same twenty-three precincts rose to 48.3%. One significant aspect of Stevenson's inroad among Negro voters is the fact that his city-wide share of the total vote cast was only 47.1%, thus marking the first occasion on which Negro support for the Democratic party outstripped that of the general Louisville community.

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PRECINCTS

Despite the concentration of Negroes within neighborhoods in Louisville, referred to earlier, many of these districts have sizable white populations. Consequently, it is not desirable to use wards or large geographical areas to arrive at generalizations about Negro political behavior in Louisville.

This part of the study is based upon an analysis of twenty-three precincts which have been 85% or more Negro since 1947 or earlier.[19] In 1956, these selected precincts averaged 92.4% Negro in composition. It is believed that this sample of precincts, representing 57.1% of Louisville's Negro registration in 1947, 55.3% of the city's Negro total in 1948 and 37.2% of 1956's Negro total, contains a fair cross-section of Negro neighborhoods and socio-economic groups in Louisville.

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[18] Louisville Defender, April 2, 1949.

[19] Table VI.

The purpose of this section is to examine registrations and election returns over a period of ten years to determine the pattern of Negro political behavior in Louisville and to comment on the significance of the findings.[20]

1. Negro Registration Totals

Table VII shows a considerable decline in total Negro voter registrations between 1947 and 1956, when the total for these selected precincts fell from 11,546 to 8,589 in spite of an increase of Negro population in the city. The reasons for this decline include the following:

1. The 1952 and 1956 totals are dated thirteen and five weeks before the end of the registration periods for those years, whereas it is believed that the 1947 and 1948 statistics represent the totals at the end of the registration periods for those two years; and

2. There has been destruction of housing ~~for~~ to make room for commercial ~~purposes~~ enterprises in some of these precincts and movement of Negroes into other areas of the community.

On the other hand, a comparison of Negro population for the city (Table I) with total registrations (Table IV) indicates that Negro registrations have not kept pace with the growth of Negro population in Louisville. It has been suggested that the local Republican party no longer tries strenuously to get out the Negro vote because of the increasing uncertainty of whether Republicans would be the beneficiaries of this vote.

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[20] The period 1946-56 has been selected for concentration because precinct lines were altered in 1946 when voting machines were adopted in Louisville.

TABLE VI

REGISTRATION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS - NEGRO AND WHITE - TOTAL LOUISVILLE, 1947, 1948, 1955, 1956

	1947	1948*	8/1/55	8/1/56
WARD 4				
Precinct 5	576		474	502
7	648		434	412
8	544		423	441
14	553		436	375
	2,321	2,430	1,767	1,730
% Negro	87.3	87.5		90.8
WARD 7				
Precinct 2	492		332	296
3	663		483	470
5	553		425	424
8	572		403	382
	2,280	2,328	1,443	1,572
% Negro	86.7	85.4		91.3
WARD 8				
Precinct 5	632		425	425
6	549		247	416
7	545		486	325
8	491		403	376
9	430		461	307
11	440		564	267
12	650		381	333
	3,737	3,940	2,967	2,449
% Negro	90.8	91.2		93.3
WARD 9				
Precinct 7	569		437	419
8	482		430	416
9	675		569	534
	1,726	1,831	1,436	1,369
% Negro	91.7	93.4		95.0
WARD 10				
Precinct 7	655		469	455
8	504		450	444
9	685		445	442
	1,844	1,896	1,364	1,341
% Negro	79.3	78.4		90.0
WARD 12				
Precinct 23	636		564	486
24	547		373	350
	1,183	1,301	937	836
% Negro	93.4	94.0		94.4
TOTALS	13,091	13,726	9,914	9,297
TOTAL % NEGRO	88.1	88.4		92.4

* Precinct Breakdown not available.

TABLE VII

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS
LOUISVILLE, 1947, 1948, 1952, 1956

		1947	1948*	6/3/52	8/1/56
WARD 4					
Precinct	5	547		544	494
	7	629		420	391
	8	364		482	355
	14	486		463	331
		2,026	2,127	1,909	1,571
WARD 7					
Precinct	2	394		426	249
	3	643		559	435
	5	458		386	401
	8	482		402	350
		1,977	1,997	1,773	1,435
WARD 8					
Precinct	5	616		576	417
	6	541		514	412
	7	536		461	319
	8	360		335	328
	9	347		287	254
	11	372		348	232
	12	620		464	324
		3,392	3,594	2,985	2,286
WARD 9					
Precinct	7	551		452	412
	8	476		482	409
	9	556		458	480
		1,583	1,710	1,392	1,301
WARD 10					
Precinct	7	487		455	427
	8	307		352	344
	9	669		567	436
		1,463	1,488	1,374	1,207
WARD 12					
Precinct	23	583		487	448
	24	522		492	341
		1,105	1,224	979	789
TOTALS		11,546	12,140	10,412	8,589

* Precinct breakdown not available.

TABLE VIII

NEGRO PARTY REGISTRATION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, 1952 AND 1956

		6/3/52				8/1/56			
		Dems.	Reps.	Indpts.	Total	Dems.	Reps.	Indpts.	Total
WARD 4									
Precinct	5	244	282	18	544	277	194	23	494
	7	127	227	16	370	151	228	12	391
	8	100	373	9	482	89	249	17	355
	14	145	303	15	463	138	179	14	331
		616	1,185	58	1,859	655	850	66	1,571
WARD 7									
Precinct	2	217	203	6	426	159	87	3	249
	3	225	324	10	559	239	182	14	435
	5	125	247	14	386	195	190	16	401
	8	136	254	12	402	162	174	14	350
		703	1,028	42	1,773	755	633	47	1,435
WARD 8									
Precinct	5	202	363	11	576	196	206	15	417
	6	260	250	4	514	312	94	6	412
	7	151	301	9	461	155	154	10	319
	8	115	208	12	335	162	150	16	328
	9	66	207	14	287	74	168	12	254
	11	109	230	9	348	96	133	3	232
	12	221	232	11	464	202	114	8	324
		1,124	1,791	70	2,985	1,197	1,019	70	2,286
WARD 9									
Precinct	7	73	357	22	452	186	211	15	412
	8	133	313	36	482	175	201	33	409
	9	155	269	34	458	302	157	21	480
		361	939	92	1,392	663	569	69	1,301
WARD 10									
Precinct	7	90	347	18	455	131	279	17	427
	8	77	247	28	352	128	197	19	344
	9	134	389	44	567	143	258	35	436
		301	983	90	1,374	402	734	71	1,207
WARD 12									
Precinct	23	155	304	28	487	184	235	29	448
	24	261	221	10	492	210	127	4	341
		416	525	38	979	394	362	33	789
TOTALS		3,521	6,451	390	10,362	4,066	4,167	356	8,589
%		33.98	62.26	3.76	100.0	47.34	48.52	4.14	100.0

TABLE IX

PARTY REGISTRATION SWITCHES AMONG LOUISVILLE NEGROES IN SELECTED PRECINCTS NOVEMBER, 1952 - AUGUST 1, 1956*

	To Dem.	To Rep.	To Indpt.
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	34	9	3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	49	17	3
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8,9,11,12	46	13	2
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	52	5	0
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	21	5	0
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	18	10	0
TOTALS	220	59	8
% of Total Switches	76.7	20.5	2.8
% of 1956 Reg. in the above precincts	.0259	.007	.001

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* Includes only those registered on August 1, 1956.

TABLE X

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR IN NEGRO PRECINCTS AND CITY, LOUISVILLE, 1947*

	Number Registered Voters	% Negro	Number Voting	% Registered Voters Voting
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	2,321	87.2	1,467	63.2
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	2,280	86.7	1,344	58.9
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8,9, 11,12	3,737	90.7	2,250	60.2
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	1,726	91.7	1,009	58.4
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	1,844	79.3	1,049	56.8
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	1,183	93.4	728	61.5
TOTAL	13,091	88.1	7,847	59.9
LOUISVILLE	137,296		89,534	65.1

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* Official Election Returns Jefferson County, Louisville, 1947.

TABLE XI

VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NEGRO PRECINCTS AND CITY, LOUISVILLE, 1948*

	Total Registration	Negroes Registered	% Negroes	Number Voting	% Voting
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	2,430	2,127	87.5	1,685	69.3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	2,328	1,997	85.7	1,500	64.4
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	3,940	3,594	91.2	2,523	64.0
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	1,831	1,710	93.3	1,230	67.1
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	1,896	1,488	78.4	1,270	67.0
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	1,301	1,224	94.0	895	68.7
TOTAL	13,726	12,140	88.4	9,103	66.3
LOUISVILLE	149,959	24,820	16.5	111,357	74.2

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1948.

TABLE XII

VOTE FOR U.S. SENATOR IN NEGRO PRECINCTS AND CITY, LOUISVILLE, 1950*

	Number Registered Voters	Number Voting	% Registered Voters Voting
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	2,279	1,226	53.8
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	2,242	1,139	50.8
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	3,793	1,828	48.2
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	1,725	886	51.4
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	1,743	865	59.6
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	1,019	532	52.2
TOTAL	12,801	6,476	50.6
LOUISVILLE	143,493	84,731	59.0

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1950.

TABLE XIII

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, LOUISVILLE, 1945, 1948, 1949, 1953*

	1945		1948		1949		1953		
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Others
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	276	434	508	1,130	446	1,022	532	722	7
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	312	502	550	919	488	1,013	555	619	7
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	457	824	873	1,602	766	1,572	822	985	19
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	354	194	424	740	351	721	429	564	5
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	313	827	460	741	369	789	351	685	16
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	236	216	362	501	301	404	346	357	11
TOTAL	1,948	2,997	3,177	5,633	2,721	5,421	3,035	3,932	65
%	39.4	60.6	36.1	63.9	33.4	66.6	43.2	55.9	.9
LOUISVILLE	46,798	46,577	61,029	49,613	54,785	43,136	59,918	48,193	470
%	50.1	49.9	55.2	45.8	55.9	44.1	55.1	44.4	.5

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1945, 1948, 1949 and 1953.

TABLE XIV

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, KENTUCKY GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS, LOUISVILLE, 1943, 1947, 1951, 1955*

	1943		1947			1951		1955		
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Others	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Others
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	235	296	320	1,147	3	415	752	478	594	18
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	299	349	422	922	5	437	567	463	405	2
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	286	559	648	1,501	12	611	1,058	744	723	14
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	266	146	224	785	8	288	466	439	465	7
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	211	677	270	779	13	282	568	293	547	9
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	174	163	253	475	5	260	294	230	295	1
TOTAL	1,471	2,190	2,137	5,609	46	2,293	3,705	2,647	3,029	51
%	40.0	60.0	27.4	72.0	.6	38.2	61.8	46.2	52.9	.9
LOUISVILLE	34,151	36,797	48,588	40,565	381	45,505	38,184	51,985	44,656	650
%	48.1	51.9	54.3	45.7	.0	54.4	45.6	53.4	45.9	.7

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1943, 1947, 1951, 1955.

TABLE XV

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, LOUISVILLE, 1944, 1948, 1952*

	1944		1948			1952		
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Prog. Etc.	Dem.	Rep.	Prog. Etc.
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	409	369	524	1,146	15	739	804	14
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	471	458	554	926	20	721	679	10
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8,9, 11,12	503	794	889	1,619	15	1,043	1,156	21
WARD 9 7,8,9	451	166	439	767	24	605	634	10
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	621	736	471	778	21	566	723	8
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	303	245	374	512	9	454	346	8
TOTAL	2,758	2,768	3,251	5,748	104	4,128	4,342	71
%	49.9	50.1	35.7	63.1	1.2	48.3	50.8	.9
LOUISVILLE	66,743	48,462	58,327	52,491	640	64,748	71,598	602
%	57.9	42.1	52.3	47.1	.6	47.1	52.3	.6

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1944, 1948, 1952.

2. Negro Party Registration Trends

Table VIII shows in detail for each of the twenty-three precincts the extent of the movement away from the Republican party to the Democratic party in the last four years. Between 1952 and 1956, all except Precinct 7 of Ward 4 lost Republican registrations; even in this precinct the Republicans gained only one registration while the Democrats gained twenty-four. The Democrats showed gains in sixteen of the twenty-three precincts.

The total Republican loss for these precincts between 1952 and 1956 was 2,284 or 35.4%; the Democrats gained 545 or 15.5%, leaving 1,739 Republicans unaccounted for. That they did not shift their registrations to the "Independent" column is seen by the 8.7% loss in "Independent" registrations.

One possible explanation of the Republican decline is that these voters moved to other parts of the city. However, Table IV shows an approximate one-third decline in Negro Republican registrations between 1949 and 1956, indicating that this is probably not the case. While there has been a shift to the Democratic party, many Negro Republicans are no longer registered in these precincts.

3. Negro Party Registration Switches

Table IX represents an effort to trace actual party registration switches for individual Negro voters since 1952. The registration cards in Kentucky's closed primary system list not only party affiliation but also changes in party choice and when they were made. The number of recorded switches, 287, was only 3.4% of the 8,589 registered Negroes in these twenty-three precincts. Since only the active registration file was examined, it is not known how many voters switched in this period but were not active registrants on August 1, 1956. Nor is it known how many 1952 voters lost their registration by failing to vote in 1954 and switched parties when new cards were made out for them after 1954.[21]

Nevertheless, the Democratic party received 76.7% of the switches which were studied, further demonstrating the pattern of Negro voter movement from the Republican to the Democratic party.

4. Negro Participation in Elections

Do Louisville Negroes make as much use of their voting power as does the general community? In terms of registrations, in 1952, the only year for which dependable census and coinciding registration figures are available, 55.7% of the total group 21 and over were registered while 52.4% of the eligible Negro group were on the registration books.[22]

Examination of turn-out of registered Negro voters in three separate elections suggests that they lag behind the total group of Louisville voters in exercising their franchise:

Table X indicates that the turn-out of registered voters in the twenty-three predominantly Negro precincts in the 1947 gubernatorial election was 59.9% of the total, while 65.1% of those registered in Louisville voted.

Table XI shows that the turn-out in the 1948 Presidential election in these same precincts was 66.3% of those registered in contrast with 74.2% for Louisville.

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[21] Kentucky has a permanent registration system, requiring only a vote in biennial general elections to keep the registration active, unless the status of the registrant has changed.

Table XII reveals that only 50.6% of the registrants in these precincts voted in the 1950 U.S. Senatorial election whereas 59.0% of the city's registered voters cast votes.[23]

In short, the general pattern seems to be that Negro participation in Louisville elections is somewhat less than the city-wide percentage of participation.

5. Variations in Negro Party Vote in Types of Elections

Has the Negro trend towards the Democratic party in recent Louisville elections been the same in local, state and national elections or has the appeal of the national Democratic program and candidates, on the one hand, and the lag in the local Democratic party in Negro votes, on the other, caused Negro voters to vote more Democratic in national elections than in state and local campaigns?

Table XIII sets forth the Democratic vote in four Louisville mayoralty elections from 1945 through 1953. The Democratic percentages for these elections in the twenty-three predominantly Negro precincts were 39.4, 36.1, 33.4, and 43.2, for an average of 38%. The city-wide Democratic percentages for these same elections were 50.1, 55.2, 55.9 and 55.1, for an average of 54.1%.

Table XIV presents the Louisville Democratic vote in four gubernatorial elections from 1943 through 1955. The Democratic percentages in the same twenty-three precincts for these elections were

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[22] Census of the United States, Vol.II, Part 17, Kentucky. Table 33 - Age, by Color & Sex, for Standard Metropolitan Areas, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Places of 10,000 or More: 1950, and Tables IV and V above.

[23] It should be noted that in the three above tables the voting performance of all the voters in the selected precincts is measured because the Negro votes cast cannot be segregated from the totals. This is also true of all the following tables.

40.0, 27.4, 38.2, and 46.2 for an average of 38%, the same as for the mayoralty elections. The Louisville Democratic average in these races was 52.6%.

Table XV gives the same information for three Presidential elections from 1944 through 1952. These twenty-three precincts gave Democratic candidates 49.9%, 35.7% and 48.3% of their votes, for an average of 44.6%. The Democratic average for the entire city was 52.4%.

Negro support of the Democratic party in Louisville elections since 1943 has been greater for national Democratic candidates than for state and local Democratic nominees by a margin of 6.6%.

6. Negroes and Issues Elections

Is there any difference between Negro and general community voting performances in elections in which special issues are at stake? Examination of eighteen municipal, school and state constitutional amendment elections reveals the rather remarkable fact that on every one of the eighteen issues, the twenty-three predominantly Negro precincts voted "yes" in larger proportions than did the total of Louisville voters.

Table XVI deals with municipal bond issue elections for such purposes as police building, university, hospital and sewage disposal plant construction. All of these issues passed but the average vote for them was 88.4% in the predominantly Negro precincts and only 74.7% in the city as a whole.

Table XVII shows that these same Negro precincts have been considerably more friendly towards local school levies than has the general Louisville public. The average vote has been 82.8% favorable by Negro precincts while only 57.7% of the city's voters approved.

TABLE XVI

NEGRO VOTE IN SELECTED PRECINCTS AND CITY-WIDE VOTE IN SPECIAL MUNICIPAL BOND ISSUE ELECTIONS LOUISVILLE, 1949, 1952, 1953 AND 1955 *

Year	Negro % For	Negro % Against	City-Wide % For	City-Wide % Against
1949	78.7	21.3	66.5	33.5
1952	91.1	8.9	72.4	27.6
1952	94.2	5.8	78.7	21.3
1952	93.4	6.6	70.0	30.0
1953	82.2	17.8	81.1	18.9
1955	90.8	9.2	79.7	20.3
AVERAGE	88.4	11.6	74.7	25.3

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County.

TABLE XVI A

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL BOND ISSUE ELECTION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, 1949*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	111	25	81.6	18.4
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	40	6	87.0	13.0
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	84	27	75.7	24.3
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	38	6	86.4	13.6
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	72	29	71.3	28.7
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	18	5	78.3	21.7
TOTAL	363	98	78.7	21.3
LOUISVILLE	16,418	8,275	66.5	33.5

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1949.

TABLE XVI B

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL CITY BOND ISSUES ELECTION (CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION) IN SELECTED PRECINCTS
LOUISVILLE, 1952 *

	Police Bldg.			Hospital			University		
	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes	Yes	No	% Yes
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	163	19	89.6	213	12	94.7	301	15	95.3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	371	20	94.4	398	15	96.4	386	22	94.6
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	307	31	90.8	300	18	94.3	305	27	91.9
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	326	29	91.8	366	23	94.1	373	31	92.3
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	266	25	91.4	281	14	95.3	331	25	93.0
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	75	12	62.5	124	22	84.9	154	10	93.9
TOTAL	1,508	136 (8.9%)	91.1	1,682	104 (5.8%)	94.2	1,850	130 (6.6%)	93.4
LOUISVILLE	41,595	15,842 (27.6%)	72.4	48,047	12,979 (21.3%)	78.7	41,852	17,815 (30.0%)	70.0

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1952.

TABLE XVI C

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL CITY BOND ISSUE ELECTION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS
SEWAGE TREATMENT AND DISPOSAL PLANT
LOUISVILLE, 1953*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	63	15	80.8	19.2
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	61	11	84.7	15.3
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	71	29	71.0	29.0
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	69	13	84.1	15.9
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	113	16	87.6	12.4
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	38	6	86.4	13.6
TOTAL	415	90	82.2	17.8
LOUISVILLE	33,769	7,874	81.1	18.9

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1953.

TABLE XVI D

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL BOND ISSUE ELECTION IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, 1955*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	55	10	84.6	15.4
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	123	3	97.6	2.4
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	122	18	84.7	15.3
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	153	11	93.3	6.7
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	89	12	88.1	11.9
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	31	4	88.6	11.4
TOTAL	573	58	90.8	9.2
LOUISVILLE	26,283	6,695	79.7	20.3

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1955.

TABLE XVII

NEGRO VOTE IN SELECTED PRECINCTS AND CITY-WIDE VOTE IN SCHOOL TAX AND BOND ISSUE ELECTIONS LOUISVILLE, 1946, 1953, 1955 AND 1956*

Year	Negro % For	Negro % Against	City-Wide % For	City-Wide % Against
1946	97.5	2.5	86.8	13.2
1953	89.0	11.0	65.8	34.2
1955	67.7	32.3	35.0	65.0
1956	76.8	23.2	43.3	56.7
AVERAGE	82.8	17.2	57.7	42.3

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County.

TABLE XVII A

VOTE ON SCHOOL BOND ISSUE IN SELECTED NEGRO PRECINCTS, LOUISVILLE, 1946*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	979	19	98.0	2.0
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	511	9	98.2	1.8
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	839	15	98.2	1.8
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	695	20	97.2	2.8
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	484	19	96.2	3.8
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	233	13	94.7	5.3
TOTALS	3,741	95	97.5	2.5
LOUISVILLE	39,018	5,899	86.8	13.2

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1946.

TABLE XVII B

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL SCHOOL TAX ELECTION (REAL PROPERTY LEVY) IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, 1953*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	370	38	90.7	9.3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	216	25	89.6	10.4
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	197	29	87.2	12.8
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	401	42	90.5	9.5
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	179	35	83.6	16.4
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	73	9	89.0	11.0
TOTALS	1,436	178	89.0	11.0
LOUISVILLE	29,402	15,271	65.8	34.2

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1953.

TABLE XVII C

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL SCHOOL TAX ELECTION (REAL PROPERTY LEVY) IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, 1955 *

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	219	84	72.3	27.7
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	196	43	82.0	18.0
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	146	112	56.6	43.4
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	262	106	71.2	28.8
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	189	99	65.6	34.4
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	66	68	49.3	50.7
TOTALS	1,078	512	67.7	32.3
LOUISVILLE	21,309	39,637	35.0	65.0

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1955.

TABLE XVII D

NEGRO VOTE IN SPECIAL SCHOOL TAX ELECTION (½ of 1% OCCUPATIONAL TAX) IN SELECTED PRECINCTS LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, JULY 7, 1956*

	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	273	61	81.7	18.3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	131	38	77.5	22.5
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	225	68	76.8	23.2
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	145	42	77.5	22.5
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	170	79	68.3	31.7
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	67	17	79.8	20.2
TOTALS	1,011	305	76.8	23.2
LOUISVILLE	13,739	17,981	43.3	56.7

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1956.

The 1955 and 1956 proposals were turned down by Louisville voters by convincing margins. If the community had followed the lead of the Negro precincts, the levies would have passed easily.

Table XVIII reveals the same picture with reference to state constitutional amendments. The twenty-three precincts averaged 75.8% favorable on eight proposals in contrast with only 59.6 for the total group. In 1951, Louisville gave only 44.2% of its support to an amendment to permit more than two constitutional amendments in any election while the Negro precincts were 71.2% in favor of the change. The smallest Negro majority, 67.4%, was cast for the proposal to lower the voting age to eighteen.

The reasons for and significance of the strongly favorable attitude of Negro voters towards issues in Louisville elections needs further study. It should be determined whether predominantly white precincts with comparable socio-economic backgrounds behave similarly. Secondly, it is important to study Negro voting on issues in other cities to determine whether this is unique or a general pattern.

If this should be a general Negro or lower socio-economic class pattern, it raises an interesting suffrage theory question. In the historical conflict over liberalization of the suffrage, conservatives alleged that the lower classes, if given the vote, among other things, would vote for change for the sake of change, or for higher taxes, because they have no stake in the status quo or in property rights. That this is so has generally been denied. If further study bears out the above findings does it suggest that those opposed to extension of the suffrage to lower income groups were correct in their fears?

On the other hand, it could be argued that all or most of the

TABLE XVIII

NEGRO VOTE IN SELECTED PRECINCTS AND CITY-WIDE VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS LOUISVILLE, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953 and 1955*

Year	Negro % For	Negro % Against	City-Wide % For	City-Wide % Against
1947	79.1	20.9	55.1	44.9
1949	82.0	18.0	69.8	30.2
1949	82.0	18.0	64.7	35.3
1951	71.2	28.8	44.2	55.8
1953	72.1	27.9	57.2	42.8
1953	71.8	28.2	58.5	41.5
1955	67.4	32.6	50.4	49.6
1955	80.6	19.4	77.2	22.8
AVERAGE	75.8	24.2	59.6	40.4

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County.

TABLE XVIII A

VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRECINCTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1947*

	% Negro	For	Against	% For
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	87.2	199	35	85.0
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	86.7	100	28	78.1
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	90.7	209	53	79.7
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	91.7	284	48	85.5
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	79.3	191	62	75.4
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	93.4	44	45	49.4
TOTALS	88.1	1,027	271	79.1
LOUISVILLE		21,290	17,315	55.1

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1947

TABLE XVIII B

VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRECINCTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1949*

	Issue No. 1: Permit More State Aid to Local Schools			Issue No. 2: Lift $5,000 Limit on State Salaries		
	For	Against	% For	For	Against	% For
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	139	19	88.0	203	28	87.9
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	39	10	79.6	39	10	79.6
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	98	20	90.7	80	14	85.1
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	51	10	83.6	53	11	82.8
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	72	28	72.0	77	33	70.0
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	19	5	79.2	18	7	72.0
TOTALS	418	92		470	103	
%	82.0	18.0	82.0	82.0	18.0	82.0
LOUISVILLE	18,511	8,000		18,644	10,182	
%	69.8	30.2	69.8	64.7	35.3	64.7

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1949.

TABLE XVIII C

VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRECINCTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1951*

	Issue: Whether to Permit More Than Two Amendments at One Election			
	For	Against	% For	% Against
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	18	9	66.7	33.3
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	12	6	66.7	33.3
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	6	5	54.5	45.4
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	11	1	91.7	8.3
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	33	13	71.7	28.3
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	9	2	81.8	18.2
TOTALS	89	36	71.2	28.8
LOUISVILLE	7,527	9,518	44.2	55.8

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1951.

TABLE XVIII D

VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRECINCTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1953*

	Issue No. 1 Earmarking Public School Funds			Issue No. 2 Short Ballot		
	For	Against	% For	For	Against	% For
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	48	18	72.7	28	15	65.1
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	37	6	86.0	30	6	83.3
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	65	25	72.2	47	25	65.3
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	42	17	71.2	28	18	60.9
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	75	35	68.2	70	21	76.9
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	36	16	69.2	21	3	88.0
TOTALS	303	117		224	88	
%	72.1	27.9	72.1	71.8	28.2	71.8
LOUISVILLE	19,195	14,334		17,032	12,078	
%	57.2	42.8	57.2	58.5	41.5	58.5

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1953.

TABLE XVIII E

VOTE ON KENTUCKY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRECINCTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1955*

	Issue No. 1 Lower Voting Age to 18			Issue No. 2 Exempt Household Goods from/ Pers.Prop.Tax		
	For	Against	% For	For	Against	% For
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	44	30	59.5	64	13	83.1
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	41	13	75.9	62	12	83.8
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	80	35	69.6	81	32	71.7
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	45	22	67.2	65	10	86.7
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	69	31	69.0	106	23	82.2
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	29	18	61.7	46	12	79.3
TOTALS	308	149		424	102	
%	67.4%	32.5%	67.4	80.6%	19.4%	80.6
LOUISVILLE	21,389	21,039		34,346	10,155	
%	50.4%	49.6%	50.4	77.2%	22.8%	77.2

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* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, Louisville, 1955.

issues voted upon were in the interest of the general public and that the predominantly Negro precincts showed better judgment than did the population as a whole.

7. Negro Bloc Voting in Louisville

Do Negroes vote as a bloc in Louisville elections? It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Negroes are displaying increasing division on party issues and candidates and that there is no discernible bloc voting in general elections.

However, the pattern is mixed when there is a Negro candidate in the race. In four Louisville school board elections since 1946, Negro candidates have run far ahead of the white candidates in all of the twenty-three precincts with heavy Negro populations. In fact, these Negro candidates obtained 30.4%, 31.6%, 31.1% and 19% of their total votes from these twenty-three precincts.[24] If this constitutes bloc voting, it should be noted that the heavy vote against the Negro candidates in the predominantly white precincts and wards might also be called bloc voting.

On the other hand, bloc voting along racial lines is not a factor in Louisville aldermanic races. Candidates are nominated from wards but are elected at large. Party considerations, not race seem to be all-important in determining victory or defeat in the battle for these offices.

Table XXIII shows that Clayton, a Negro Republican, won office in 1947 along with the other eleven Republican candidates, the difference between his city-wide vote and the other winning candidates being less than 400.

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[24] Tables XIX, XX, XXI and XXII.

TABLE XIX

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTION, TWO NEGRO CANDIDATES, THREE VICTORIOUS WHITE CANDIDATES AND FOURTH PLACE WHITE CANDIDATE LOUISVILLE, 1946*

	Altsheler	Kirwan	Girdler	Sherrill	Young**	Lawrence**
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	23	44	19	17	802	267
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	16	33	56	15	389	481
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	28	52	45	25	760	677
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	28	29	18	14	557	487
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	32	68	55	27	466	499
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	10	19	18	3	300	385
TOTALS	137	245	211	101	3,274	2,796
LOUISVILLE	17,082	14,784	14,355	13,646	13,558	6,408
Place Among 13 Candidates	1	2	3	4	5	10

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1946.

** Negro Candidates.

TABLE XX

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTION, VICTORIOUS CANDIDATES AND NEGRO CANDIDATE, LOUISVILLE, 1948*

	STEPHENSON	WALKER	JACKSON**
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	27	48	665
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	17	19	379
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	22	34	715
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	17	31	504
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	44	51	375
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	9	6	258
TOTALS	136	189	2,896
LOUISVILLE	15,209	16,549	9,173

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1948.

** Negro Candidate

TABLE XXI

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTION, VICTORIOUS CANDIDATES AND NEGRO CANDIDATE, LOUISVILLE, 1952*

	Spears	Walker	Hughlett**
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	10	8	357
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	9	12	271
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	10	18	252
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	12	22	421
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	17	37	419
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	12	11	115
TOTALS	70	108	1,835
LOUISVILLE	11,664	14,276	5,901

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1952.

** Negro Candidate.

TABLE XXII

VOTE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS, CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTION, VICTORIOUS CANDIDATES AND NEGRO CANDIDATE, LOUISVILLE, 1954*

	Embry	Altsheler	Byck	Hughlett**
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	20	22	28	359
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	10	13	21	182
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	36	28	45	230
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	24	33	54	413
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	104	51	58	460
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	10	14	20	190
TOTALS	204	161	226	1,834
LOUISVILLE	20,523	19,621	21,510	9,663

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1954.

** Negro Candidate.

TABLE XXIII

VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN ALDERMEN, LOUISVILLE, 1947*

Ward	Name	Votes
1	Henry Wales	38,921
2	C. Paul Donard	38,975
3	Stanley R. Beckhart	39,033
4	Charles A. Kolner	39,026
5	W. B. Furgeson	39,077
6	James T. Clark	38,624
7	Robert E. Kittle	38,824
8	Fred E. Gagel	39,087
9	Charles E. Howell	38,903
10	Eugene Clayton**	38,993
11	Arthur L. Welteur	38,961
12	Linton H. Erdman	38,952

* Official Election Returns of Jefferson County, 1947.

** Negro Candidate.

Table XXIV reveals that in 1953, Republican aldermanic candidates ran ahead of Democratic nominees, whether they were Negro or white, in the twenty-three predominantly Negro precincts and that all the Democrats were elected in the city at large whether they were Negro or white.

Finally, Table XXV indicates the same pattern in 1955, when Beckett, a Negro Democrat, ran behind his white Republican opponent in the twenty-three heavily Negro precincts in spite of the fact that Beckett was swept into office along with the white Democrats in the city.

The difference between the school board and aldermanic election patterns seems to be that the former involves a nonpartisan election in which the candidate himself is the focus of attention, whereas the latter involves a party slate, with all of the pressures for straight ticket voting which the parties can bring to bear.

What happens in a race in which two Negro candidates are entered, when there are no party considerations, is illustrated by the school board election of 1946 (Table XIX). In that election Lawrence polled 6,408 and Young, 13,558. Young placed fifth in an election in which four were elected by a mere 88 votes. Had Lawrence not been in the race, it is safe to assume that Young would have been elected. 43.6% of Lawrence's total vote was cast in the twenty-three precincts with heavy Negro populations. (The outcome of this election suggests that while Negroes strongly support Negro candidates in school board elections in Louisville, there is not sufficient directed bloc voting to avoid splitting the Negro vote when more than one Negro enters the race.)

TABLE XXIV

VOTE FOR 8th AND 9th WARD NEGRO AND WHITE CANDIDATES AND COMPARISON WITH 1st WARD WHITE CANDIDATES IN SELECTED PRECINCTS IN ALDERMANIC ELECTION LOUISVILLE, 1953*

	8th Ward Candidates		9th Ward Candidates		1st Ward Candidates	
	Beckett(D)**	Beyrodt(R)	Siemens(D)	Lawrence(R)**	Bruce(D)	Krieger(R)
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	535	710	529	719	532	713
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	563	598	547	616	554	603
WARD 8 5,6,7,8 9,11,12	827	968	811	983	816	970
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	431	558	419	570	421	561
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	354	673	337	689	345	679
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	345	355	342	357	343	357
TOTAL	3,055	3,862	2,985	3,934	3,011	3,883
LOUISVILLE	59,637	47,491	59,557	47,601	59,744	47,520

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1953.

** Negro Candidates.

TABLE XXV

VOTE FOR 8th WARD NEGRO AND WHITE CANDIDATES AND COMPARISON WITH 1st WARD WHITE CANDIDATE IN SELECTED PRECINCTS IN ALDERMANIC ELECTION LOUISVILLE, 1955*

	8th Ward Beckett(D)**	8th Ward Haddad(R)	1st Ward Thomas(D)
WARD 4 Precincts 5,7,8,14	469	565	466
WARD 7 Precincts 2,3,5,8	461	380	456
WARD 8 Precincts 5,6,7,8, 9,11,12	740	687	734
WARD 9 Precincts 7,8,9	443	439	434
WARD 10 Precincts 7,8,9	294	500	281
WARD 12 Precincts 23,24	227	264	221
TOTAL	2,634	2,835	2,592
LOUISVILLE	53,968	39,423	54,202

* Official Election Returns, Jefferson County, 1955.

** Negro Candidate.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings may be summarized as follows:

1. Negroes have been free to vote and participate in party activities in Louisville since 1870.

2. The political significance of the Negro population is potentially greater than its proportion of Louisville's total population because of:

   a) Concentration of Negroes within a limited geographical area;

   b) nomination and election systems for the Board of Aldermen and the Kentucky General Assembly; and

   c) increasing mobility of the Negro voter in his party affiliations.

3. Down until the 1930's the potential of Negro political power was not even partially realized because the Negro vote was completely controlled by the Republican party.

4. Only since the Republican monopoly was broken have Negroes begun to receive consistent recognition as candidates for the Board of Aldermen and the Kentucky General Assembly by both parties.

5. The movement of Louisville Negro voters from the Republican party was largely the result of national rather than local factors.

6. The Negro trend to the Democratic party continued in the 1952 Presidential election in spite of the general drop in the Democratic vote in Louisville.

7. The rise in Negro identification with the Democratic party only partially accounts for the loss in Negro Republican registrations. Many of the latter no longer register or vote. Among

the possible explanations is the reluctance of the Republican party to get out what is now an undependable vote.

8. Republicans have failed to woo back the Negro vote in Louisville since 1952. Switches in party registrations since that year show a continued movement to the Democratic party.

9. Negro participation in Louisville elections has lagged behind the city-wide percentage of participation by from 5% to 8% in three elections studied.

10. Negro support of the Democratic party since 1943 has been greater for Democratic presidential candidates than for state and local Democratic nominees by a margin of 6.6%.

11. Louisville Negro voters show a remarkable consistency in voting more favorably on special issues submitted to voters than the general Louisville population whether the issues involve municipal bond issues, local school levies or state constitutional amendments.

12. Louisville Negro voters, as well as the white community, show a strong tendency towards racial bloc voting in nonpartisan school board elections but not in partisan Aldermanic elections.

13. When two Negro candidates are entered in school board elections, the Negro vote is split, thus preventing the election of either.

All findings reached in this survey must be hedged with a reminder that no effort has been made to study such important determinants of voting behavior as socio-economic status, the nature of Negro political leadership and its relationship to the Negro vote, the impact of job politics upon the Negro vote, and the pathology of elections including spoiled ballots, purchased votes and other problems. What has been set forth is a one-dimensional fact-finding survey of raw election data involving the Negro voter in Louisville.

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Dept. of Political Science
University of Louisville

TABLE II

ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION AND REGISTRATION, KENTUCKY, 1956

COUNTY	1956 Total Population* (in Thousands)	Number Registered (in Thousands)	% Registered
Adair	14.4	10.8**	75.0
Allen	13.0	7.4**	56.9
Anderson	7.8	4.5**	57.7
Ballard	10.9	5.6**	51.4
Barren	30.0	12.5	41.7
Bath	9.4	6.5**	69.1
Bell	37.4	20.6	55.1
Boone	16.7	6.8	40.7
Bourbon	17.6	8.7	49.4
Boyd	57.2	26.1	45.6
Boyle	21.7	9.3	42.9
Bracken	9.3	4.9	52.7
Breathitt	18.0	11.7	65.0
Breckinridge	14.4	11.7	81.3
Bullitt	13.8	7.5	48.6
Butler	9.3	6.2	66.7
Caldwell	14.0	6.7	47.9
Calloway	16.3	11.8	72.4
Campbell	84.8	35.3	41.6
Carlisle	6.1	5.0	82.0
Carroll	8.6	5.6	65.1
Carter	24.2	12.6**	52.1
Casey	14.4	11.1**	77.1
Christian	67.0	16.1	24.0

TABLE II (Cont'd.)

COUNTY	1956 Total Population* (in Thousands)	Number Registered (in Thousands)	% Registered
Clark	20.8	9.0	43.3
Clay	19.8	8.7	43.9
Clinton	7.8	5.8**	74.4
Crittenden	8.7	5.0	57.5
Cumberland	8.1	4.7	58.0
Daviess	61.3	32.6	53.2
Edmonson	7.6	1.6**	21.1
Elliott	6.8	4.2**	61.8
Estill	11.3	6.0	53.1
Fayette	118.5	44.0	37.1
Fleming	10.3	9.9	96.1
Floyd	42.9	30.0**	69.9
Franklin	26.2	13.2	50.4
Fulton	12.3	8.6**	69.9
Gallatin	3.7	3.4**	91.9
Garrard	12.0	7.8**	65.0
Grant	10.4	7.8	75.0
Graves	33.1	17.7	53.5
Grayson	16.3	9.5	58.3
Green	8.9	5.1	57.3
Greenup	28.7	15.4	53.7
Hancock	5.0	3.6	72.0
Hardin	61.0	13.9	22.8
Harlan	67.7	37.3	55.1
Harrison	15.5	7.1	45.8
Hart	12.9	11.3	87.6
Henderson	34.3	16.2	47.2
Henry	11.1	8.0	72.1

TABLE II (cont'd)

COUNTY	1956 Total Population* (in Thousands)	Number Registered (in Thousands)	% Registered
Hickman	6.9	3.9**	56.5
Hopkins	41.9	20.6**	49.2
Jackson	10.8	4.6**	42.6
Jefferson	568.0***	237.6	41.8
Jessamine	14.2	6.9	48.6
Johnson	18.6	9.0**	48.4
Kenton	115.3	56.3**	48.8
Knott	16.7	12.7	76.0
Knox	26.2	8.5	32.4
Larue	11.3	5.8	51.3
Laurel	24.3	10.0	41.2
Lawrence	15.3	12.4	81.0
Lee	7.7	4.5**	58.4
Leslie	15.9	6.6**	41.5
Letcher	30.6	18.3	59.8
Lewis	12.9	6.8**	52.7
Lincoln	19.0	13.1	68.9
Livingston	7.1	4.2	59.2
Logan	23.6	21.6**	91.5
Lyon	7.5	3.9	52.0
Madison	34.1	15.7	46.0
Magoffin	11.5	7.0**	60.9
Marion	14.6	12.3**	84.2
Marshall	15.9	7.5**	47.2
Martin	10.7	5.6**	52.3
Mason	20.2	9.2**	45.5
McCracken	73.4	30.8	42.0
McCreary	13.3	7.5**	56.4

TABLE II (cont'd)

COUNTY	1956 Total Population* (in Thousands)	Number Registered (in Thousands)	% Regis-tered
McLean	12.0	5.5	45.8
Meade	11.5	5.1	44.3
Menifee	3.6	4.5**	125.0
Mercer	13.8	8.4	60.9
Metcalfe	6.5	6.0	92.3
Monroe	11.3	5.6	49.6
Montgomery	12.1	7.5	62.0
Morgan	9.3	11.1**	119.4
Muhlenberg	29.4	14.2	48.3
Nelson	20.0	9.0**	45.0
Nicholas	6.8	4.3	63.2
Ohio	17.3	9.2	53.2
Oldham	12.0	5.0	41.7
Owen	8.7	6.2	71.3
Owsley	6.2	4.0**	64.5
Pendleton	9.7	5.7	58.8
Perry	35.8	25.0**	69.8
Pike	68.4	39.0**	57.0
Powell	6.6	3.8	57.6
Pulaski	33.3	25.2	75.7
Robertson	2.7	2.2**	81.5
Rockcastle	11.2	6.6**	58.9
Rowan	11.6	6.5**	56.0
Russell	10.5	6.0	57.1
Scott	15.5	8.9**	57.4
Shelby	21.1	10.4	49.3
Simpson	13.1	5.4	41.2

TABLE II (cont'd)

COUNTY	1956 Total Population* (in Thousands)	Number Registered (in Thousands)	% Registered
Spencer	5.5	2.8	50.9
Taylor	14.3	6.9	48.3
Todd	12.2	6.9	56.6
Trigg	7.9	5.9	74.7
Trimble	5.8	3.0**	51.7
Union	13.1	7.7**	58.8
Warren	44.4	22.9	51.6
Washington	11.2	6.6	57.1
Wayne	14.7	8.4	57.1
Webster	14.0	10.6****	75.7
Whitley	26.1	16.0	61.3
Wolfe	5.7	6.0**	105.3
Woodford	11.6	5.1	44.0
TOTALS	3,013.3	1,534.4	50.9

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* From Sales Management, May 10, 1956, coincides closely with "Estimated Population, June 30, 1955, Natural Increase and Estimated Net Migration, April 1, 1950 to June 30, 1955, Kentucky, By Counties." Richardson, Paul D., Kentucky Agricultural Expriment Station, Lexington, Ky., Progress Report 31, July, 1955.

** 1952 Registration - 1956 unavailable but probably comparable.

*** Estimate by Louisville Chamber of Commerce 548.8; estimate by Richardson, op. cit., 559.6.

**** Above total from County Clerk. Republican County Chairman says it should be 6,330.

Sent to Justice Dept
9/11/58

KENTUCKY

County	[illegible]	County	[illegible]
Barren	[illegible]	Madison	[illegible]
Bell	[illegible]	McCracken	[illegible]
Boone	[illegible]	McLean	[illegible]
Bourbon	[illegible]	Meade	[illegible]
Boyd	[illegible]	Mercer	[illegible]
Boyle	[illegible]	Metcalfe	[illegible]
Bracken	[illegible]	Monroe	[illegible]
Breathitt	11,637	Montgomery	[illegible]
Breckinridge	[illegible]	Muhlenberg	[illegible]
Bullitt	[illegible]	Nicholas	[illegible]
Butler	6,160	Ohio	[illegible]
Caldwell	[illegible]	Oldham	[illegible]
Calloway	[illegible]	Owen	[illegible]
Campbell	[illegible]	Pendleton	[illegible]
Carlisle	[illegible]	Powell	[illegible]
Carroll	[illegible]	Pulaski	[illegible]
Christian	[illegible]	Russell	[illegible]
Clark	[illegible]	Shelby	[illegible]
Clay	[illegible]	Simpson	[illegible]
Crittenden	[illegible]	Spencer	[illegible]
Cumberland	[illegible]	Taylor	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Todd	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Trigg	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Warren	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Washington	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Whitley	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Woodford	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		
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[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]		
Lawrence	[illegible]		
Letcher	[illegible]		
Lincoln	[illegible]		
Livingston	[illegible]		
Lyon	[illegible]		

TABLE I

Number of Negro Registered Voters, Estimated 1956 Potential Negro Vote, and Per Cent of Potential Vote Registered, March, 1956

LOUISIANA PARISH WORKSHEET

	No. Registered	1956 Potential	%
Acadia	3448	4,500	76.6
Allen	1811	2,470	73.3
Ascension	1926	4,180	46.1
Assumption	1992	3,380	58.9
Avoyelles	1960	4,810	40.7
Beauregard	1120	1,940	57.7
Bienville	587	3,980	14.8
Bossier	495	8,020	6.2
Caddo	5500	43,770	12.6
Calcasieu	6244	14,990	41.9
Caldwell	450	1,430	31.5
Cameron	236	250	94.4
Catahoula	330	2,070	15.9
Claiborne	17	5,980	0.3
Concordia	587	4,560	12.9
DeSoto	762	6,480	11.8
E. Baton Rouge	8629	40,700	21.2
E. Carroll	- -	5,150	- -
E. Feliciana	1361	6,390	21.3
Evangeline	3262	3,290	99.1
Franklin	650	5,070	12.8

TABLE I (continued)

	No. Registered		1956 Potential		%			
Grant	864		1,680		51.4			
Iberia	4225		7,130		59.2			
Iberville	2411		7,110		33.9			
Jackson	1113		2,240		49.7			
Jefferson	6097		13,690		44.5			
Jefferson Davis	1690		2,890		58.5			
Lafayette	4549		8,980		50.6			
Lafourche	1572		2,950		53.2			
LaSalle	742		860		86.3			
Lincoln	1166		5,420		21.5			
Livingston	1162		1,630		71.3			
Madison	—		6,100		—			
Morehouse	935		8,590		10.9			
Natchitoches	2954		8,350		35.4			
Orleans	31,880		124,600		25.6			
Ouachita	5782		16,400		35.3			
Plaquemines	49		2,840		1.7			
Pointe Coupee	1319		5,580		23.6			
Rapides	3160		20,500		15.4			
Red River	1512		2,600		58.1			
Richland	740		5,230		14.1			
Sabine	1385		2,190		63.2			

TABLE I (continued)

	No. Registered	1956 Potential	%
St. Bernard	802	1,140	70.3
St. Charles	1949	2,350	82.9
St. Helena	1694	2,170	77.9
St. James	2117	3,740	56.6
St. John	2426	3,730	65.0
St. Landry	13,050	16,500	79.1
St. Martin	2583	4,400	58.7
St. Mary	2668	7,820	34.1
St. Tammany	1997	4,450	44.9
Tangipahoa	3749	9,550	39.2
Tensas	—	4,500	—
Terrebonne	980	5,880	16.7
Union	1600	3,160	50.6
Vermilion	1916	2,390	80.2
Vernon	891	1,470	60.6
Washington	1806	6,520	27.7
Webster	1769	6,940	25.5
W. Baton Rouge	1017	3,530	28.8
West Carroll	292	1,420	20.6
W. Feliciana	--	4,000	--
Winn	1430	2,480	57.7
	161,410	529,110	30.5

25 Cath. parishes
39 Prot. "

LOUISIANA

II. Voting Performance

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF NEGRO VOTING BEHAVIOR WITH THAT OF STATE IN 1956 LOUISIANA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

	% Turnout For Governor of Reg Voters	% Voting for Governor Who Voted For			% of Total Vote Outside New Orleans for Long Ticket		
		Lt Gov	Atty Gen	Comm of Ag	Gov. Long	Lt Gov Frazar	Comm of Ag McCrary
(Mean of Precincts) Negro	78	79	76	67	80	74	77
Total White & Negro	78	90	86	84	55	49	50

	% of Total Vote in New Orleans for Long Ticket			% of Total Vote in New Orleans For Morrison Ticket			% Vote in State for Negro Candidate
	Gov. Long	Lt Gov Frazar	Comm of Ag McCrary	Gov. Morrison	Lt Gov Barham	Comm of Ag Pearce	Atty. Gen. Amedee
(Mean of Precincts) Negro	47	38	47	50	53	50	52
Total White & Negro	40	35	41	40	40	54	09

The Negro vote shown in Table II was derived from the vote of 28 precincts, in all of which more than 90 per cent of the registered voters are colored. The total breakdown for the 28 precincts is 20,425 Negro and 508 white. The 28 precincts are located in 11 parishes (Orleans, East Baton Rouge, Morehouse, Caddo, Acadia, LaSalle, Allen, Calcasieu, St. Landry, Evangeline, and Vernon) scattered throughout the state. They include both rural and urban parishes.

It is interesting to note that the turnout of registered Negroes in the vote for governor was virtually identical to that of the total registered population. However, fewer Negroes than whites voted for lesser candidates, which was in all probability, a function of literacy and information.

The Negro is often accused of block voting. Table II would indicate that the Negroes outside New Orleans did vote overwhelmingly for Earl K. Long and his ticket in the 1956 primary.[1] However, it is important to note that in New Orleans Mayor Morrison received more votes than did Long among Negro voters. In fact, Table II clearly indicates that Morrison's narrow plurality in Orleans parish was, in large part, due to the vote he received from the Negro population.

The conclusions that can be drawn from Table II are several. In the first place, the Negro vote is not atypical. Where the Negroes are subject to cross pressures their vote splits as does the remainder of the population. Where cross pressures do not exist the vote tends to be of the block variety -- which should occasion no surprise. The name "Long" is identified by Negroes with pensions and other state services oriented toward lower socio-economic groups. Because most Negroes are of the lower socio-economic strata they tended to vote for Long. However, in New Orleans the name "Morrison" is as well known as that of Long and is identified with low-cost housing for Negroes, better park and school facilities, and related official acts designed to aid the Negroes. Therefore, the Negro in New Orleans was faced with a dilemma in casting his vote and reacted by dividing it rather evenly between Morrison and Long. In addition, according to Negro leaders throughout the state, the upper socio-economic Negro class tended to cast its vote for Morrison. Therefore, the large Negro vote for Long outside New Orleans was, first of all, not a race vote but an economic class vote. Secondly, its overwhelming character was due to the absence of cross pressure, i.e., Negroes are largely of the lower socio-economic class. If the white vote should be divided into classes, the lower socio-economic white vote would not differ greatly from the Negro vote. In interviews, Negro leaders consistently cite the lack of contest for the Negro vote as the reason for its block character.

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[1] There were five candidates in the primary.

The vote for Earl J. Amedee, Negro candidate for Attorney General in the 1956 Democratic primary, provides interesting material for speculation with respect to the block vote stereotype associated with Negroes. As Table II shows, Amedee received little more than 50 per cent of the Negro vote (in the state as a whole, Amedee received only 9 per cent of the vote). The principal reason for the relatively small vote cast for Amedee among Negroes was the presence on the ballot of a Long candidate for Attorney General. Therefore, many Negro voters were cross pressured between a race vote and an economic class vote, and many resolved the issue in favor of the class vote.[1]

Finally, a word about block voting. Any group in the population votes its own self-interest. A group is, indeed, fortunate when its self-interest will be served by any of several candidates. Under such circumstances its vote will often be rather narrowly divided between the candidates. However, the Negro voter is rarely in the comfortable position of being able to pick and choose among candidates. In fact, oftentimes his only choice is between a candidate for sheriff who is a member of the Citizens Council vs. one who, perhaps, will discourage police brutality.

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[1] In addition, evidence would seem to indicate that many rural Negroes were not aware of Mr. Amedee's race. For example, in 13 precincts in largely rural parishes Amedee received a mean vote of only 47%, whereas in an equal number of precincts in urban parishes, Amedee received a mean of 59% of the vote.

Jesse Stone, a Negro attorney in Shreveport, Louisiana, said, "I am told that I should vote as an American and not as a Negro. Well, I believe I love America as much as anyone else, and I would like to weigh our policies in the Middle East and the Far East when I vote. However, I'm too busy trying to be free -- to become an American -- to concern myself with such questions. When I vote I must concern myself with what is good for the Negroes."

III. Legal Determinants

In brief, Louisiana law with respect to registration is as follows:

Every citizen of Louisiana, not less than 21 years of age, who is a citizen of the United States, native born or naturalized, may be enrolled as a registered voter upon his personal application if he possesses the following qualifications:

1. Resident of the state for 2 years; parish, one year; municipality (for municipal elections) four months; precinct, three months.
2. Must be able to read and write, and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government."
3. Must be able to read any clause in the constitution of the State of Louisiana or the constitution of the United States and give a reasonable interpretation thereof, to the satisfaction of the registration official.
4. If unable to read or write, the applicant for registration is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States and of the State of Louisiana, and if he demonstrates his ability to understand and to give a reasonable interpretation of any section of either constitution.

5. If an applicant for registration is unable to read or write due to a physical disability then the requirements under item 4 above may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness to more than two such applicants.

6. The registrar, if unsure of the eligibility of an applicant, may require the applicant to secure two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's ward. In Bossier parish a suit is being pressed against a registrar who insists that a Negro produce two witnesses even though the Negro and the registrar are acquainted.

Obviously the requirements for registration in Louisiana are complex and confused. As applied by the registrars, the registration procedure is roughly as follows:

1. The applicant for registration is given Form LR-1, Form of Application for Registration. The law forbids any help to a person completing this rather complicated form. In most instances, if a person completes the form without help it is regarded as pro forma evidence of literacy. However, if a registrar wishes, he may examine an applicant even though he successfully completes the form.

Practice varies widely with respect to helping applicants and the strictness with which registrars scrutinize the form in search of mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes find it virtually impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them by registrars; in others, Negroes and whites are permitted to copy from previously completed copies of registration forms, and mistakes are overlooked.

2. If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he may

still qualify for registration. In some parishes many white and Negro illiterates are registered under the physical disability provision of the constitution. This has the added advantage of increasing the manipulability of their vote, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice in the parishes varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates. However, as a rule, where literate Negroes find it easy to register, illiterate Negroes also find few obstacles to registration.

In addition, there is a statute which provides for the challenging of persons already registered. Under the statute, two bona fide registered voters may challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged must respond within ten days by appearing before the Registrar to "prove" his right to remain registered. If a person fails to appear his name is purged from the rolls. Citizen's Council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from the rolls through this device in Natchitoches, Webster, and LaSalle parishes.

IV. Socio-Economic Factors

Figure 1 provides a picture of the locus of Negro registration in Louisiana. A causal glance at the Figure reveals that Negro registration in Louisiana is concentrated in the southern and northcentral portions of the state, whereas Negro registration is lowest in the northwestern and northeastern parishes of the state.

There seem to be three primary factors which determine the extent of Negro registration in any parish of the state. These variables are, in broad terms, (1) religio-cultural, (2) economic, and (3) political.

(Insert map
Race)

1. The Religio-Cultural Variable

TABLE III

1956 NEGRO REGISTRATION BY RELIGIO-CULTURAL SECTIONS OF THE STATE

	No. Negroes Registered	Potential Negro Vote	% Registered
French-Catholic Parishes[1]	70,488	138,000	51
Non-French Parishes (predominately Anglo-Saxon Protestant)	90,922	390,000	23

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[1] Taken from T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1952, p. 143. French Parishes: Acadia, Ascension, Assumption, Avoyelles, Calcasieu, Cameron, Evangeline, Iberia, Iberville, Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Lafourche, Plaquemines, Pointe Coupee, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermilion, West Baton Rouge.

As Table III indicates, Negro registration in Louisiana is concentrated in its French-Catholic parishes. The reason for the differential reaction of population groups to Negro registration seems, in large part, to be due to fundamentally different attitudes of the people with respect to the Negro. Both Negro and white leaders agree that the attitude toward the Negro in French-Catholic Louisiana is quite different from that found in the northern Anglo-Saxon protestant parishes. Some visual evidence of this difference includes, (1) the fact that at political meetings in southern Louisiana the crowds are racially mixed, even at indoor meetings, whereas in northern Louisiana such crowds are always segregated; (2) the Citizen's Council has little support in southern Louisiana, but is strong in northern Louisiana; (3) in many business establishments in southern Louisiana, such as the Daily World offices in Opelousas, Negroes work at skilled jobs beside white employees, and all use the same rest room facilities. If a newspaper adopted such a policy in north Louisiana it would be boycotted. In short, there is a notable lack of concern over the race issue in the southern parishes. It should be emphasized that these people are not in favor of integration. However, they seem to be much less concerned about the issue than are the north Louisianians.

The reasons for the variant attitudes of the French-Catholic people toward the Negro are various. In the first place, the French people seem to mingle more freely with the Negroes than do the Anglo Saxons. Racially hybrid communities are common in south Louisiana, but are rare in north Louisiana.[1]

In the second place, the Catholic church is militantly pro-racial tolerance or equality. Father Gremillion, of Shreveport, Louisiana, a leader in the fight for integrated Catholic schools, cites the catholic character of his church as the reason for its advanced stand on racial issues. He emphasizes the fact that the protestant churches are national in origin and tend to be exclusive in character, whereas the Catholic church is more universal in both its background and orientation.

Regardless of any philosophical or theoretical arguments, it is true that the Catholic church is virtually the only major bi-racial institution in Louisiana which is actively working toward integration. For example, in Tensas parish in the Mississippi Delta where Negroes comprise 65 per cent of the population and not a single Negro is registered to vote, the Catholic priest, Father Bowes, stands alone among whites in his fight for racial equality. In this protestant, Anglo-Saxon, delta parish, Father Bowes has initiated integrated Sunday School and communion classes.

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1. See Alvin L. Bertrand, The Mahy Louisianas, Bulletin #46, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1955, p.21.

In Shreveport, Louisiana, the two white leaders most often named by Negro leaders as friends of the Negro people (Paul F. O'Brien, wealthy oil operator; and Thomas Fitzgerald, attorney and former member of the Police Jury) are prominent Catholic laymen. Caddo parish, in which Shreveport is located, was only 10 per cent Catholic as of the *1936 Census of Religous Bodies*.

It should be said in behalf of the protestant ministers in parishes such as Tensas, that Father Bowes is in a much better position than they to take an advanced position on the Negro question. If a protestant minister should attempt to emulate Father Bowes' example, he would lose his post, whereas the members of a Catholic church have no such control over the selection of their priest. However, this only serves to underline the main point of this analysis, i.e., that the Catholic church is an important variable with respect to Negro registration.

Many Catholics like to cite the effect of the Church on the Negro as a reason for the high per cent Negro registration in Catholic parishes. According to this argument, the Catholic Negro enjoys religious and ethical training which is identical to that received by the white community, and from a well educated priest. Therefore, according to this theory, the Catholic Negro's value system more nearly approaches that of the white community than does that of the protestant Negro, and, therefore, he is more readily accepted by the greater community.

In conclusion, the results of this study indicate that the French culture and the Catholic religion tend to produce a more permissive attitude toward the Negro than does the Anglo-Saxon culture and the protestant religion.[1]

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[1] The writer is a former Catholic who is presently a member of the Baptist church.

2. The Economic Variable

TABLE IV

RELATION BETWEEN PER CENT TENANCY AND PER CENT NEGRO REGISTRATION IN NON-FRENCH PARISHES, 1956

% Tenancy	No. of Parishes	Mean % Negro Registration
50% +	11	12
40 - 49%	4	19
30 - 39%	6	25
20 - 29%	6	36
10 - 19%	9	53
0 - 9%	3	59

TABLE V

RELATION BETWEEN PER CENT TENANCY AND PER CENT NEGRO REGISTRATION IN FRENCH PARISHES, 1956

% Tenancy	No. of Parishes	Mean % Negro Registration
50% +	6	65
40 - 49%	0	--
30 - 39%	7	48
20 - 29%	5	67
10 - 19%	7	43
0 - 9%	0	--

Table IV shows that in the non-French Louisiana parishes there is a high negative correlation between the per cent tenancy of a parish and the per cent of its potential Negro vote that is registered. It is significant, as Table V indicates, that no measurable relationship exists between tenancy and Negro registration in the French-Catholic parishes.

Specifically, a high rate of tenancy in a parish indicates the existence of a plantation economy. In the plantation parishes a few individuals own the vast majority of the land and the Negroes are in a subservient position in both an economic and a social sense. In Mississippi Delta parishes such as Tensas and Madison, the plantation owners take pride in the resemblance which exists between the 1856 and 1956 plantations, and if the "Master" is opposed to Negro registration few Negroes would think of attempting it.

In Tensas parish, for example, only one negro, a barber by the name of Tom Ellis, has attempted to register in recent years. When Mr. Ellis presented himself to the Registrar of Voters in St. Joseph, the parish seat of Tensas, the Registrar immediately took him to Sheriff Coleman. The Sheriff asked Mr. Ellis, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy here perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." Mr. Ellis promptly assured the Sheriff of his complete, total, and unequivocal happiness and "allowed" that his attempt to register had only been a tragic mistake. Mr. Ellis still resides in St. Joseph. However, his wife lost her job at the school cafeteria, and Mr. Ellis is afraid to talk to anyone about his experience. The above story was obtained from Father Bowes, the Catholic priest, and not Mr. Ellis.

A white leader, unwittingly, dramatized for the writer the extent of the Negro's subservience to the white man in Tensas. The white leader, after treating the writer to dinner, called a Negro to him in an effort to provide evidence of the basic happiness of the Negro with his lot. The following dialogue took place: "Sam, are you happy around here?" "Yessuh, ah sure am," Sam replied. "Do you like me, Sam?" "Yessuh, yes sir! Ah sure do!" "Would you do anything in the world for me, Sam?" "Yessuh, sure enough," Sam replied. "Would you loan me ten dollars?" After a little grin -- "Yessuh - sure enough - I sure would!"

Jesse Stone, a Negro attorney in Shreveport, tells two stories that cast light on the above incident. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, it seems, asked his chauffeur one day whether or not he was happy. The Negro assured the Senator of his great happiness. The Senator thereupon asked the Negro chauffeur if he would be willing to tell people on the radio of his happiness in Mississippi. The Negro assured the Senator of his eagerness to tell everyone of his happiness. A few days later the Senator took the Negro to the radio station where he was to tell of his happiness. They stepped up to the microphone and the Senator said to the Negro, "Now, in one minute, you will be able to tell people all over the world about how happy you are. People in New York, London, Boston, Paris will be listening." The Negro looked at the Senator in disbelief, and said, "You mean that people outside Mississippi will hear me?" The Senator looked benignly on the Negro and said, "Yes, boy, people all over the world will hear you now -- so step up to the microphone and tell the people how happy you are." The Negro swallowed, grasped the microphone, looked at the Senator, opened his mouth, closed it, gulped, then eyes bulging yelled, "Help! Help!"

Another story deals with the efforts of a white southerner to demonstrate to a northern friend the simple dependence of the southern Negro on his white brothers. While walking down the street, the white southerner called a Negro acquaintance to him in an effort to demonstrate the relationship between white and Negro. The white southerner took the Negro by the arm and bidding him look into a cloudless sky asked him, "Sam, where are you going? Look at that sky! Don't you see that it's going to rain in a few minutes?" Sam looked up, scratched his head, and said, "Yessuh! You're sure right, suh. I'd better hurry home 'cause it's sure enough gonna rain -- and real soon, too." The whites proceeded down the street laughing heartily at the darkie's simple faith in his white master's word. Sam, however, stopped the first Negro friend he saw and said, "Joe, look up into that sky. Joe, do you see a cloud in that sky? Do you think there is a chance of rain?" Joe looked up and said, "I don't see a cloud, Sam." Sam then scratched his head and said, "You know these white folks around here are sure enough going crazy. Mr. Smith just stopped me and told me it was going to rain."

In conclusion, there is little doubt that a close relation exists in non-French Louisiana between the type of economy and the per cent of Negro registration. Where there is a plantation economy, in non-French Louisiana, Negro registration is low; where tenancy is not all-pervasive, Negro registration tends to increase.

In the French parishes, however, Negro registration is as great in parishes with a high percentage of tenancy as in parishes with a low percentage of tenancy. This is evidence that the religio-cultural determinant is a more important influence upon registration than the economic variable. In French-Catholic parishes with a plantation economy, the leaders, seemingly, have a permissive attitude toward Negro registration.

The question might be raised whether, in the above analysis, the variable that was measured was simply the per cent of the population that is colored rather than an economic variable. Unquestionably the two variables are intertwined. Where there is a great deal of tenancy one also finds a high percentage of Negroes in the population. However, the statistical relationship between the per cent Negro and the per cent of Negro registration is not as close as in the case of tenancy. In addition, interviews tended to substantiate the writer's feeling that the plantation economy and the Anglo-Saxon-protestant culture are responsible for the depressed position of the Negro, rather than the simple presence of great numbers of Negroes.

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF THREE MAJOR NORTH LOUISIANA SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS[1] ACCORDING TO PER CENT NEGRO REGISTRATION, PER CENT NEGRO OF TOTAL POPULATION, AND PER CENT TENANCY, 1956

North Louisiana Socio-Economic Areas	No. Parishes	Mean % Negro of Total Pop.	Mean % Tenancy	Mean % Negro Registration
Mississippi Delta[2]	12	51	60	11
Red River Delta[3]	5	40	45	25
North-Central Cut-Over Section[4]	5	24	17	55

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[1] Source: Bertrand, The Many Louisianas.

[2] Mississippi Delta Parishes: Catahoula, Concordia, East Carroll, East Feliciana, Franklin, Madison, Morehouse, Pointe Coupee, Richland, Tensas, West Carroll, West Feliciana.

[3] Red River Delta Parishes: Bossier, Caddo, Natchitoches, Rapides, Red River.

[4] North-Central Cut-Over Parishes: Jackson, Winn, Grant, LaSalle, Caldwell.

Table VI provides a statistical statement of the generalizations made in this section. Reference to the Table shows that the Mississippi Delta has by far the highest per cent tenancy and per cent Negro and the lowest Negro registration, whereas the Cut-Over Pine Section with the lowest per cent tenancy and per cent Negro has the highest registration. It should be noted that in the Cut-Over Pine section that the per cent tenancy is lower than the per cent Negro, whereas in the two delta sections the per cent tenancy is higher than the per cent Negro. The statistical variation is a reflection of the difference in the economies of the sections, and tends to substantiate the opinion that the economic variable is more important than the racial variable.

3. The Political Variable

The first concern of every politician is to be elected and reelected to office. Therefore, the existence in any community of a reservoir of untapped votes tends to act as a magnet on politicians in search of votes. The Negro vote in Louisiana, however, was not exploitable until the 1944 U. S. Supreme Court decision in Smith v. Allwright which declared white primary laws unconstitutional. After 1944, Louisiana politicians could legally pursue the Negro vote.

In every Louisiana parish with high Negro registration which was examined in this study, the political variable was an important factor in producing Negro registration (specifically, Evangeline, St. Landry, Calcasieu, Winn, LaSalle, Acadia). The process by which the political variable helps to bring Negroes to the polls is as follows:

1. Community attitudes must, first of all, be permissive with respect to Negro registration. If the white community is strongly and unalterably opposed to Negro registration and voting, the politician will rarely seek the Negro vote. This is true, first, because the politician fears the reaction of his townspeople to such action on his part; and, second, because he, too, will generally share the dominant attitude.
2. Negro leaders must initiate a drive for registration and thus demonstrate the potential numerical strength of the Negro vote.
3. The sheriff is one of the more important elective officials in Louisiana parishes. The sheriff, by the very nature of his office, is subject to many temptations. One temptation to which every sheriff has been subjected and to which every sheriff has succumbed in the parishes studied which have high Negro registration, is the classic "payoff" to permit gambling. When a sheriff permits gambling he is invariably charged

with "corruption of public office" by the "good," "solid", middle class people of his community. Therefore, the sheriff is compelled to turn to the lower socio-economic groups for support. Thus the third political desideratum is a sheriff who is in desperate need of political support.

4. The largest single potential source of votes of this variety available to the sheriff is the Negro vote. Therefore, he will tend to permit or even encourage Negro registration, and will actively seek Negro support in election campaigns. Invariably, the sheriff is not disappointed in his expectations with respect to the Negro vote.

5. The reward of the Negro for his vote is a cessation of police brutality, and promises made and often kept with respect to such matters as street improvements and better school facilities.

4. The Urban Variable

TABLE VII

RELATION BETWEEN PER CENT URBAN AND PER CENT NEGRO REGISTRATION
STATE OF LOUISIANA, 1956

Per Cent Urban	No. Parishes	Mean % Negroes Registered
70% +	5	29
50 - 69%	4	45
40 - 49%	8	27
30 - 39%	10	46
20 - 29%	14	49
10 - 19%	6	28
0 - 9%	17	43

It is surprising that, in Louisiana, there is no discernible relation between per cent urban and per cent Negro registration. It is a widely held stereotype that Negro registration is concentrated in the urban areas.

In Louisiana, at least, the stereotype is erroneous. The reasons for the stereotype are, (1) it is in the urban areas of the state that one finds the largest concentration of professional Negroes, equipped to provide leadership for the colored people; and (2) the urban Negro may register almost as easily as the white. Therefore, the failure of the urban Negro to register in large numbers is, at first glance, almost incomprehensible.

The primary reasons for the failure of the urban Negro to register are three in number. In the first place, he is quite mobile. In all probability, he has moved into the city quite recently and has no roots in the community. In many cases the move to a Louisiana city is, for a Negro, simply a step in the direction of moving to Los Angeles or Chicago. The urban Negro is also highly mobile within the city, moving frequently from one residence to another. Therefore, he tends to belong to few organizations and has little contact with the leaders of the Negro community. In addition he is rootless, feels little identification with his community or with his fellow Negroes.

In the second place, urban Negro leadership tends to work at cross purposes. For example, when a meeting is called to encourage voter registration, the ministers, in order to hold their flocks, might hold a gospel singing contest. In addition, leaders of business, professional, religious, and fraternal groups often tend to confine their attentions to their particular groups without devoting much attention to the task of mobilizing the resources of the entire Negro community.

Finally, urban Negro leadership, surprisingly, tends to be rather poor in quality. The Negro ministers, for example, are often accused of accepting money to support political candidates. In addition, many other leaders become too closely identified with the white community and thus lose the confidence of the Negroes.

In rural areas, on the other hand, there is a feeling of communality among the Negro people. The leadership is not diverse, and is concerned with the welfare of the Negroes of the community as a whole rather than with the special interests of a segment of the community. Therefore, when the leadership in rural communities requests its people to register, the people respond in wholesale fashion.

V. Other Discriminatory Techniques

There are three broad classes of parishes in Louisiana with respect to attitudes toward registration. First, in the French, urban, and North-Central Cut-Over Pine sections the Negro, with some exceptions, may register without too much difficulty.

Secondly, there are those parishes in which various subterfuges are used to discourage Negro voting. Most of these parishes are located in the Red River Delta and Mississippi Delta sections, but others may be found throughout the state. Some of the more common devices used in Louisiana to discourage Negro registration include:

1. Finding non-existent mistakes in the way the registration form is completed. The registrar, by law, need not and in fact should not reveal to the applicant the mistake or mistakes made by him.
2. Negroes are asked questions concerning the constitution not asked white applicants, such as "define due process of law," or "a republican form of government."
3. A novel device used by some plantation owners has been to hold their

own registration, and thus "satisfy" the Negroes without actually registering them.

4. Registration offices are moved frequently, ostensibly for the convenience of the voters, actually to confuse prospective Negro applicants.

5. Registration offices are often closed when Negro applicants present themselves.

6. Negro applicants are required to be accompanied by two character witnesses, a requirement that is not extended to white applicants. Where no or few Negroes are registered it is difficult to find willing witnesses.

7. A new device is the discriminatory purging of the rolls, instituted in Natchitoches, Webster, and LaSalle parishes, and, by rumor, to be extended to Rapides parish (Alexandria).

According to Louisiana law any 25 registered voters may, by application, be permitted to copy, photograph, or photostat the registration records. Citizens Council representatives in Natchitoches, Webster, and LaSalle parishes have taken advantage of this provision of law in order to examine the cards of registered Negro voters.

Another Louisiana law permits any two registered voters to challenge by affidavit any name appearing on the rolls. In such cases, the registrar must notify the person challenged and order him to appear within 10 days to "prove" his right to remain registered. No standards are established by the statute to guide the registrar in his decision.

Therefore, Citizens Council representatives, armed with mistakes found on registration cards, have issued wholesale challenges against Negroes who were registered to vote in Natchitoches, Webster, and LaSalle parishes. Where no mistakes have been found on the cards, registered Negro voters have been challenged on the basis of, (1) that the card was not completed by the registered Negro, (2) that he received help in completing it, or (3) that the registered Negro was not required to interpret the constitution.

A final category of parishes includes East Carroll, Madison, Tensas, and West Feliciana in the Mississippi Delta where no Negroes are registered. In these parishes subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know that they should not and cannot register, and, therefore, rarely attempt to do so.

VI. Organized Efforts and Prospects

The only state-wide organization dedicated to increasing Negro registration has been the NAACP. However, the NAACP was recently declared unlawful in Louisiana and, therefore, its current status is in doubt. However, leaders of the NAACP, continue to provide leadership for Negroes even though the organization, as such, is legally dead.

At the local level there are ordinarily one or more Negro organizations devoted to increasing Negro registration. For example, in New Orleans there are the Peoples Defense League, Progressive Voters League, and Crescent City Voters League; in Winn parish, the Citizen's Progressive League; and Caddo parish (Shreveport), the Peoples Voters League, the Citizens Voters League, and the Negro Chamber of Commerce.

The Citizens Council and the Southern Gentlemen are state-wide organizations which have as their express objective the "preservation of the Southern way of life." The tactics used by these organizations include, (1) purgation of Negroes from the rolls, (2) the application of pressure on registrars to "scrupulously follow statutory requirements" when examining Negro applicants, (3) the election of public officials dedicated to Citizens Council objectives.

Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgative efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape. As Mr. J. Andrew Gaulden, Negro school principal in Winn parish put it, "Too many white people have a vested interest in the Negro vote to permit Negroes to be purged from the rolls." In addition, in the French parishes the Citizens Council seems to have little strength. Thus where Negro registration is greatest, the prospects for purgation are the slimmest.

In the parishes where subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppresion, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage.

In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future. Negroes in these parishes are not far removed from slavery, and will, in the main, follow the dictates of the plantation owners.

The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can be registered with a minimum of difficulty. The problem facing Negro leaders is to find ways and means of overcoming the indifference of the urban Negro citizen. As a first and fundamental step in overcoming this indifference, the Negro leader must by his own qualities of leadership earn the confidence of his fellow Negro.

All in all, a political revolution has occurred in Louisiana since 1944. The Negro vote has become an important factor in determing "who shall rule" in the state. The Negro is no longer ignored politically, and with political attention has come better schools and roads, streetlights, jobs as policemen and deputies, and police protection instead of police brutality.

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

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MAgnolia 4295

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 19, 1956

Miss Margaret Price
Research Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

In reply to your request about the information of the restriction of Negro voters by the White Citizens Councils in northern Louisiana, I will check as many sources as possible in order to give you as much information as I may be able to obtain.

Since we have been very busy with other administration details, we have not as yet had the opportunity to forward to you our regular monthly newspaper clippings. However, this week we will check through the newspapers to obtain the information that you desire.

Concerning the preliminary release of the voting survey a day or two before the presidential election, the only newspaper which published the results of this release was, to the best of my knowledge, the New Orleans Negro newspaper, the LOUISIANA WEEKLY. We do not have any extra clippings of this. However, I will forward this to you, and would appreciate it very much if you would return it when you have finished with it in order that we may maintain our newspaper file.

Sincerely yours,

Milton C. Vigo

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/jrb

LOUISIANA

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Acadia	4500	3448
Allen	2470	1811
Ascension	4180	1926
Assumption	3380	1992
Avoyelles	4810	1960
Beauregard	1940	1120
Bienville	3980	587
Bossier	8020	495
Caddo	43770	5500
Calcasieu	14990	6244
Caldwell	1430	450
Cameron	250	236
Catahoula	2070	330
Claiborne	5930	17
Concordia	4560	587
DeSoto	6480	762
E. Baton Rouge	40700	8629
E. Carroll	5150	0
East Feliciana	6390	1361
Evangeline	3290	3262
Franklin	5070	650
Grant	1680	864
Iberia	7130	4225
Iberville	7110	2411
Jackson	2240	1113
Jefferson	13690	6097
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690
Lafayette	8980	1549
Lafourche	2950	1572
LaSalle	860	742
Lincoln	5420	1166
Livingston	1630	1162
Madison	6100	0
Morehouse	8590	935
Natchitoches	8350	2954
Orleans	124600	31880
Quachita	16400	5782
Plaquemines	2840	49
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319
Rapides	20500	3160
Red River	2600	1512
Richland	5230	740
Sabine	2190	1385
Saint Bernard	1140	802
Saint Charles	2350	1949
Saint Helena	2170	1694
Saint James	3740	2117
Saint John, The Baptist	3730	2426
Saint Landry	16500	13050
Saint Martin	4400	2583
Saint Mary	7820	2668
Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Tensas	4500	0
Terrebonne	5890	980
Union	3160	1600
Vermillion	2390	1916
Vernon	1470	891
Washington	6520	1806
Webster	6940	1769
W. Baton Rouge	3530	1017
W. Carroll	1420	292
W. Feliciana	4000	0
Winn	2480	1430

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For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN LOUISIANA

By Kenneth Walker Editor, The Colfax (La.) Chronicle

About voting restrictions in Louisiana: the situation is, shall we say, more white than black.

Politics is the favorite game of Louisianans. Everybody plays. Politics is the very big reason why there are 118,758 Negroes registered in Louisiana today. Many, many more will register before the next big campaign, I assure you.

There are two distinct factions in Louisiana politics--the Longs and the anti-Longs The Long faction expects, and deserves, the bulk of the Negro vote. Generally speaking--and this is important--the opposition to Negro voting comes from the anti-Longs. The mainspring behind any move to bar Negroes from the polls is both racial and political. On the surface, blame, or credit is given to the racial situation. For the life of me, I do not know if this is more important than the political side of things.

The "purges" of registration rolls--there have been many, there will be more--are conducted strictly according to ancient law. These tricky stipulations as to how to fill out a registration card are being enforced in quite varying degrees over the state--reflecting local opinions and politics.

Under the law, any voter may challenge the registration of any other voter for the slightest flaw in the registration card. A hundred cards, taken in alphabetical order, were checked in Grant Parish. Ninety-nine were subject to challenge. A "purge" is an organized move to go through the voter rolls and challenge imperfect registrations. In most parishes, only Negroes are challenged; in some parishes both whites and Negroes are challenged.

Yet, Negroes presently registered equal 16% of the white vote. Between December 31, 1957, and January 31, 1958, white and Negro registrants increased at about the same rate. In 1952, state-wide Negro registration was 97,101; in 1956, it was 152,387. During this four-year period, white registration decreased while Negro registration increased by 55,000.

In 1952, 23 out of 64 parishes in Louisiana had no Negro registrants. Now there are just four such parishes.

At the polls, in contests that I know about, hot segregationist candidates have fared badly. In New Orleans, several Negroes have become candidates. They didn't win but still they didn't do so badly.

As mentioned in some few parishes, and this is a fascinating facet of the whole thing, whites have been challenged right along with Negroes. In one parish, 6,778 white voters were challenged and 5,940 Negroes. Not answering the challenge were 4,318 Negroes and 2,434 whites. Of the 1,632

Negroes who answered the challenge, 961 were reinstated.

Colfax, where I live, is a little country town in the small, poorish parish of Grant. Eight years ago there was an attempt to move the Courthouse from Colfax. Colfaxians--there are Negroes on only the Colfax side of the parish--went out and brought in Negroes to register. They did it in such numbers that the election was never held.

A leader in that move, Williams Jennings Bryan Jones, is now president of the local White Citizens Council and as such recently sparked a purge. Again, politics. The move, pushed over by state Citizens Council leaders, came just before the last presidential election and before the voting on a batch of Long-inspired constitutional amendments.

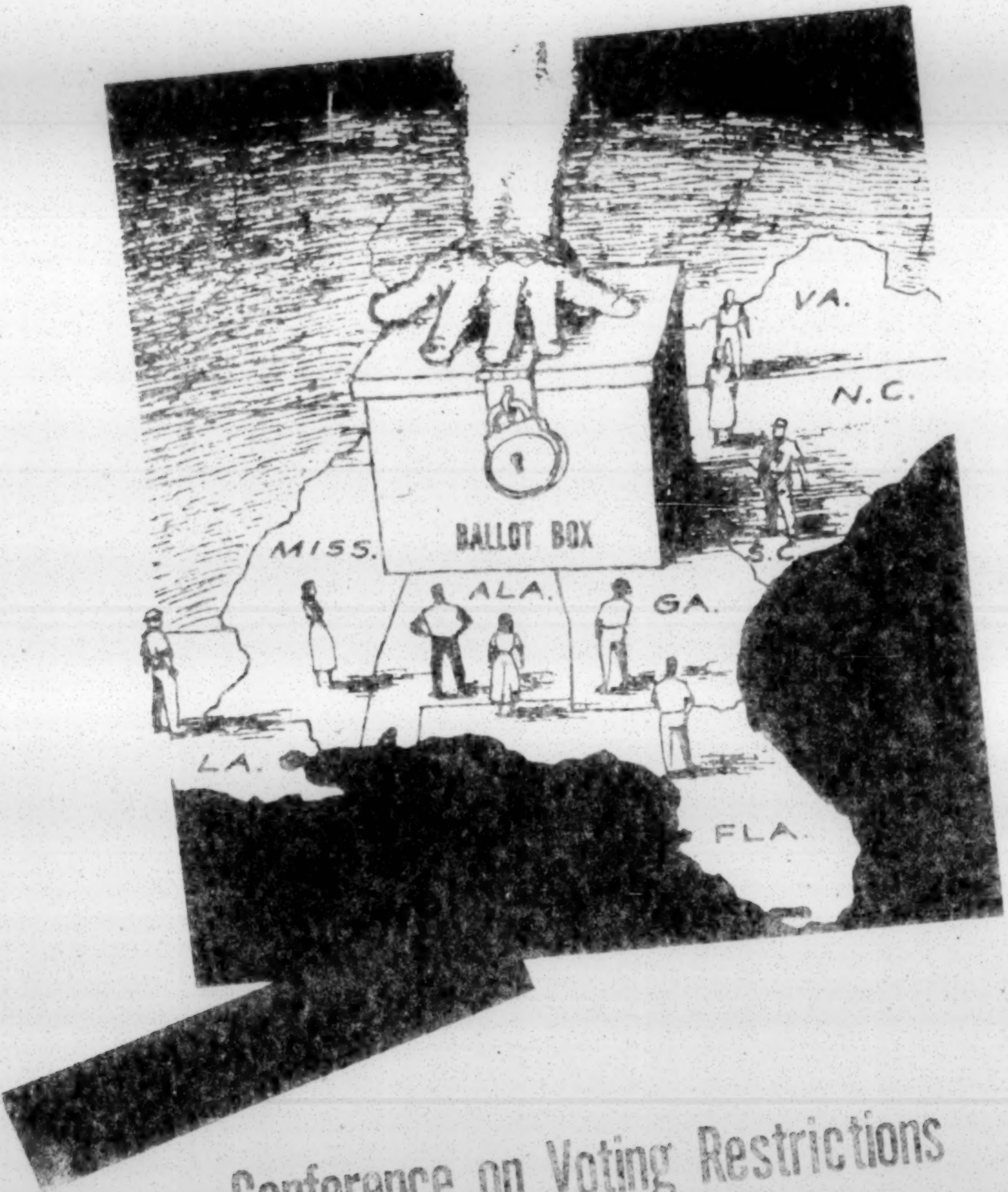
These political overtones enabled politicians on the other side of the fence, without raising the racial issue, to take steps to defeat the purge. Some 800 Negroe voters were challenged. Of these, 488, or 64%, answered the challenge and were reinstated. (There are several methods of answering the challenge. I can only tell you of one method. The challenged person merely presents an affidavit signed by three voters certifying that he is who he is and has lived in the political area long enough to vote.)

Considering the number who had died or moved away, 64% is a high proportion to be reinstated. This purge received full coverage in the Colfax Chronicle--the only instance I know of where such goings-on have received full, honest reporting. And this was done with the full cooperation of the Citizens Council. As a result, there are few hard feelings in the community and the purge was 64% unsuccessful. The Council has lost face and prestige and members. Negroes are registering without restrictions in Grant Parish.

It is my conclusion that in any political situation, Negro votes, in proportionate degree, assure the absence of effective restrictions on Negro voting. I think the shortage of Negro registrants in Louisiana stems from essentially two things. One is lack of concern on the part of the Negro--a "don't want to cause no trouble" attitude. The other is plain lack of ability to read and write well.

Negro registrations in Louisiana will continue to grow, in part because of the schools on how to fill out registration cards, but more so because of the coming of a better-educated generation.

Voting restrictions do exist in Louisiana--with political as well as racial overtones. Where voting restrictions exist, that is bad. You know, though, when there is a shortage of meal in the house but the corn in the field is ripening, that's good. In this sense, the situation in Louisiana is good... and getting better. #


BALLOT BOX
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Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1958

Southern Conference
Educational Fund

S T A T E M E N T

PARISH	Total Number of Registered Voters as of October 4,1958	Total Number of White Voters Registered As of October 4, 1958 (Male)	(Female)	Total Number of Colored Voters Registered as of October 4, 1958 (Male)	(Female)	Number of Voters of Native Birth	Number of Voters of Foreign Birth	Number of Voters Their Name (White)	(Col
Acadia	21828	12216	6108	2336	1168	21732	96	15648	
Allen	8816	4043	3010	922	841	8806	10	6730	
Ascension	9406	4105	3277	1116	908	9404	2	7161	
Assumption	6720	2650	2081	1097	892	6712	8	4081	
Avoyelles	15999	8427	5618	1103	851	15960	39	13194	
Beauregard	7787	3401	3346	530	510	7729	58	6698	
Bienville	4787	2437	2322	12	16	4784	3	4748	
Bossier	10455	5093	4890	237	235	10397	58	9911	
Caddo	55688	26098	25124	2205	2261	55060	628	51194	
Calcasieu	41967	19077	16526	3277	3087	41642	325	34596	
Caldwell	2572	1390	1144	15	23	2569	3	2522	
Cameron	2003	1005	923	53	22	2000	3	1862	
Catahoula	2409	1227	995	97	90	2409	-0-	2181	
Claiborne	5713	2809	2889	13	2	5709	4	5686	
Concordia	2262	1161	929	104	68	2261	1	2089	
De Soto	6012	2862	2664	233	253	5999	13	5507	
East Baton Rouge	63690	28354	26236	4309	4791	62948	742	54068	
East Carroll	2028	1087	941	-0-	-0-	2024	4	2007	
East Feliciana	2939	1286	1199	196	258	2938	1	2474	
Evangeline	15901	6990	5825	1583	1503	15893	8	10724	
Franklin	6056	3103	2589	170	194	6046	10	5667	
Grant	5277	2536	2216	312	213	5272	5	4545	
Iberia	18602	7592	6898	2203	1909	18493	109	12783	
Iberville	7853	3194	2723	1042	894	7754	99	5787	
Jackson	5316	2567	2389	157	203	5307	9	4928	
Jefferson	66127	31501	27891	3724	3011	65173	954	58534	
Jefferson Davis	10830	4954	4215	872	789	10794	36	8455	
LaFayette	17121	8171	5954	1736	1260	16993	128	13282	
LaFourche	22879	12107	8819	1011	942	22832	47	18582	
La Salle	5058	2647	2254	62	95	5054	4	4881	
Lincoln	5135	2504	2161	227	243	5119	16	4664	
Livingston	7107	3257	3286	284	280	7057	50	6491	
Madison	1316	700	616	-0-	-0-	1306	10	1275	
Morehouse	4849	2524	2123	115	87	4844	5	4647	
Natchitoches	7528	3157	2964	666	741	7507	21	5985	
Orleans	194,421	83,766	79366	16362	14927	189790	4631	162832	
Ouachita	22,755	11,379	10600	350	426	22578	177	21936	
Plaquemines	5416	2,959	2412	38	7	5305	111	5240	
Pointe Coupee	3747	1,586	1535	300	326	3744	3	3097	
Rapides	27,924	12,728	12566	1156	1474	27727	197	25078	
Red River	1973	1095	863	5	10	1972	1	1957	
Richland	4452	2318	1955	92	87	4445	7	4270	
Sabine	9135	4409	3234	933	559	9124	11	7370	
St. Bernard									
St. Charles	6433	2786	2215	790	642	6393	40	4970	

Louisiana

JC
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TEMENT OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS

October 4, 1958

er of Voters Who Write Their Name		Number of Voters Who Make Their Mark		Party		Affiliations			
te)	(Colored)	(White)	(Colored)	Democrat	Republican	Socialist	Independent or no party	States' Rights	Dixiecrat
15648	2509	2676	995	21796	30	-0-	2	-0-	
6730	1479	323	284	8814	2	-0-	-0-	-0-	
7161	1744	221	280	9396	10	-0-	-0-	-0-	
4081	1569	650	420	6717	2	-0-	1	-0-	
13194	1231	851	723	15961	33	-0-	5	-0-	
6698	978	49	62	7769	17	-0-	1	-0-	
4748	28	11	-0-	4779	7	-0-	1	-0-	
9911	472	71	1	10238	116	-0-	101	-0-	
51194	4466	28	-0-	52902	1911	-0-	556	319	
34596	5529	1007	835	41392	450	-0-	125	-0-	
2522	38	12	-0-	2566	-0-	-0-	-0-	6	
1862	71	66	4	2000	3	-0-	-0-	-0-	
2181	187	41	-0-	2409	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	
5686	15	12	-0-	5706	5	-0-	2	-0-	
2089	173	-0-	-0-	2244	11	-0-	7	-0-	
5507	486	19	-0-	5972	23	-0-	17	-0-	
54068	9096	522	4	62749	490	-0-	451	-0-	
2007	-0-	21	-0-	2024	4	-0-	-0-	-0-	
2474	454	9	2	2938	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	
10724	1504	2089	1584	15867	32	-0-	2	-0-	
5667	356	25	8	6043	[illegible]	-0-	-0-	3	
4545	451	207	74	5266	10	-0-	1	-0-	
12783	2287	1707	1825	18517	81	-0-	4	-0-	
5787	1876	130	60	7791	56	-0-	6	-0-	
4928	350	28	10	5302	8	-0-	6	-0-	
58534	6253	858	482	64755	876	-0-	493	2	1
8455	1376	714	285	10817	12	-0-	1	-0-	
13282	2370	843	626	16829	246	-0-	46	-0-	
18582	1628	2344	325	22874	5	-0-	-0-	-0-	
4881	156	20	1	5043	11	-0-	4	-0-	
4664	470	1	-0-	5097	28	-0-	10	-0-	
6491	533	52	31	6089	? (10) 18	-0-	-0-	-0-	
1275	-0-	41	-0-	1305	10	-0-	1	-0-	
4647	202	-0-	-0-	4812	34	-0-	3	-0-	
5985	1370	136	37	7422	50	-0-	30	26	
62832	31170	301	118	190384	3019	-0-	1018	-0-	
21936	776	43	-0-	22482	255	-0-	14	4	
5240	44	131	1	5350	30	-0-	36	-0-	
3097	625	24	1	3738	9	-0-	-0-	-0-	
25078	2614	216	16	27571	118	-0-	168	67	
1957	15	1	-0-	1965	7	-0-	-0-	1	
4270	179	3	-0-	4426	18	-0-	8	-0-	
7370	1369	273	123	9124	11	-0-	-0-	-0-	
4970	1281	31	151	6416	13	2	2	-0-	

				4	5			
St. Helena	2761	913	789	539	520	2759	2	1687
St. James	6251	2122	1956	1161	1012	6227	24	4001
St. John the Baptist								
St. Landry	22512	8419	6948	3919	3226	22446	66	14711
St. Martin	9650	3971	3173	1482	1024	9630	20	6192
St. Mary	14021	5521	5842	1379	1279	13965	56	11020
St. Tammany	16129	7564	6495	1087	983	15895	234	13976
Tangipahoa	21031	9094	8460	1603	1874	20716	315	17320
Tensas	928	515	413	-0-	-0-	928	-0-	928
Terrebonne	12192	6375	4818	628	371	12140	52	10582
Union	4303	2006	1929	144	224	4299	4	3883
Vermilion	18753	10500	6363	1150	740	18741	12	14142
Vernon	8063	3974	3449	291	349	8041	22	7349
Washington	12961	6131	5313	750	767	12920	41	11372
Webster	8277	4209	3988	51	29	8269	8	8195
West Baton Rouge	2315	984	716	298	317	2306	9	1684
West Carroll	3335	1855	1410	25	45	3332	3	3230
West Feliciana	901	480	421	-0-	-0-	901	-0-	897
Winn								
	920675✓	423891✓	370374✓	66552✓	59858✓	911120✓	9555✓	771506✓

*Livingston - 1,000 off in party affiliations

*Democratic Total - off 2,980 in Total

1005	15	54	2753	8	-0-	-0-	-0-	
1962	77	211	6219	31	-0-	1	-0-	
6301	655	845	22468	34	-0-	10	-0-	
1892	952	614	9560	27	-0-	63	-0-	
2239	346	416	13992	24	-0-	5	-0-	
1916	83	154	15948	127	-0-	54	-0-	
3308	231	172	20957	70	-0-	4	-0-	
-0-	-0-	-0-	923	5	-0-	-0-	-0-	
975	611	24	12154	31	-0-	7	-0-	
364	52	4	4265	19	-0-	18	1	
1378	2721	512	18751	2	-0-	-0-	-0-	
629	74	11	8034	28	-0-	-0-	1	
1514	72	3	12882	40	-0-	39	-0-	
80	2	-0-	8209	55	-0-	13	-0-	
615	16	-0-	2312	3	-0-	-0-	-0-	
70	35	-0-	3305	27	-0-	3	-0-	
-0-	4	-0-	900	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	
114028✓	22753✓	12388✓	908289	8613	2✓	3340✓	430✓	1✓
			(905309)					
			-2980	(1000)				

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12TR (LOUISIANA
LOUISIANA — Continued

Parishes	1958 Population Total	1958 Population White	1958 Population Negro	1958 Registration Total	1958 Registration White	1958 Registration Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Acadia, -	55050	43771	11279	21828	18324	3504	20.5	16.1
Allen	21883	16550	5333	8816	7053	1763	24.4	20.
Ascension -	25919	16744	9175	9406	7382	2024	35.4	21.5
Assumption -	19781	11261	8520	6720	4731	1989	43.1	29.6
Avoyelles -	43311	31288	12023	15999	14045	1954	27.8	12.2
Beauregard	21030	17291	3739	7787	6747	1040	17.8	13.4
Bienville	20905	10107	10796	4787	4759	28	51.6	.58
Bossier	50376	33994	16382	10455	9983	472	32.5	~~32.5~~ 4.5
Caddo	208722	127707	81015	55688	51222	4466	38.8	8.
Calcasieu -	112461	87039	25422	41967	35603	6364	22.6	15.2
Caldwell	11338	8025	3313	2512	2534	38	29.2	1.5
Cameron -	6733	6284	449	2003	1928	75	6.7	3.7
Catahoula	13566	8672	4894	2409	2222	187	36.1	7.8
Claiborne	27325	12834	14491	5713	5698	15	53.	.26
Concordia	16968	7037	9931	2262	2090	172	58.5	7.6
DeSoto	27434	11403	16031	6012	5526	486	58.4	8.1
East Baton Rou	190198	127464	62734	63690	54590	9100	33.	14.3
East Carroll	18681	7243	11438	2028	2028	0	61.2	-0-
East Feliciana	21198	8343	12855	2939	2485	454	60.1	15.4
Evangeline -	35908	26626	9282	15901	12815	3086	25.8	19.4
Franklin	34146	20905	13241	6056	5692	364	38.8	6.
Grant	15783	11732	4051	5277	4752	525	25.7	9.9
Iberia -	47533	32070	15463	18602	14490	4112	32.5	22.1
Iberville -	30479	15440	15039	7853	5917	1936	49.3	24.7
Jackson	17296	11756	5540	5316	4956	360	32.	6.8
Jefferson -	130226	108398	21828	66127	59392	6735	16.8	10.2
Jefferson Davis	30823	23925	6888	10830	9169	1661	22.3	15.3
Lafayette -	69568	49993	19575	17121	14125	2996	28.1	17.5
Lafourche -	50456	43584	6872	22879	20926	1953	13.6	8.5
LaSalle	14256	12577	1679	5058	4901	157	11.8	3.1
Lincoln	28798	16855	11943	5135	4665	470	41.5	9.2
Livingston	23238	19511	3727	7197	6543	564	16.	7.9
Madison	20156	6654	13502	1316	1316	0	67.	-0-

Iberia -	47533	32070	15463	18602	14490	4112	32.5	22.1
Iberville -	30479	15440	15039	7853	5917	1936	49.3	24.7
Jackson	17296	11756	5540	5316	4956	360	32.	6.8
Jefferson -	130226	108398	21828	66127	59392	6735	16.8	10.2
Jefferson Davis	30823	23925	6888	10830	9169	1661	22.3	15.3
Lafayette -	69568	49993	19575	17121	14125	2996	28.1	17.5
Lafourche -	50456	43584	6872	22879	20926	1953	13.6	8.5
LaSalle	14256	12577	1679	5058	4901	157	11.8	3.1
Lincoln	28798	16855	11943	5135	4665	470	41.5	9.2
Livingston	23238	19511	3727	7197	6543	564	16.	7.9
Madison	20156	6654	13502	1316	1316	0	67.	-0-
Morehouse	38276	19308	18968	4849	4647	202	49.6	4.2
Natchitoches	42796	23084	19712	7528	6121	1407	46.1	18.7
Orleans	643979	424440	219539	194421	163132	31289	34.1	16.1
Ouachita	87967	58006	29961	22755	21979	776	34.1	3.4
Plaquemines -	17714	10962	6752	5416	5371	45	38.1	.83
Point Coupee -	25060	11301	13759	3747	3121	626	54.9	16.7
Rapides	105119	70082	35037	27924	25294	2630	33.3	9.4
Red River	13460	6480	6980	1973	1958	15	51.9	.76
Richland	31261	17757	13504	4452	4273	179	43.2	4.
Sabine	23205	18128	5077	9135	7643	1492	21.9	16.3
St. Bernard -	14944	12919	2025	[illegible]		802	13.6	
St. Charles -	16600	11373	5227	6433	5001	1432	31.5	22.3
St. Helena	9958	4458	5500	2761	1702	1059	55.2	8.4
St. James -	18006	8783	9223				51.2	
St. John -	17653	8565	9088	[illegible]		2426	51.5	
St. Landry -	92456	50536	41920	22512	15367	7145	45.3	31.7
St. Martin -	31335	19308	12027	9650	7144	2506	38.4	26.
St. Mary -	42703	26845	15858	14021	11363	2658	37.1	19.
St. Tammany	31177	21381	9796	16129	14059	2070	31.4	12.8
Tangipahoa	61991	41135	20856	21031	17554	3477	33.6	16.5
Tensas	15009	5210	9799	928	928	0	65.3	-0-
Terrabonne -	53184	40551	12633	12192	11193	999	23.8	8.2
Union	21164	13390	7774	4303	3935	368	36.7	8.6
Vermilion -	42245	36711	5534	18753	16863	1890	13.1	10.1
Vernon	23242	20463	2779	8063	7423	640	12.	7.9
Washington	44852	29838	15014	12961	11444	1517	33.5	11.7
Webster	41189	25890	15299	8277	8197	80	37.1	1.
West Baton Ro	13448	6354	7094	2315	1301	1014	52.8	43.8
West Carroll	19488	15709	3779	3335	3265	70	19.4	2.1
West Feliciana	11405	3091	8314	901	901	0	72.9	-0-
Winn	17742	12589	5153	~~1658~~		1430	29.	
STATE	3130173	2067,740	1062433	920675*	793265*	126410**	33.9	13.7

7pt

* Excluding St. Bernard, St. John the Baptist, and Winn parishes, for which registration figures were not available at the time of the survey. The Negro registration figures entered above for these parishes are from SRC's 1956 survey, and are not included in the state totals or percentages.

** Plus 4,658 for the three excluded parishes = 131,068

Source: Secretary of State, October 4, 1958. Population figures: Louisiana State Department of Health, 1958

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Statement of the Registered Voters

OCTOBER 8, 1960

Parish	1 Total Number of Registered Voters as of October 8, 1960	2 Total Number of White Voters Registered as of October 8, 1960 (Male)	(Female)	3 Total Number of Colored Voters Registered as of October 8, 1960 (Male)	(Female)	4 Number of Voters of Native Birth	5 Number of Voters of Foreign Birth	6 Number of Voters Who Write Their Name (White)	(Colored)	7 Number of Voters Who Make Their Mark (White)	(Colored)	8 Party Affiliations Democrat	9 Republican	10 States' Rights	11 Independent or no party
Acadia	23,706	10,581	9,345	1,874	1,906	23,608	98	17,546	2,675	2,380	1,105	23,649	50	1	6
Allen	10,180	5,097	3,086	1,233	764	10,168	12	7,855	1,988	328	209	10,165	13	0	2
Ascension	10,750	4,690	3,711	1,340	1,009	10,735	15	8,093	2,033	275	349	10,734	15	0	1
Assumption	7,090	2,736	2,371	1,081	902	7,084	6	4,478	1,589	629	394	7,084	5	0	1
Avoyelles	15,467	8,110	5,520	1,088	749	15,435	32	13,019	1,255	611	582	15,426	29	3	9
Beauregard	9,100	4,203	3,766	573	558	9,068	32	7,920	1,076	49	55	9,071	28	0	1
Bienville	5,210	2,668	2,516	11	15	5,204	6	5,175	26	9	0	5,207	3	0	0
Bossier	13,346	6,417	6,361	284	284	13,264	82	12,722	567	56	1	13,003	201	16	126
Caddo	62,830	29,071	29,073	2,247	2,439	62,173	657	58,113	4,686	31	0	59,551	2,332	315	632
Calcasieu	50,917	22,987	20,566	3,771	3,593	50,525	392	42,423	6,463	1,130	901	50,256	555	4	102
Caldwell	4,111	2,152	1,860	46	53	4,106	5	3,992	99	20	0	4,101	5	5	0
Cameron	3,344	1,669	1,515	104	56	3,341	3	3,064	150	120	10	3,339	5	0	0
Catahoula	4.382	2,076	1,914	196	196	4,380	2	3,904	392	86	0	4,374	8	0	0
Claiborne	5,539	2,748	2,763	21	7	5,536	3	5,499	28	12	0	5,526	7	0	6
Concordia	5,755	2,808	2.577	194	176	5,754	1	5,381	370	4	0	5,729	19	0	7
DeSoto	6,467	2,894	2,976	264	333	6,449	18	5,870	597	0	0	6,411	26	10	20
East Baton Rouge	76,749	33,732	32.441	4.998	5,578	75,994	755	65,682	10,570	491	6	75,099	716	10	924
East Carroll	2,855	1,481	1,374	0	0	2,849	6	2,814	0	41	0	2,833	7	14	1
East Feliciana	2,530	1,188	1,260	33	49	2,528	2	2,444	82	4	0	2.517	7	1	5
Evangeline	16,585	7,227	6,223	1,577	1,558	16,575	10	11,493	1,663	1,957	1,472	16.563	17	0	5
Franklin	8,650	4,382	3,878	190	200	8,637	13	8,223	382	37	8	8,631	13	0	6
Grant	6,740	3,489	2.577	331	343	6,736	4	5,820	592	246	82	6,732	8	0	0
Iberia	21,098	8,997	7,665	2,474	1,962	20,981	117	14,876	2,580	1,786	1,856	21.000	95	0	3
Iberville	9,722	3,906	3,330	1,301	1,185	9,625	97	7.011	2.375	225	111	9,643	71	0	8
Jackson	6,301	2,983	2,834	212	272	6,291	10	5,779	474	38	10	6,279	12	1	9
Jefferson	86.422	40.555	37,304	4,501	4,062	85,232	1,190	76,888	7,775	971	788	84,567	1,147	11	697
Jefferson Davis	11.254	5,103	4,496	849	806	11,209	45	8,935	1,400	660	259	11,208	25	0	21
Lafayette	32,749	14,777	12.467	3,133	2.372	32.560	189	25,780	4,138	1,465	1,366	32,041	555	0	153
Lafourche	24,236	12,004	10,193	1,141	898	24,219	17	20,152	1,759	2,045	280	24,224	12	0	0
LaSalle	7,043	3,321	3,502	98	122	7,031	12	6,753	218	70	2	7,013	12	0	18

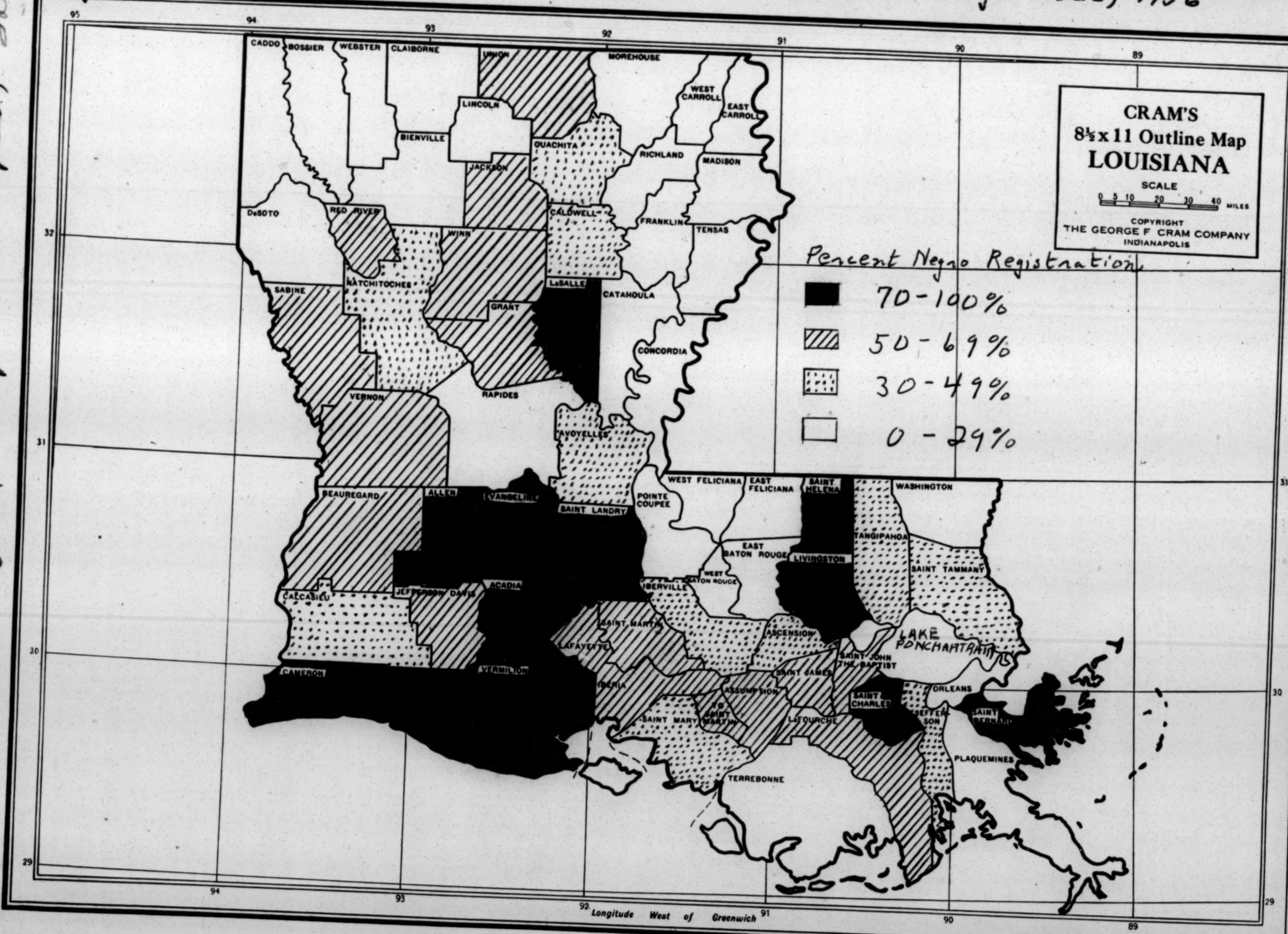
Concordia	5,755	2,808	2,577	194	176	5,754	1	5,381	370	4	0	5,729	19	0	7
DeSoto	6,467	2,894	2,976	264	333	6,449	18	5,870	597	0	0	6,411	26	10	20
East Baton Rouge	76,749	33,732	32.441	4.998	5578	75,994	755	65,682	10,570	491	6	75,099	716	10	924
East Carroll	2,855	1,481	1,374	0	0	2,849	6	2,814	0	41	0	2,833	7	14	1
East Feliciana	2,530	1,188	1,260	33	49	2,528	2	2,444	82	4	0	2.517	7	1	5
Evangeline	16,585	7,227	6,223	1,577	1,558	16,515	10	11,493	1,663	1,957	1,472	16.563	17	0	5
Franklin	8,650	4,382	3,878	190	200	8,637	13	8,223	382	37	8	8,631	13	0	6
Grant	6,740	3,489	2.577	331	343	6,736	4	5,820	592	246	82	6,732	8	0	0
Iberia	21,098	8,997	7,665	2,474	1,962	20,981	117	14,876	2,580	1,786	1,856	21,000	95	0	3
Iberville	9,722	3,906	3,330	1,301	1,185	9,625	97	7,011	2,375	225	111	9,643	71	0	8
Jackson	6,301	2,983	2,834	212	272	6,291	10	5,779	474	38	10	6,279	12	1	9
Jefferson	86.422	40.555	37,304	4,501	4,062	85,232	1,190	76,888	7,775	971	788	84,567	1,147	11	697
Jefferson Davis	11,254	5,103	4,496	849	806	11,209	45	8,935	1,400	660	259	11,208	25	0	21
Lafayette	32,749	14,777	12.467	3,133	2.372	32.560	189	25,780	4,138	1,465	1,366	32,041	555	0	153
Lafourche	24,236	12,004	10,193	1,141	898	24,219	17	20,152	1,759	2045	280	24,224	12	0	0
LaSalle	7,043	3,321	3,502	98	122	7,031	12	6,753	218	70	2	7,013	12	0	18
Lincoln	7,787	3,620	3,307	420	440	7,769	18	6,925	860	2	0	7,674	56	15	42
Livingston	13,014	5,892	5,923	611	588	12,932	82	11,705	1,124	110	75	12,990	24	0	0
Madison	2,713	1,430	1,283	0	0	2,703	10	2,653	0	60	0	2,684	14	15	0
Morehouse	7,791	3,864	3,626	111	190	7,777	14	7,490	301	0	0	7,738	35	18	0
Natchitoches	10.531	4.449	4,303	812	967	10,512	19	8,675	1,760	77	19	10,430	44	18	39
Orleans	213.025	88,944	87,788	18,002	18,291	208,361	4,664	176,459	36,187	282	97	208,391	3,395	58	1,180
Ouachita	25.526	12,362	12,434	308	422	25,313	213	24,754	729	42	1	25,229	239	21	37
Plaquemines	7,217	3,923	3,247	36	11	7,090	127	7,062	45	108	2	7,164	20	0	35
Pointe Coupee	7,667	2,383	2,071	1,734	1,479	7,666	1	5,201	1,961	153	352	7,659	8	0	0
Rapides	33,491	15,237	15,175	1,337	1,742	33,282	209	30,213	3,070	199	9	33,153	167	63	108
Red River	3,468	1,727	1,714	8	19	3,466	2	3,423	27	18	0	3,460	8	0	0
Richland	6,338	3,150	2,925	133	130	6,330	8	6,059	263	16	0	6,315	19	0	4
Sabine	9,938	4,795	3,786	717	640	9,927	11	8,308	1,234	273	123	9,924	14	0	0
St. Bernard	15,450	7.574	7,097	396	383	15,219	231	14,530	734	141	45	15,379	45	0	26
St. Charles	9,409	3,902	3,546	1,002	959	9,369	40	7,374	1,750	74	211	9,378	25	0	6
St. Helena	3,721	1,297	1,190	621	613	3,720	1	2,457	1,165	30	69	3,703	13	0	5
St. James	6,976	2,337	2,111	1,341	1,187	6,956	20	4,377	2,272	71	256	6,945	29	0	2
St. John the Baptist	7,110	2,302	1,828	1,674	1,306	7,105	5	3,946	2,396	184	584	7,076	23	0	11
St. Landry	33,096	11,926	9,993	5,979	5,198	33,010	86	20,167	8,563	1,751	2,615	32,997	77	3	19
St. Martin	11,318	4,648	3,874	1,597	1,199	11,304	14	7,604	2,174	869	671	11,273	21	0	24
St. Mary	18.083	7,416	6,472	2.207	1,988	17,995	88	13,265	3,537	623	658	18,015	57	2	9
St. Tammany	19.725	9,012	7,886	1,554	1,273	19,473	252	16,807	2,614	91	213	19,445	177	2	101
Tangipahoa	21.768	9.539	9.092	1,439	1,698	21,464	304	18,378	3,007	253	130	21,665	77	0	26
Tensas	1,926	996	930	0	0	1,923	3	1,926	0	0	0	1,918	7	1	0
Terrebonne	19,124	9.615	7,712	1,080	717	19,058	66	16,273	1,722	1,054	75	18,967	133	0	24
Union	6,524	3,089	2,838	252	345	6,521	3	5,875	592	52	5	6,478	21	0	25
Vermillion	19,967	9,910	7,992	1,060	1,005	19,941	26	15,681	1,630	2,220	436	19,959	9	0	4
Vernon	10,477	5,632	4,672	354	419	10,450	27	9,591	757	113	16	10,451	24	0	2
Washington	17,152	7,858	7.572	835	887	17,091	61	15,336	1,722	94	0	17.076	46	0	36
Webster	12.347	6,251	5,966	68	62	12,334	13	12,212	130	5	0	12,240	72	0	35
West Baton Rouge	4.517	1,738	1,591	616	572	4,499	18	3,287	1,193	36	1	4,514	3	0	0
West Carroll	5,255	2,767	2,418	24	46	5,250	5	5,155	70	30	0	5,224	19	12	0
West Feliciana	1,305	685	620	0	0	1,302	3	1,300	0	5	0	1,304	1	0	0
Winn	7,514	3,350	3,068	516	580	7,513	1	6,412	1,073	6	23	7,508	6	0	0
TOTAL:	1,152,398	517,072	475,514	82,009	77,803	1,141,922	10,476	968,584	142,464	24,818	16532	1,136,291	10926	619	4661

Suffrage La. 1941 Mat. file

Figure 1

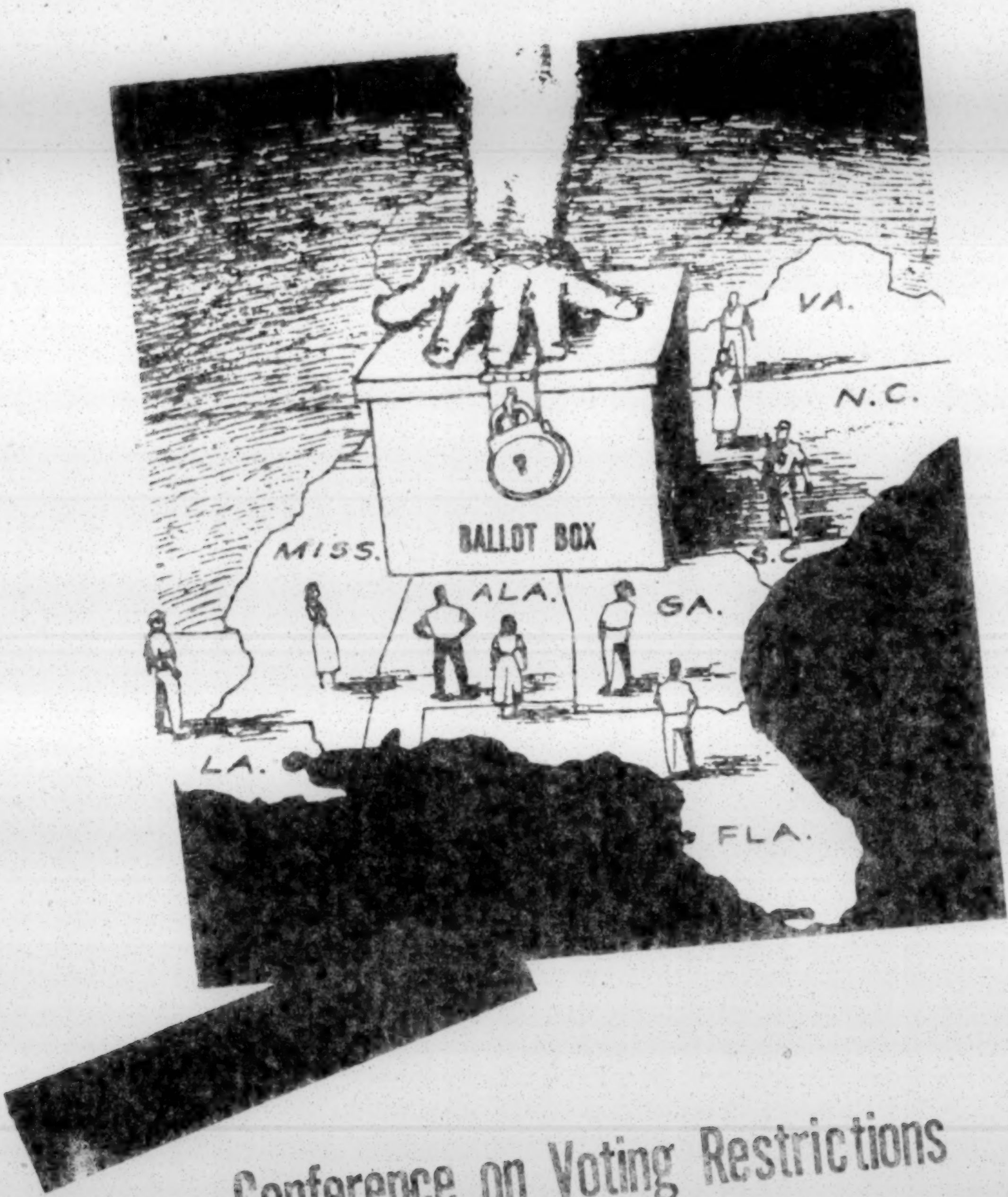
Percent Negro Registration of Potential Negro Vote, 1956

(NOTE — Return to page 8 of La. report when copied) Table 4


CRAM'S
8½ x 11 Outline Map
LOUISIANA
SCALE
0 5 10 20 30 40 MILES
COPYRIGHT
THE GEORGE F. CRAM COMPANY
INDIANAPOLIS
Percent Negro Registration
■ 70-100%
▨ 50-69%
░ 30-49%
☐ 0-29%
CADDO
BOSSIER
WEBSTER
CLAIBORNE
UNION
MOREHOUSE
WEST CARROLL
EAST CARROLL
LINCOLN
BIENVILLE
OUACHITA
RICHLAND
MADISON
JACKSON
DeSOTO
RED RIVER
CALDWELL
FRANKLIN
TENSAS
WINN
NATCHITOCHES
LaSALLE
CATAHOULA
SABINE
GRANT
CONCORDIA
RAPIDES
VERNON
AVOYELLES
BEAUREGARD
ALLEN
EVANGELINE
SAINT LANDRY
POINTE COUPEE
WEST FELICIANA
EAST FELICIANA
SAINT HELENA
WASHINGTON
EAST BATON ROUGE
WEST BATON ROUGE
LIVINGSTON
TANGIPAHOA
SAINT TAMMANY
CALCASIEU
JEFFERSON DAVIS
ACADIA
IBERVILLE
SAINT MARTIN
LAFAYETTE
ASCENSION
LAKE PONCHARTRAIN
SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST
SAINT JAMES
CAMERON
VERMILION
IBERIA
ASSUMPTION
TO SAINT MARTIN
SAINT CHARLES
ORLEANS
SAINT BERNARD
SAINT MARY
LAFOURCHE
JEFFERSON
PLAQUEMINES
TERREBONNE
95
94
93
92
91
90
89
32
31
30
29
Longitude West of Greenwich

- 8 -

MAP NO. CO516—LOUISIANA


VA.
N.C.
S.C.
BALLOT BOX
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
LA.
FLA.

Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

(S.C.E.7)

Asbury Methodist Church

Washington, D. C.

April 27, 1958

SPECIAL SUFFRAGE
MISSISSIPPI

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1956

VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

By Aaron E. Henry, Executive Secretary, Regional Council
of Negro Leadership, and Albert L. Powell, President,
Mississippi Progressive Voters League.

The Negro registers and votes freely in only six of the 82 counties of Mississippi. These counties are Harrison, Hinds, Washington, Warren, Lauderdale, and Coahoma.

In 43 counties there is a situation where every now and then a favored Negro is able to register.

In the remaining 33 counties there is gross intimidation that creates a fear complex to such an extent that the Negroes in these counties are in most instances afraid to try to register. These counties include Calhoun, Desoto, Carroll, Panola, Tallahatchie, Humphreys, Issaquena, Sharkey, Clay, Lowndes, Monroe, Lee, Alcorn, Choctaw, Noxubee, Attala, Yazoo, Montgomery, Bolivar, Tunica, Sunflower, Webster, Holmes, Tate, Jefferson, Walthall, Clarke, George, Lamar, Pearl River, Wayne, Chickasaw, and Forest.

The Negroes of the state have appealed to the sheriffs and circuit clerks of each of these counties to cooperate in a movement to permit Negroes to register and vote. Still the report from the counties involved came back like this: From Holmes County, "No," Negroes are still denied the right to vote and register. From Issaquena County, "No relief," please keep working. From Sunflower County, "Things are the same," what next? From Humphreys County came the only report where Negroes actually fear physical violence if they attempt to register and vote.

The Negroes in other areas are more afraid of economic reprisals and pressures such as loss of employment and loss of credit. Some are just afraid to make the white people mad.

The Negroes are determined to pursue this issue until every qualified Negro in the state of Mississippi is free to register and vote.

In March of 1955, the legislature of Mississippi passed a bill that, at the time, its proponents openly admitted was for the sole purpose of retarding the vote of Negroes. This bill made it necessary for the prospective voter to interpret any section of the Mississippi or United States Constitutions to the satisfaction of the circuit clerk.

The circuit clerk himself may have never gone to school a day in his life, as there are no literacy requirements for circuit clerks. If a candidate for clerk can get the votes, he is in. And, as in most elections in Mississippi, the candidate that can yell "NIGGER, NIGGER" the loudest will be elected.

The application to vote in Mississippi makes it necessary for one to be more highly trained to qualify as a voter than to qualify as a school teacher. For in each of these counties where Negroes are barred from registering there are hundreds of Negroes teaching Negro children.

Here are specific instances of intimidation from three counties:

HUMPHREYS COUNTY

Mr. A approached the registrar in Humphreys County and requested permission to register. The person in charge informed him that the registration problem had caused bloodshed once in Humphreys County (obviously referring to the death of the Rev. George Lee and the wounding of Mr. Gus Courts) and advised him not to try.

BOLIVAR COUNTY

On the afternoon of March 12, 1958--just 6 and a half weeks ago--two special agents of the F.B.I. made a three-hour investigation of the refusal of authorities to allow Mr. A and others of Mound Bayou to register and vote. After the investigation the F.B.I. cautioned Mr. A not to discuss the conversation with anyone. One A.D. Saxton, a white local merchant and a member of the Citizens Council, demanded that Mr. A repeat the conversation between him and the special agents or there would be another Till case. Affidavits are in our files.

SUNFLOWER COUNTY

Negroes presented themselves to become registered voters. The registrar refused to register them by this ruse: "We'll have to wait until the state legislature adjourns; then we'll see about it."

#

MISSISSIPPI

Changes in political administration have contributed to the growth in Negro voting in Mississippi. The "New Deal" administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced many Negro farmers to voting procedures under the A.A.A. program, and many Negro workers to labor elections under the N.L.R.B. In these elections they were not only permitted to vote; their votes were sought by their fellow white farmers and workers. Such activities encouraged an expanded vote on political issues.[58]

Similar encouragement to Negro voting has occurred within the state on local non-political issues. Usually such elections deal with bond issues and matters that require a certain percentage of the total electorate--for instance, a B.A.W.I. election to authorize the sale of bonds to build a plant for a new industry. In these elections there is no cause for, nor apparently any thought of, a fear that the Negro may by some means do away with "white supremacy" in the local government.

One example revealed in the course of the survey made for this paper may illustrate such a situation. In the course of counting the vote of the Negroes in Jackson County in the state-wide elections used in this survey, it was observed that in a number of poll books the Negro vote was appreciably greater in an election in September, 1954, than in elections in August, November, or December of that year. When this fact was mentioned to the circuit clerk, he identified the election as one on a bond issue in one district to raise funds to replace a veneer mill which had burned in a community in the county. The Negroes had an interest in the mill because it provided jobs for them.

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[58] Henry Lee Moon, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote (Garden City, New York, New York, 1949), p.182.

From M.A. Thesis, U. of Miss. "Negro Voting in Mississippi"
James Franklin Barnes
229 Lexington Cove
Jackson, Miss
1955

Returning Negro veterans of World War II added to the pressure that increased Negro registration and voting. Many of these men had been taught the importance of voting while they were in military service, and were eager to apply this teaching upon their resumption of civilian life.

In recent years investigation of activities tending to restrict Negro suffrage has been made or threatened by agents of the Federal Government; this has tended to make some of the circuit clerks less anxious to take part in such activities. This has, naturally, tended to increase the ease with which Negroes may register.

These have been the events which have been found to be outstanding in their contribution to the expansion of the Negro vote in Mississippi. One occurrence that is not specific enough to call an "event" is still taking place. This is the growth of a more liberal and encourageing attitude toward Negro voting by an increasing number of white people. Such a change in attitude is probably due to the influence of nationwide media on the opinions of the increased number of Mississippians now exposed to them.

NEGRO VOTING TODAY

Distribution of Negro Voting Strength by Counties

The results of a survey taken of the qualified Negro voters in each county of the state are shown in table I. These tabulations were accumulated by means of a county by county count inasmuch as no central record is kept of this information. Very few of the circuit clerks of the various counties had exact knowledge as to this information except in those small counties in which the clerk knew by name the few Negroes who had registered in that county. In other counties a count was made through the poll books to determine the number qualified. Since the law establishing the new procedure for registration included a provision that records of registration should no longer carry racial identification, such a method will not be useful in the future. In fact, no information concerning the number of Negroes registered will be discernable.

There are certain circumstances which may present the possibility of a small percentage of error in the larger figures. One of these circumstances is the fact that in the absence of a new registration over a period of years many names may be found on the poll book after people have moved away or died. In the larger counties this is particularly true because the clerk has no way of knowing when such an event has taken place. Another circumstance presenting a possibility for some error is that the Democratic committee or the election commission may inadvertently mark the wrong name delinquent. That this error does occasionally occur has been evidenced by the numerous comments written into the poll books when individuals marked delinquent presented their poll tax receipts when they appeared at the polls to vote.

A third possible discrepancy between these figures and the actual situation is the fact that sometimes one person may have his name duplicated on the poll book. This situation usually results from the registration of a person who has already registered and through some mishap the fact has not been discovered. Since the election commission usually discovers such a case when purging the poll books before elections, it is not likely much error has resulted. This problem of double registration seems to be a problem particularly related to Negroes although some whites register unnecessarily also. Several clerks mentioned cases in which Negroes presented themselves for registration every January at the same time that they paid their poll taxes. One account of a case of double registration was given by the Circuit Clerk of Washington County, Mr. Ed Cox. A Negro woman came in to register after the new forms for registration had been received. Mr. Cox asked her if she had ever registered and received the answer, "No, suh." Mr. Cox handed her the form and showed her a place to sit while she filled it out. After working over the form for two hours and forty-five minutes, she returned the complete form to Mr. Cox who noted that she had passed and prepared to enter her name in the registration book. Upon opening the book to enter her name he discovered that she had registered several years before and had put herself to the trouble of filling out the form unnecessarily.

Incomplete data on elections is due to the practice of remaking the poll books when they become old and filled. Because it was such a large county the clerk was asked to estimate the number who had voted in Coahoma County.

With these deficiencies in mind one may now turn to the tabulations to discover, if possible, any tendencies which may be evident.

As is indicated on the map, the areas in which there is a Negro majority in the population is usually delta or bottom land, the type best suited to farming. Along the Mississippi River all the counties except Adams County have Negro majorities, and it is 49 per cent Negro.

One would expect that these counties having high percentages of Negro population would not allow a greater number of the Negroes to vote because of the white fear of losing the power to protect itself through control of the local government. In many counties this is true. Amite, Wilkinson, Jefferson, Copish, Issaquena, Sharkey, Humphreys, Sunflower, Tallahatchie, Carroll, Panola, Tate, Tunica, Desoto, Clay, Noxubee, Kemper, and Jasper Counties fall into this pattern.

On the other hand, other counties having a high percentage of Negroes do have a large number of Negroes voting. These counties have in common the existence of large cities or Negro colleges or communities within the county. Counties having large cities are as follows:

County - City

Adams - Natchez
Warren - Vicksburg
Yazoo - Yazoo City
Madison - Canton
Washington - Greenville
Leflore - Greenwood
Grenada - Grenada
Coahoma - Clarksdale

Counties having Negro colleges are:

Claibourne - Alcorn A. & M. College
Leflore - Itta Bena Vocational Institute
Marshall - Rust College

Counties having Negro Communities are:

Bolivar - Mount Bayou
Jefferson Davis - Mt. Carmel

The county having the highest total Negro population as well as the highest number of Negro voters is Hinds County. This county is 45 per cent Negro, contains the largest city in the state, and has two large Negro colleges, Jackson College and Tougalou College.

Comparison of columns six and seven in table I will reveal a definite correlation between the percent of urban residents in the county, as defined and determined by the

U. S. Census Bureau, and the number of Negroes who register and vote in that county.

Certain counties have few Negro voters even though less than 25 per cent of the population is Negro. These counties usually have no population meeting the U. S. Census Bureau classification of "Urban."[59] Included in this group of counties are:

County	%Negro
Stone	21.8
George	12.2
Greene	18.3
Perry	24.3
Lamar	15.9
Smith	20.3
Webster	23.2
Calhoun	23.3
Pontotoc	19.1
Tishomingo	5.2

It may seem unusual in such cases for there to be no appreciable Negro electorate. A possible explanation which suggests itself is that these Negroes are farmers with little education and less experience with affairs of government. Since they are so few in number, George County having only 618 of voting age, Greene County 758, Stone County 746, and Tishomingo County 463, they may find it simpler to deal with white individuals rather than try to enter into politics.

Itawamba County, one of the rural counties with a low percentage of Negroes has 8.7 per cent of its population of voting age qualified.

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[59] The U. S. Bureau of Census defines as "Urban" all persons living in places of 2,500 population or more plus those living in the densely populated fringe around cities of 50,000 or more.

Other counties having no urban population but having a high percentage of Negroes in the population and a large number qualified include:

County	% Negro	Qualified Negro Voters
Tippah	19.4	144
Covington	32.5	419
Simpson	33.3	61
Lawrence	37.6	268
Leake	42.4	66
Jefferson Davis	55.5	1038
Quitman	60.7	234

These counties had no urban population according to the census reports but were found to have a number of qualified electors and voters. The last two on the list are most unusual. Jefferson Davis County has 1,038 qualified Negro electors out of 3,923 who are of voting age. The county is 55.5 per cent Negro and has one community, Mt. Carmel, which is all Negro. This community has formed an all Negro voting precinct since 1906. Of this number of qualified electors 182 voted in the primary election in August 1954, 256 voted in the general election in November, and 191 voted in the special election in December.

Two amendments of particular interest to Negroes were issues in two of these elections. In November, the amendment authorizing the new requirements for registration was voted on. In December, the amendment authorizing the legislature to abolish the public school system in the event the United States Supreme Courts orders an end to segregation in the public schools of Mississippi.

Quitman County does not have nearly so high a percentage of those of voting age qualified, having only 234 qualified out of 7,844 over 21. The unusual thing about this county is that it has even this many, since Negroes amount to 60.7 per cent of the population and there are no large cities, no Negro colleges, and no large Negro communities. According to the 1950 census, 420 Negroes in the county had over eight years of formal education, an indication that a great many more Negroes will not be likely to qualify by meeting the new requirements for registration.

The remaining counties having no urban population are:

County	% Negro
Choctaw	30.2
Franklin	39.4
Clarke	40.7
Benton	43.8
Chickasaw	44.5
Walthall	46.0
Rankin	47.3
Jasper	51.4
Amite	54.0
Panola	55.0
Carroll	57.0
Tate	57.6
Kemper	59.4
Desoto	67.2
Issaquena	67.4
Wilkinson	69.1
Sharkey	71.3
Noxubee	74.4
Jefferson	74.5
Tunica	81.8

As the percentage of the population that is Negro increases, a subjective evaluation of attitudes encountered in the courthouses of the various counties indicates

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see next page

that the antagonism toward Negro suffrage increases. In the thirteen counties listed as having more than 50 per cent Negro there was a total of fourteen votes cast in the three elections on which data was collected for 1954, Five of these counties have no Negroes qualified to vote. Three counties have one Negro qualified who never votes. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population two votes were cast in 1954.

These counties having an urban population form a different pattern from those without an urban population. Counties shown by the 1950 census to have an urban population are listed below in order of increasing percentages of urban population. Those in which there is little Negro registration and voting are designated by an asterisk.

County	% Urban
*Sunflower	7.8
*Tallahatchie	8.6
Holmes	9.2
Bolivar	10.7
*Newton	12.8
*Scott	13.3
*Marshall	13.0
*Prentiss	16.6
*Neshoba	17.4
Lafayette	17.4
*Humphreys	17.6
Union	18.2
*Wayne	20.2
Madison	20.8
*Yalobusha	21.2
*Monroe	21.8
*Copiah	23.2
*Montgomery	23.8
*Winston	23.8
Claibourne	24.4
Attala	25.3
Marion	25.6

Yazoo	27.3
Lincoln	28.2
Oktibbeha	28.9
Pike	29.6
Lee	30.1
*Pearl River	32.5
Coahoma	33.5
Leflore	34.9
Alcorn	36.0
*Clay	36.2
Hancock	38.9
Grenada	39.2
Lowndes	45.4
Washington	49.2
Jones	50.0
Jackson	56.2
Lauderdale	65.3
*Forrest	65.4
Adams	70.5
Hinds	70.5
Warren	70.5
Harrison	82.7

Comparison of the upper and lower segments of this list will indicate the correlation between urbanization and the amount of Negro qualification and voting. With the exception of Bolivar, Madison, and Claibourne Counties all the counties with less than 25 per cent urban population had a small Negro vote. Holmes county had 45 qualified out of a voting age population of 11,468 Negroes, and of this number only five voted in any one election in 1954. Lafayette County, which has a smaller portion of its population Negro and a larger portion urban than has Holmes County, had 105 qualified out of 3,844 Negroes of voting age.

Of the counties with more than 25 per cent urban population only Forrest, Clay, and Pearl River Counties have a small number of qualified Negroes. Eight of them, Washington through Harrison Counties with the exception of

Forrest County, have 11,293 qualified Negroes out of the state total of 19,975.

These are the indications of a relationship between urbanization and Negro registration. The distribution of qualified Negro electors about the state seems to be the same as the location of large cities within the state with but a few exceptions. According to V. O. Key, such seems to be the pattern for Negro voting throughout the South.[60]

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[60] Key, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

TABLE I

County	Negro Over 21	Qualified	Voted 1954 Aug.	Nov.	Dec.	%Negro Population	% Urban Population
Adams	9,338	641	274	296	260	49.0	70.5
Alcorn	2,225	78	19	3	3	14.4	36.0
Amite	4,598	3	2	0	0	54.2	
Attala	5,179	34	18	10	3	43.4	25.3
Benton	1,749	35	0	3	0	43.8	
Bolivar	21,805	511	44	29	49	68.5	10.7
Calhoun	1,893	6	1	1	1	23.3	
Carroll	3,958	0	0	0	0	57.0	
Chickasaw	4,016	0	0	0	0	44.5	
Choctaw	1,412	19	0	0	1	30.2	
Claibourne	4,728	111	3	9	18	74.8	24.4
Clarke	3,849	0	0	0	0	40.7	
Clay	4,922	12	0	1	1	56.9	36.2
Coahoma	19,136	1070	(less than 600)			72.2	33.5
Copiah	7,841	16	0	1	1	53.4	23.2
Covington	2,354	419	97	107	17	32.5	
Desoto	8,013	1	0	0	0	67.2	
Forrest	7,406	16	(about 10 vote)			28.8	65.4
Franklin	2,294	70	0	few	few	39.4	
George	618	0	0	0	0	12.2	
Greene	758	38	0	0	0	18.3	
Grenada	4,980	39	13	4	7	52.2	39.2
Hancock	1,131	449	76	30	38	17.1	38.9

County	Negro Over 21	Qualified	Voted 1954			%Negro Population	%Urban Population
			Aug.	Nov.	Dec.		
Harrison	7,858	1569	259	174	302	16.0	82.7
Hinds	35,021	4089*	820	679	N.A.	45.0	70.5
Holmes	11,468	45	4	5	4	73.5	9.6
Humphreys	7,712	37	0	0	0	69.7	17.6
Issaquena	1,790	0	0	0	0	67.4	
Itawamba	470	42	14	1	1	5.4	
Jackson	3,752	900	68	75	90	21.5	56.2
Jasper	4,313	9	0	0	0	51.4	
Jefferson	4,304	0	0	0	0	74.5	
Jefferson Davis	3,923	1038	182	256	191	55.5	
Jones	8,046	872	N.A.	355	136	26.3	50.0
Kemper	4,023	20	0	10	N.A.	59.4	
Lafayette	3,844	105	6	4	N.A.	35.5	17.4
Lamar	1,118	0	0	0	0	15.9	
Lauderdale	12,965	1039	131	126	63	36.4	65.3
Lawrence	2,229	268	N.A.	42	N.A.	36.7	
Leake	3,835	66	12	10	7	42.4	
Lee	5,531	97	25	17	26	27.9	30.1
Leflore	17,893	297	74	67	45	68.2	34.9
Lincoln	4,507	516	33	41	19	32.9	28.0
Lowndes	9,177	117	21	10	N.A.	48.6	45.4
Madison	11,586	431	57	37	36	73.6	20.8
Marion	4,103	331	25	19	8	35.0	25.6
Marshall	8,210	15	7	5	1	70.6	13.0

County	Negro Over 21	Qualified	Voted 1954			%Negro Population	%Urban Population
			Aug.	Nov.	Dec.		
Monroe	6,734	18	few	few	few	37.5	28.1
Montgomery	2,978	0**	6	0	0	43.0	23.8
Neshoba	2,984	8	0	0	0	25.9	17.4
Newton	3,687	52	0	2	N.A.	34.6	12.8
Noxubee	6,764	0	0	0	0	74.4	
Oktibbeha	5,409	128	26	28	22	47.8	28.9
Panola	8,628	1	0	0	0	55.0	
Pearl River	2,454	0	0	0	0	21.8	32.5
Perry	1,136	58	0	0	0	24.3	
Pike	7,608	137	53	37	40	44.7	29.6
Pontotoc	1,847	6	0	0	0	19.1	
Prentiss	1,170	18	0	0	0	11.8	16.6
Quitman	7,844	234	39	8	7	60.7	
Rankin	7,295	33	2	0	0	47.3	
Scott	4,329	15	5	0	1	43.2	13.3
Sharkey	4,533	1	0	0	0	71.3	
Simpson	3,351	61	10	4	N.A.	33.3	
Smith	1,400	6	0	0	0	20.3	
Stone	746	25	0	6	5	21.8	
Sunflower	18,949	114***	few	few	N.A.	68.1	7.8
Tallehatchie	9,235	0	0	0	0	63.7	8.6
Tate	2,989	0	0	0	0	57.6	
Tippah	1,603	144	15	14	8	19.4	
Tishomingo	463	17	0	0	0	5.2	

County	Negro Over 21	Quali- fied	Voted 1954 Aug.	Nov.	Dec.	%Negro Popu- lation	%Urban Popu- lation
Tunica	9,123	27***	1	0	0	81.8	
Union	1,904	67	8	5	2	17.9	18.2
Walthall	3,017	0	0	0	0	46.0	
Warren	12,312	1099	183	114	94	50.7	70.5
Washington	27,823	1464	237	268	256	66.8	49.2
Wayne	2,857	0	0	0	0	36.6	20.2
Webster	1,243	3	0	0	0	23.2	
Wilkinson	4,558	40	1	0	0	69.1	
Winston	4,162	30	12	25	N.A.	41.8	23.8
Yalobusha	3,142	9	1	1	1	43.9	21.2
Yazoo	11,126	81	10	11	9	61.8	27.3
		19,975					

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*Includes qualified as of July 1955. Registration under new law, using new application form included for Hinds County. All other counties show qualified for May, 1955.

**26 were listed as being registered by the Attorney General's report in the summer 1954. Since that time these have either become deliquent through not paying their poll taxes or have asked to have their names taken off the books.

***Indicates total number of Negroes registered when information as to deliquencies was not available.

N. A. -- Indicates data not available in the poll books or not counted in first counties surveyed.

The amount of voting by Negroes has been very much exaggerated by those who estimate the Negro vote for the newspapers. Usually such accounts compare the number of qualified Negro voters to the number of votes in a specific election. This has been the result of an incompleteness of information about the number of qualified electors in a county. Because of fluctuations in the number who are registered and the number of these who are qualified, unless a specific count is made for some reason, the circuit clerks will not know how many people are able to vote in an election.

However, this practice may be misleading. One columnist, in a story on the results of a survey made by Attorney General J. P. Coleman for the Legal Educational Advisory Committee in 1944, revealed that there were 1,221 qualified Negro voters in Jefferson Davis County. Then, comparing this number to the total vote of 3,472 cast in that county in the second primary in August 1951, it was pointed out that such a number was more than one third of the vote in that county.[60]

A count of the Negro voters who took part in that election in that county revealed a total of 291, or a little more than eight per cent of the total vote. A greater per cent of the total vote was cast in the special election held December 21, 1954 on the question of an amendment to the state constitution authorizing the legislature to abolish the public school system in the event the United States Supreme Court ordered the end of segregation by race in the public schools. In that election, in Jefferson Davis County, 191 Negro votes were cast out of a total vote of 771. The returns of the election showed 573 votes cast in favor of the amendment and 198 votes cast against the amendment. Over 24.7 per cent of the vote in this election was cast by Negroes.

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[60] Kenneth Tolar, Commercial Appeal (Memphis, Tennessee), August 22, 1954.

With regard to the percentage of qualified Negroes in Jefferson Davis County who vote, an approximation may be made by calculating on the basis of the 1038 Negroes who were qualified as of June, 1955. The highest percentage in such a case was cast in the second primary in 1951 when 28 per cent voted.

Another county in which a significant portion of the vote is made up of Negroes is Washington County. This county, in the November, 1952 Presidential election, had 705 Negro votes out of 5919 votes cast, or 11.7 per cent of the total vote. This was one of the few major elections in which the Negro vote may have made a difference between two candidates in a race, even within one county. The difference between Eisenhower and Stevenson was 683 votes or 22 votes less than the number cast by Negroes.

On the basis of the 1464 qualified Negro electors in Washington County in January, 1955, 48 per cent of the Negroes who were eligible to vote did so in this presidential election. If it were possible to calculate on the basis of the number of Negroes qualified at that time the result would probably be a higher percentage because fewer Negroes were registered then. In a special election in the city of Greenville in 1953 a total of 546 Negroes voted out of 942 qualified, a percentage of 57.9. According to the circuit clerk, Mr. Ed Cox, this election was the only one in which the Negro vote was solicited.

Bolivar County, which borders on Washington County, has a much smaller per cent of its qualified Negroes to vote. Of the two state-wide elections in 1952, and the three in 1954, the greatest percentage attained was 9.5 per cent in the December, 1954, election in which 49 Negroes voted. It was said at the courthouse that in a special local election in 1952, 70 out of 300 qualified Negroes voted in Mount Bayou.

Hinds County is the only county in which more than one thousand Negroes voted in any of the elections included in this study. In the Presidential election in November 1952, Negroes cast 1330 out of 23,453 votes, or 5.6 per cent of tht total. Using as a basis the number qualified in July 1955, 32.4 per cent of the qualified Negroes voted in this election. Perhaps one reason this election had a larger number of Negro voters participating is that this was the only election of the group surveyed in Hinds County in which Republican voters took part.

In Jackson County, the clerk, Mr. Ramsey, had kept a notation of the total number qualified in the county, and stated that there were 10,524 people qualified in that county. A count made of the qualified Negroes showed that 900 of these were Negroes, about 8.5 per cent of the total. Of these 900 the largest number to vote in a state-wide election in 1954, the only year for which records were available, was 90, or ten per cent of the total number of Negroes qualified.

In the counties in which a smaller number of Negroes are qualified the per cent of those qualified who vote is larger. The extreme in this direction is the case of Panola County, in which the one Negro who was qualified voted in the November, 1952, election. In August, 1954, six Negroes voted in Montgomery County even though in July, 1955, there were none qualified in that county. The survey made by the Attorney General in 1954 listed 26 Negroes qualified in this county. Since that time, seven have become delinquent and 19 have asked to have their names removed from the registration books.

Other counties having a small number of Negroes qualified, include Union County, in which 16 out of 67 qualified Negroes voted in November, 1952; Marshall County, in which 10 out of 15 voted in the same year; Attala County, in which 18 out of 34 voted in August, 1954; Grenada County, in which 13 out of 30 voted in August, 1954, and Holmes County, in which 12 out of 42 voted in November, 1952.

November 4, 1952		August 24, 1954		November 1954,	December 1954	
Negro Vote	Total Vote	Negro Vote	Total Vote	Negro Vote	Negro Vote	Total Vote
124	4,059	274	3,078	296	260	2,381
1	1,575*	1	3,425*	1	1	541
20	1,052	3	1,510	9	18	528
40	2,300	97	2,820	107	17	964
155	2,137*	76	2,228*	30	38	
284	9,934	259	10,000*	174	302	9,546
1,330	23,453	820	18,383	697		
12	2,728	4	2,127	5	4	2,331
254	775*	182	1,867	256	191	771
298	9,368*	131	7,622	126	63	4,891
36	4,277	74	3,743	67	45	2,790
72	2,709*	57	1,922*	37	36	833
10	407*	7	1,596*	5	1	368
13	2,915	26	2,109	28	22	1,201
49	1,650	39	1,162	8	7	1,670
705	5,919	237	3,295	268	256	2,865
13	3,384	10	2,770	11	9	1,928

A. Comparison of Voting by Negroes in the Election of:

	August 7, 1951		August 28, 1951		August 26, 1952	
County	Negro Vote	Total Vote	Negro Vote	Total Vote	Negro Vote	Total Vote
Adams	33	4,278	28	4,408*	58	2,569*
Calhoun	1	5,159	1	4,647*	1	1,159*
Claibourne	0	1,463	1	1,236	6	477
Covington	1	4,768	2	4,567	6	
Hancock	193	5,724	192	4,796	46	1,258*
Harrison	214	14,932	247	14,297*	97	7,459*
Hinds	729	22,216	767	22,674	555	18,051
Holmes					7	2,073*
Jefferson Davis	289	3,643	291	3,472	112	855*
Lauderdale	142	12,735	153	12,829	104	7,479*
Leflore	18	5,072	24	4,919	11	833*
Madison						
Marshall	6	2,607	4	2,949	9	834*
Oktibbeha	10	3,967	12	3,910	7	2,915
Quitman	67	3,085	68	3,122	2	948*
Washington 51	517	6,091	417	5,047	250	3,558
Yazoo	4	4,645	7	4,532	10	2,991*

* Indicated incomplete returns

** Returns for November Election Not Available through Newspapers

Characteristics of the Negro Voter

The Constitution of 1890 was directed toward the elimination of the Negro from politics by an attack on the characteristics of the Negro in that day. Impartial application of its provisions would have eliminated from the political situation those Negroes who were unfit for participation in government as well as those whites who were in the same category. For years these provisions were not applied impartially, and even today there are counties in which there is partiality shown in registration. However, over the greater part of the state there is developing a view that the law should be enforced by its letter instead of by its intention.

In *Southern Politics*, V.O. Key refers to a Mississippi legislator from the Delta who feels that it is entirely satisfactory for Negroes to vote if they are educated and competent citizens, but that it is improper to allow persons who have no property or business to have a hand in the operation of the property and business of others.[61]

Social class among Negroes is not recognized by a great number of white people who think of them as a homogenous group or as individuals. That stratification by class does exist, however, was pointed out by Hortense Powdermaker.[62] She found that the upper class has acquired almost completely, the white standards of morality and living. It is composed primarily of professional people, landowners, and established businessmen. High school level education is required for entrance into this class, so it forms but a small portion of the total society.

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[61] Key, *op. cit.*, p. 661

As a rule this group is the first to register and vote in the rural counties. In the larger, more urbanized counties the other classes will also register. The upper class group, however, is the one that meets the qualifications set up by the liberals such as the legislator mentioned above. Only a very few of the circuit clerks were opposed to all registration of Negroes and they were in counties in which the Negro was likely to be a farm hand with little or no education.

Characteristics of the Negroes who registered were obtained from the circuit clerks of the smaller, more rural counties in which the Negroes were known by name and reputation by the clerks. The urban counties have too large a number of Negroes registered for the clerk or his helpers to remember much about the individuals.

In the smaller counties the Negroes who qualified and voted were usually school teachers or preachers, landowners and postal employees.

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[62] Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South, (New York, 1939), p. 56-67.

(As contrasted to white voters, few Negroes between the ages of twenty and thirty registered. Those in this age group who did register were usually members of a family that had some members already registered. A much greater portion of the Negro electorate was over 60 in age. In Warren County 250 Negroes were over 60 years of age out of 1,099 who were qualified.)

Apparently some Negroes register for a number of reasons not connected directly with politics. Some have become qualified in order to get post office jobs and have never allowed themselves to become delinquent but have never voted even though they have been registered for years. In one county the clerk said that Negroes would register in order to have a public record of their age for use in support of a claim to the Welfare Department for old age assistance.

An unusual reason for registration was mentioned by the clerk of Winston County, Mr. W. O. Snow. He said that a Negro schoolteacher had registered and paid her poll tax in order to exempt herself from an examination in an Education course she was taking. Apparently the object lesson in citizenship did not impress the woman for she has not become delinquent in poll tax payments.

There is an indication that poll taxes are not the barrier to Negro suffrage that they appear to be, however. In several counties some Negroes pay their poll taxes every year but have never registered. One clerk attributed such action to a desire to support the schools of the county. In the light of the belief held by some Negroes that education is the answer to all their problems, this point of view is not surprising. The schools do play an important role in the political activity of the Negro. In Leake County the clerk held the opinion that one of the main reasons Negroes went to the trouble of becoming qualified electors was that only qualified electors could vote for the trustees of the local Negro school.

In some counties the public still believes that the Negro has retained all the charactertistics which so antagonized the whites during the Reconstruction period. "The Negro is not interested in voting until some white man stires him up," or, "The Negro is too ignorant to vote on his own, why, they'll sell their vote to anybody," are types of opinion expressed in such areas. In other counties there is expressed admiration for particular ability in a Negro. In speaking about the new registration form, some clerks have said, "Why he filled out that form a lot better than a lot of white people we have in the county could." Such consciousness of the ability of the Negro and his worth as a voter will lead in the direction of an expanding Negro vote.

Organizations Affecting Negro Voting

Certain organizations are particularly related to the influencing of the Negro as a potential voter. Some of these take the form of political associations. There are others, however, that have a different purpose, but do assume a political role. According to V. O. Key, businessmen's clubs, social organizations, and civic clubs assume a political role.[63] United States News and World Report in February of 1954 reported that the Natchez Business and Civic League, a Negro organization of that city, urged members of their race to pay poll taxes, register, and vote.[64] One reason advanced for the great interest taken in political matters by these non-political groups is that because the pool of aggressive Negro leadership in southern communities is so small, those Negroes with energy and ability become the leaders of all the active organizations, making possible the integration of leadership. In such a situation all the channels of communication provided by these different organizations are available for political efforts.[65] Religious organizations among the Negroes are also important in their influence upon the Negro in regard to voting. In several of the rural counties it was noted that preachers composed a large proportion of the Negroes who were qualified to vote. One clerk stated that her cook had told of sermons by colored ministers urging their congregations to qualify so they, the Negro people, could have their say in the way things were run.

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[63] Key, op. cit., p. 647.

[64] United States News and World Report, (February 26, 1954), p. 53.

[65] Key, Loc. Cit.

Outstanding as an organization among the Negroes in Mississippi is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With a nation-wide program to improve the position of the Negro in American society so that he will enjoy equal opportunity and equal protection in matters in which civil rights are concerned, the N.A.A.C.P. is by far the most widely known of the Negro organizations. It does not actively support any candidates, but does try to encourage candidates to tell their position in regard to issues which concern the Negro. Its activities in connection with Negro voting include the issuing of propaganda encouraging the Negro to qualify and vote, and legal action to secure for Negroes the right of participation in elections. The cases decided by the Supreme Court in the white primary issue were financed and fought by this organization. According to a United Press release in the Jadkson Daily News July 25, 1955, estimates of the membership of the N.A.A.C.P. in Mississippi range from 2,000 to 25,000.[66] The national strength of this organization in 1952 was 215,000 according to its annual report.[67]

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[66] Jackson Daily News, July 25, 1955.

Two other Negro political organizations in Mississippi are the Mississippi Progressive Voters League[68] and the Mississippi Negro Democrats Association. The second of these organizations is pledged to support the principles of the Democratic party. It is also pledged to help secure for qualified Negro citizens the right to vote and to help maintain the rights of Negro citizens already registered and qualified to vote.[69] The founder of this organization Mr. Percy Greene, publisher of the Jackson Advocate, a Negro newspaper, was mentioned in the press as having been opposed to some of the tactics of the N.A.A.C.P.[70]

Only one organization of white people has been given any publicity as being opposed to Negro voting. This is the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, which, according to the Jackson Clarion Ledger was organized to keep segregation in all walks of life, and centered its campaign against Negro voting.[71] The executive secretary of the Citizen's Councils, Mr. Robert B. Patterson, has stated the following, "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi has no statement to make on voting other than this: we are glad to see anyone vote who meets the qualifications as specified by the Constitution of the State of Mississippi."

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[67] The Fight for Freedom in a Transitional Year, N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, (New York, 1953), p. 12.

[68] Key, op. cit., p. 64.

[69] Moseley, op. cit., p. 59.

[70] Jackson Daily News, July 25, 1955.

[71] The Clarion Ledger, (Jackson, Mississippi), August 2, 1955.

These are some of the organizations that affect Negro voting in Mississippi. Their influence cannot be measured in terms of numbers of voters, but they do have a bearing on the amount of Negroes who register, who pay poll tax, and who vote. From the difference in voting in urban and rural areas one might suppose that the efficiency of organizations encouraging Negroes to vote is higher in the cities. However, that difference may be due to other factors not related to organizations.

CONCLUSION

During the next twenty years, judging from the indications of the population patterns that seem to be related to Negro voting, there will be a continued increase in the number of Negroes exercising their right to vote in Mississippi. Negro voting tends to increase with the increase in the size of the cities,[72] and Mississippi cities are growing rapidly as a result of the industrialization now taking place in the state. Conversely, Negro voting tends to increase with the decrease in the portion of the population that is Negro. The Negro population of Mississippi in terms of a percentage of the total population is declining according to the U. S. Bureau of Census.[73]

The counties in which the Negroes outnumber the whites, sometimes referred to as "the Black Belt" counties, are the focal point of the reaction against Negro voting in the South.[74] There are indications of a trend toward amelioration of the problem in the decreasing number of counties which now fall into this category. In 1900 there were 38 counties in Mississippi having more Negroes than white people: in 1940, there were 35 counties in this category;[75] and in 1950, there were 31.[76] Five of these counties having more colored than white people in the total population had more whites than Negroes in the population over 21 in 1950. In this category were Amite County, Copiah County, Grenada County, Jasper County, and Warren County.[77]

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[72] Key, op. cit., p. 673.

[73] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 24, Mississippi, p. 27.

[74] Key, op. cit., p. 666.

By the year 1960, if changes in the white and Negro portions of the population continue in the same direction and by the same numbers as between 1940 and 1950, there will be only 17 counties in Mississippi having more Negroes than white people over 21. It should be pointed out, however, that such a change in two of the counties is very unlikely. Sunflower County, which had 33,718 [78] Negroes over 21 years of age in 1940 and 18,949 in 1950, is not likely to be reduced by another 14,769 Negroes within this age group because the agricultural economy of the county continues to be dependent on Negro labor. Issaquena County, with 2,916 Negroes in this age group in 1940,[79] with 1,790 in 1950, and with a projected 664 in 1960, is in a similar position.

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[75] Ibid., p. 672.

[76] Loc. cit.

[77] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 4, Mississippi, p. 250.

[78] Ibid., p. 242.

[79] Key, op. cit., p. 674.

Were these changes in population to occur within this decade, the effect on the voting practices of the Negro in these counties would not be seen immediately since, as Key says, the influences of changing conditions on the political system take effect very slowly.[80] He also points out that fundamental trends do not automatically bring political change, but only create conditions favorable to changes that can be brought about by the activity of individuals.[81] It is the opinion of the writer that the time is approaching when some politician will point out that no great effort is necessary to the maintenance of "white supremacy" at the polls because the whites have large numerical supremacy over the Negroes. When the existence of such a situation is recognized by the white population, the percentage of Negroes who are qualified will be limited only by their interest in voting.

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[80] Key, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 672.

APPENDIX A

Population over 21 in counties more than 50% Negro in 1950.

	1950		1940		1960	
County	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Amite*	5,162	4,598	5,633	5,278		
Bolivar	11,144	21,805	9,603	27,744		
Carroll	3,880	3,958	4,815	5,557	2,945	2,357
Claibourne	1,929	4,787	2,101	5,147		
Coahoma	8,409	19,136	6,486	21,937		
Clay	4,784	4,922	4,574	5,606	4,994	4,238
Copiah*	8,827	7,841				
Grenada*	5,599	4,980				
Holmes	5,569	11,468	5,677	14,949		
Humphreys	3,806	7,712	3,714	10,215		
Issaquena	800	1,790	643	2,916	957	664
Jasper*	5,470	4,313				
Jefferson	1,901	4,304	2,005	5,538		
Jefferson Davis	3,847	3,923	3,690	4,096	3,984	3,750
Kemper	3,816	4,023	2,774	5,980	4,858	2,066
Leflore	10,332	17,893	8,721	21,433		
Madison	5,606	11,586	5,303	14,004		
Marshall	4,408	8,210	4,445	8,661		
Noxubee	3,134	6,764	3,254	9,341		
Panola	8,139	8,628	8,012	10,649	8,266	6,647
Quitman	5,186	7,844	4,777	9,896		

	1950		1940		1960	
County	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Sharkey	1,124	4,533	2,290	6,079		
Sunflower	10,037	18,949	9,537	33,718	10,537	4,190
Tallahatchie	6,299	9,236	3,265	12,046	9,335	7,424
Tate	4,535	4,989	4,519	5,977	4,551	4,001
Tunica	2,251	9,123	1,925	11,049		
Warren*	12,756	12,312	10,978	14,240		
Washington	14,074	27,823	10,825	29,459		
Wilkinson	2,626	4,558	2,668	5,759		
Yazoo	8,024	11,126	7,849	13,621		

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*Indicates counties in which the white population over 21 was larger than Negroes in the same age group in 1950.

1950 figures taken from U. S. Bureau of the Census: Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 24, Mississippi, pp. 60-73.

1940 figures taken from U. S. Bureau of the Census: Census of the Population: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 4, Minnesota-New Mexico, pp. 240-250.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.
Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Vol. XLI, No. 9
May 25, 1955

Ed. Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Ed., G. W. Blackwell, G. L. Simpson, R. B. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

North Carolina's Population, Cont'd.

Occupational Distribution

Following is a table dealing with occupational distribution of the employed population of North Carolina in 1950. This table shows some of the differences in occupations of the whites and nonwhites by urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm residence.

Of these people living in urban areas, very few nonwhites (which includes Indians and a few others) are found in such occupations as (a) managers, officials and proprietors except farm; (b) clerical and kindred workers; (c) sales workers, etc. The urban nonwhite population is heavily concentrated in such occupations as (a) operatives and kindred workers; (b) private household workers; (c) service workers; and (d) laborers, especially in the tobacco industry.

In the usual nonfarm category it will be noticed that a much larger proportion of the nonwhites are engaged in farm and other types of labor. Another important difference is in the two categories of craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, and operatives and kindred workers. In these two categories are found about 53 percent of the employed white rural nonfarm population, as against only 26 percent of the employed nonwhite.

Under the rural farm designation, exactly the same proportion of whites and nonwhites are classed as farmers and farm managers. On the other hand, much larger proportions of the nonwhites are engaged in farm and other types of labor. Another interesting point is that almost 20 percent of the employed whites of rural farm residence are classed as craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers and

The Tidewater region is made up of 22 counties (as used in this paper in the extreme eastern part of the state. This region has grown more slowly in population than any other. The population has increased from 278,672 inhabitants in 1900 to 446,403 inhabitants in 1950, an increase of 167,721, or 60.2 percent.

The Upper Coastal Plain contains 23 counties. This region had 500,024 inhabitants in 1900 and 1,078,486 inhabitants in 1950, an increase of 578,462, or 115.7 percent. This was the second largest growth in the four regions.

The Piedmont region is the largest with 38 counties, lying east of the Blue Ridge and west of the fall line. There were 892,701 inhabitants in this region in 1900 and 2,138,651 inhabitants in 1950. This was a numerical growth of 1,245,950 and a percentage increase of 139.6, the largest of the four regions.

The Mountain region is made up of 17 counties in the extreme western part of the state. In 1900 there were 222,013 persons living in this region as against 398,389 in 1950. This was an increase of 176,376, or 79.4 percent.

Counties and Population Density

Seventy-eight of North Carolina's 100 counties experienced gains in population during the decade 1940-1950. Nearly one-fourth of the state's population growth took place in three counties—Mecklenburg, Guilford and Cumberland. Fifteen of the counties experiencing increases between 1940 and 1950 had rates of growth in excess of 20 percent.

In 1950 the counties ranged in population from Tyrrell with 5,048 inhabitants to Mecklenburg with 197,052. Six of the counties had

cent in 1910 and in 1920. It had risen to 2.7 percent in 1950.

Population per square mile has risen from 38.9 in 1900 to 82.7 in 1950. North Carolina ranks twelfth among the states in population density.

Our membership in the House of Representatives was 5 in 1789; 13 from 1810 to 1830; 7 in 1860; and has risen gradually to 12 in 1950.

North Carolina ranked fourteenth in the amount of population increase from 1940 to 1950, the amount being 490,306. We ranked twenty first in percent of increase, 13.7 percent.

North Carolina had no urban population until 1820 when it amounted to 12,502. It was only 55,116 in 1880. The state was 100 percent rural from 1790 to 1820; 90.1 percent rural in 1900; and 69.5 rural, old definition, 66.3 percent rural, new definition in 1950.

The median age of North Carolina's population in 1950 was 25 years. For the United States it was 30.2 years. In South Carolina alone is the median age below ours. For the United States 8.1 percent are 65 years of age and over. The percent for North Carolina is 5.5. This is second only to South Carolina with 5.4 percent.

North and South Carolina are tied for the highest percent of native born adults in the population, 99.4 percent each.

The median years of school completed by North Carolina's adult population in 1950 was 7.9. Four states ranked below us.

The percent of our population 14 years or older who were widowed or divorced in 1950 was 3.9 for males, the second lowest rate among the states, and 12.1 percent for females, the seventh lowest.

The median income of North Carolina urban and rural nonfarm families in 1949 was $2,471. It was lower in only nine states.

Chief Population Facts for North Carolina 1950

			Percent by Residenee						
County	Number	Percent increase, 1940-50	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm	Median age (years)	Per cent non-white	Per Sq. mile	Land area Sq. miles
Alamance	71,220	24.0	41.5	40.4	18.1	26.6	18.5	164	434
Alexander	14,554	8.2	—	36.1	63.9	24.0	7.1	57	255
Alleghany	8,155	-2.2	—	21.4	78.6	26.8	3.3	35	230
Anson	26,781	-5.8	12.7	39.5	47.8	23.0	48.6	50	533
Ashe	21,878	-3.5	—	19.2	80.8	23.8	1.3	51	427
Avery	13,352	-1.5	—	36.7	63.3	22.0	1.5	54	247
Beaufort	37,134	1.9	32.9	27.4	39.7	24.9	37.3	45	831
Bertie	26,439	0.9	—	36.4	63.6	21.8	59.8	38	693
Bladen	29,703	9.4	—	40.6	59.4	20.5	41.2	34	879
Brunswick	19,238	12.3	—	48.1	51.9	22.6	36.6	22	873
Buncombe	124,403	14.4	47.0	37.2	15.8	29.1	12.3	193	646
Burke	45,518	17.9	24.3	55.5	20.2	25.5	7.5	90	506
Cabarrus	63,783	7.4	66.0	19.9	14.0	26.5	15.3	177	360
Caldwell	43,352	21.1	18.2	54.2	27.6	23.2	6.9	91	476
Camden	5,223	-4.0	—	57.0	43.0	26.1	38.7	22	239
Carteret	23,059	26.1	36.2	52.2	11.5	27.1	12.6	43	532
Caswell	20,870	4.2	—	25.3	74.7	20.9	47.6	48	435
Catawba	61,794	19.6	33.7	42.6	23.7	25.2	9.1	152	406
Chatham	25,392	2.7	9.8	38.6	51.5	25.5	32.1	36	707
Cherokee	18,294	-2.8	—	46.7	53.3	23.4	1.7	40	454
Chowan	12,540	8.4	35.6	15.6	48.8	24.0	43.6	70	180
Clay	6,006	-6.2	—	27.9	72.1	23.9	1.1	28	213
Cleveland	64,357	10.9	35.3	24.6	40.1	24.1	21.9	138	466
Columbus	50,621	10.9	8.4	32.4	59.3	21.3	33.9	54	939
Craven	48,823	56.0	32.4	46.5	21.2	23.9	32.4	67	725
Cumberland	96,006	61.8	39.7	44.4	15.8	23.4	28.0	145	661
Currituck	6,201	-7.6	—	53.7	46.3	29.4	32.0	23	273
Dare	5,405	-10.5	—	98.6	1.4	30.8	7.0	14	388
Davidson	62,244	16.6	39.7	38.3	21.9	25.8	10.3	114	548
Davie	15,420	3.4	—	56.1	43.9	26.3	14.0	58	264
Duplin	41,074	3.4	—	34.3	65.7	22.5	37.0	50	822
Durham	101,639	26.7	72.2	20.2	7.6	27.2	33.3	340	299
Edgecombe	51,634	5.0	40.7	17.1	42.3	23.3	51.9	101	511
Forsyth	146,135	15.5	65.8	25.0	9.3	27.9	28.4	345	424
Franklin	31,341	3.2	8.1	25.0	66.9	23.3	45.6	63	494
Gaston	110,836	26.6	55.2	35.2	9.5	25.1	13.4	310	358
Gates	9,555	-5.0	—	39.3	60.7	24.3	52.6	28	343
Graham	6,886	7.3	—	47.1	52.9	22.2	3.2	24	289
Granville	31,793	8.3	21.0	26.4	52.6	24.7	46.7	59	543
Greene	18,024	-2.8	—	17.4	82.6	20.4	46.5	67	[illegible]

and operatives and kindred workers. In these two categories are found about 53 percent of the employed white rural nonfarm population, as against only 26 percent of the employed nonwhite.

Under the rural farm designation, exactly the same proportion of whites and nonwhites are classed as farmers and farm managers. On the other hand, much larger proportions of the nonwhites are engaged in farm and other types of labor. Another interesting point is that almost 20 percent of the employed whites of rural farm residence are classed as craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, and operatives and kindred workers. Only 5.2 percent of the nonwhites are so classified.

One of the main reasons for the differences noted above is the fact that many of the textile mills and small plants are in locations classed as rural nonfarm. Thus, it would be expected that a large portion of the population of these areas would be employed in these mills and plants. In addition, nonwhite workers are only infrequently employed in semiskilled and skilled jobs in these mills and plants. The same holds true in the urban areas, where the large portion of the nonwhite employees are in service occupations and relatively unskilled labor groups.

It should also be pointed out here that of all the experienced civilian labor force residing in rural nonfarm locations, almost half of them are craftsmen, foremen, operatives and kindred workers. The great number of small towns with textile mills and other plants accounts for this.

Regions of the State and Population

North Carolina is generally subdivided into four major regions: Tidewater, Upper Coastal Plain, Piedmont and Mountain. Although all regions of the state have increased in population size, the increase has been greater in some parts of the state than others.

79.4 percent.

Counties and Population Density

Seventy-eight of North Carolina's 100 counties experienced gains in population during the decade 1940-1950. Nearly one-fourth of the state's population growth took place in three counties—Mecklenburg, Guilford and Cumberland. Fifteen of the counties experiencing increases between 1940 and 1950 had rates of growth in excess of 20 percent.

In 1950 the counties ranged in population from Tyrrell with 5,048 inhabitants to Mecklenburg with 197,052. Six of the counties had smaller populations than 50 years previously. These are Camden, Currituck, Gates, Perquimans, Madison and Mitchell; the latter having lost some territory in the formation of Avery.

The counties range in size from Sampson with 963 square miles to Chowan with 180 square miles, land area.

The counties range in density of population from 326 per square miles in New Hanover to 13 in Tyrrell.

Aging Population

One of the most significant facts is that we have an aging population. The 1950 census showed that North Carolina had a quarter of a million people 65 and over, or 5.5 percent. From 1940 to 1950 the State's population increased 13.7 percent, while the population 65 and over increased 43.9 percent. This is due largely to better medical care. The proportion of old pepole will rise steadily. The problem of security for these old people will be an ever growing one.

Other Interesting Facts About North Carolina

The following are some further observations from the 1950 census of population.

In 1790 North Carolina had 10 percent of the nation's population. This ratio dropped steadily to 2.4 percent.

Percentage of Employed Workers of Each Race, by Type of Occupation Group for North Carolina, Urban and Rural, 1950

Major Occupation Group	Urban		Rural Nonfarm		Rural Farm	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Professional, technical and kindred workers	10.2	5.8	6.4	3.8	2.2	1.0
Farmers and farm managers	0.4	0.3	2.3	3.2	47.3	47.3
Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm	12.0	1.9	8.7	1.3	2.4	0.2
Clerical and kindred workers	14.1	1.8	7.3	0.7	2.6	0.1
Sales workers	11.0	1.3	7.6	0.9	2.5	0.2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	13.6	6.6	17.0	5.6	5.8	1.0
Operators and kindred workers	29.0	23.5	35.7	20.4	13.9	4.2
Private household workers	0.6	21.6	0.7	16.7	0.3	3.3
Service workers, except private household	5.4	18.1	4.2	8.7	1.3	1.2
Farm laborers, unpaid farm workers	—	0.1	0.5	1.6	12.2	24.0
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	0.2	1.1	2.8	14.6	4.9	11.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	2.2	16.6	5.3	20.6	2.9	4.3
Occupation not reported	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.7

tied for the highest percent of native born adults in the population, 99.4 percent each.

The median years of school completed by North Carolina's adult population in 1950 was 7.9. Four states ranked below us.

The percent of our population 14 years or older who were widowed or divorced in 1950 was 3.9 for males, the second lowest rate among the states, and 12.1 percent for females, the seventh lowest.

The median income of North Carolina urban and rural nonfarm families in 1949 was $2,471. It was lower in only nine states.

The per capita income of North Carolina's population in 1953 was $1,097 and we ranked 44th among the states.

In 1950 North Carolina had the largest nonwhite population of all the states. North Carolina had 1,047,353 Negroes and 31,455 other nonwhites, principally Indians, 3,742, and all others, principally Croatans or Lumbee Indians 27,270. This gives a total of 1,078,808 nonwhite population as compared with Georgia's 1,064,001.

North Carolina's nonwhite ratio ranges from 1.1 percent in Yancey county to 66.4 percent in Warren county.

There are ten counties in the state with more nonwhite than white population. —S. H. Hobbs, Jr.

N.C. ON WAY TO PROSPERITY

Twenty years ago the South was the "Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem." Today it is the nation's No. 1 economic opportunity.

The same principle applies to North Carolina. A problem always is an opportunity. North Carolina's big problem is low per capita income caused mainly by these factors —a big population consisting largely of people who live in the country and who are being put in the surplus labor category because of increasing mechanization on the farm. Add to this the fact that an unusually big proportion of them are young people whom the state is educating or has educated. They must find profitable work in the state or leave it.

Such is the problem. It is one side of the coin. The opportunity is the other side.

Some of the factors making up North Carolina's economic opportunity are: (1) A large reservoir of surplus labor, young, vigorous and willing; (2) an especially good transportation system, especially in rural roads which can get workers back and forth from factories to homes; (3) nearness to national markets; (4) natural advantages, such as climate, water, raw materials; (5) plentiful and increasing electric power; (6) stable and efficient government.

North Carolina's economic future looks bright because it has the basic elements from which prosperity can be made. All we need to do is to get them together and put them to work. —Greensboro Daily News

Columbus	50,621	10.9	8.4	32.4	59.3	21.3	33.9	54	939
Craven	48,823	56.0	32.4	46.5	21.2	23.9	32.4	67	725
Cumberland	96,006	61.8	39.7	44.4	15.8	23.4	28.0	145	661
Currituck	6,201	-7.6	—	53.7	46.3	29.4	32.0	23	273
Dare	5,405	-10.5	—	98.6	1.4	30.8	7.0	14	388
Davidson	62,244	16.6	39.7	38.3	21.9	25.8	10.3	114	548
Davie	15,420	3.4	—	56.1	43.9	26.3	14.0	58	264
Duplin	41,074	3.4	—	34.3	65.7	22.5	37.0	50	822
Durham	101,639	26.7	72.2	20.2	7.6	27.2	33.3	340	299
Edgecombe	51,634	5.0	40.7	17.1	42.3	23.3	51.9	101	511
Forsyth	146,135	15.5	65.8	25.0	9.3	27.9	28.4	345	424
Franklin	31,341	3.2	8.1	25.0	66.9	23.3	45.6	63	494
Gaston	110,836	26.6	55.2	35.2	9.5	25.1	13.4	310	358
Gates	9,555	-5.0	—	39.3	60.7	24.3	52.6	28	343
Graham	6,886	7.3	—	47.1	52.9	22.2	3.2	24	289
Granville	31,793	8.3	21.0	26.4	52.6	24.7	46.7	59	543
Greene	18,024	-2.8	—	17.4	82.6	20.4	46.5	67	269
Guilford	191,057	24.1	66.0	23.1	10.8	27.3	19.5	293	651
Halifax	58,377	3.3	24.1	30.1	45.9	22.0	56.6	81	722
Harnett	47,605	7.6	20.3	30.2	49.5	22.9	26.3	79	606
Haywood	37,631	8.1	27.1	39.9	33.0	25.1	2.2	69	543
Henderson	30,921	18.7	19.7	44.9	35.4	28.9	6.7	81	382
Hertford	21,453	10.9	16.7	35.8	47.5	23.4	60.0	60	356
Hoke	15,756	5.5	—	37.3	62.7	21.2	60.6	38	414
Hyde	6,479	-17.6	—	58.4	41.6	26.7	42.2	10	634
Iredell	56,303	11.7	42.7	24.9	32.4	26.3	17.8	95	591
Jackson	19,261	-0.5	—	42.3	57.7	23.4	7.6	39	496
Johnston	65,906	3.3	12.5	28.7	58.8	22.8	21.7	83	795
Jones	11,004	0.7	—	30.8	69.2	21.2	45.4	24	467
Lee	23,522	25.5	42.6	22.3	35.1	25.0	26.0	92	255
Lenoir	45,953	11.5	39.9	20.0	40.1	24.4	43.1	118	391
Lincoln	27,459	13.5	19.7	36.7	43.6	24.2	12.7	89	308
McDowell	25,720	11.8	21.9	48.3	29.8	24.2	5.6	58	442
Macon	16,174	1.9	—	37.0	63.0	24.5	2.2	31	517
Madison	20,522	-8.9	—	27.8	72.2	23.2	0.9	45	456
Martin	27,938	7.0	17.8	24.8	57.4	20.7	50.4	58	481
Mecklenburg	197,052	29.8	71.5	21.1	7.4	27.8	25.4	364	542
Mitchell	15,143	-5.2	—	39.4	60.6	23.7	0.3	69	220
Montgomery	17,260	6.0	—	66.5	33.5	25.3	22.9	35	488
Moore	33,129	7.0	12.9	51.1	36.0	25.3	26.9	49	672
Nash	59,919	7.8	24.7	24.0	51.3	23.0	42.4	109	552
New Hanover	63,272	32.0	71.2	26.1	2.7	28.3	31.4	326	194
Northampton	28,432	0.5	—	36.9	63.1	22.0	64.2	53	540
Onslow	42,047	134.4	18.2	56.2	25.6	21.9	15.9	56	756
Orange	34,435	49.3	26.7	44.9	28.5	23.9	25.1	87	398
Pamlico	9,993	3.0	—	71.3	28.7	24.0	34.6	29	341
Pasquotank	24,347	18.4	52.1	34.3	13.6	26.2	38.2	106	229
Pender	18,423	4.0	—	41.8	58.2	22.3	48.3	21	857
Perquimans	9,602	-1.7	—	59.4	40.6	25.8	47.8	37	261
Person	24,361	-2.7	17.7	22.3	60.0	23.2	36.2	61	400
Pitt	63,789	4.2	30.8	21.8	47.4	22.7	46.3	97	656
Polk	11,627	-2.1	—	55.9	44.1	26.3	13.0	50	234
Randolph	50,804	14.0	15.2	53.8	31.1	26.2	8.5	63	801
Richmond	39,597	7.6	34.3	44.0	21.7	24.2	30.5	83	477
Robeson	87,769	14.2	10.5	35.2	54.4	20.4	57.3	93	944
Rockingham	64,816	11.9	38.5	29.6	31.9	26.0	20.1	113	572
Rowan	75,410	9.0	41.1	40.0	18.9	27.1	17.1	146	517
Rutherford	46,356	1.7	33.4	30.9	35.6	25.2	12.3	82	566
Sampson	49,780	4.9	8.9	23.8	67.3	22.4	36.8	52	963
Scotland	26,336	13.4	27.1	35.8	37.1	21.7	47.8	83	317
Stanly	37,130	13.1	31.8	38.9	29.3	26.2	11.4	93	399
Stokes	21,520	-5.0	—	26.1	73.9	24.3	9.0	47	459
Surry	45,593	9.1	28.4	30.2	41.4	24.5	5.7	85	537
Swain	9,921	-18.5	—	46.6	53.4	22.2	15.6	19	530
Transylvania	15,194	24.1	25.7	43.0	31.3	24.1	4.9	40	379
Tyrrell	5,048	-9.1	—	56.2	43.8	25.1	41.4	13	399
Union	42,034	7.5	24.1	20.1	55.8	24.0	22.6	65	643
Vance	32,101	7.1	34.3	26.4	39.3	24.5	45.5	119	269
Wake	136,450	24.6	53.1	25.1	21.8	26.4	29.3	158	866
Warren	23,539	1.7	—	27.6	72.4	21.1	66.4	53	445
Washington	13,180	7.0	34.0	28.9	37.1	23.7	43.6	39	336
Watauga	18,342	1.3	16.2	19.6	64.2	23.0	1.2	57	320
Wayne	64,267	10.2	39.2	23.0	37.8	25.3	42.2	116	555
Wilkes	45,243	5.2	9.7	39.4	50.9	23.2	6.0	59	765
Wilson	54,506	8.5	42.2	16.3	41.5	23.7	40.4	146	373
Yadkin	22,133	7.1	—	34.5	65.5	25.2	5.0	66	335
Yancey	16,306	-5.2	—	26.8	73.2	22.8	1.1	52	311
State	4,061,929	13.7	33.7	32.4	33.9	25.0	26.6	82.7	49,097,000

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.
Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Vol. XLI, No. 8
May 11, 1955

Ed. Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Ed., G. W. Blackwell, G. L. Simpson, R. B. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

North Carolina's Population

Demographic Characteristics and Trends

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

Growth of Population

In 1790, when the first census of population was taken, the population of North Carolina was 393,751. Only Pennsylvania and Virginia had more inhabitants. By 1850 North Carolina ranked tenth in population size among the existing states. At no time since the first census was taken in 1790 has the state ranked lower than 16th in number of inhabitants and, in 1950 its rank was again tenth. The following table presents the findings of the census from 1790 to 1950. The percent increase refers to the rate of increase during the preceding decade.

Except for the two decades 1830-1840 and 1860-1870, the rate of population growth has been fairly constant. The small increase between 1830 and 1840 was due to migration from North Carolina largely to Indiana and adjacent states and to the new cotton states to the south. The small increase during the 1860-1870 decade was due largely to deaths resulting from the Civil War. Practically no people from foreign countries have come into North Carolina for more than 120 years. In no state is the ratio of foreign-born lower than in North Carolina. On the other hand, we have sent into almost

Population of North Carolina, by Decades, 1790-1950

Year	Inhabitants	Rank in Percent	Pop. Increase
1790	393,751	3	
1800	478,103	4	21.4
1810	555,500	4	16.2
1820	638,829	4	15.0
1830	737,987	5	15.5
1840	753,419	7	2.1
1850	869,039	10	15.3
1860	992,622	12	14.2

ceived from North Carolina. The net losses to 42 states and the District of Columbia ranged from 123 to Nevada to 75,918 to Virginia.

In 1930 there were 315,278 people living in North Carolina born in other states, an increase of 157,282 over 1920. The 1920-1930 decade was one of outstanding progress, and perhaps the only decade since 1790 during which more people migrated to North Carolina than left the state.

In 1940 the census gathered migration data on people who were living in a different place from the one in which they lived in 1935. By this method, it was found that there were 120,131 people living in other states who had been living in North Carolina in 1935, and 105,191 persons living in North Carolina in 1940 who had been living in other states in 1935. This was a net loss of 14,940 people. Of these, 5,043 were white and 9,897 were nonwhite.

Comparable migration for 1950 was not gathered by the census. However, using birth and death statistics for the decade it is calculated that North Carolina lost a net of 261,000 people to other states between 1940 and 1950 and, according to census estimates, the rate of loss has continued up to 1955. In only 14 counties were population gains in excess of births over deaths between 1940 and 1950. The largest gains have been in urban counties, and counties wtih military establishments such as Onslow and Cumberland. The largest losses have been principally in the Mountain and Tidewater areas and in highly rural counties in other areas. There were 78 counties that gained in population, but in only 14 counties were

inhabitants) in the state, and in other territories included in the urban fringes of the six urbanized areas in the state. More than 70 percent of the urban population lived in 31 urban places of 10,000 inhabitants or more. Each of the 30 incorporated places of 10,000 or more gained population between 1940 and 1950, the increases ranging from 1.0 percent in Thomasville to 190.6 percent in Albemarle.

The 1950 census definition of urban differed from the definition previously used. Under the 1950 definition, the urban population comprised all persons living in (a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as boroughs, towns and villages; (b) the densely settled urban fringe, including both incorporated and unincorporated areas, around cities of 50,000 or more; and (c) unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside any urban fringe. The remaining population was classed as rural.

According to the urban definition used in censuses prior to 1950, the urban population comprised all persons living in incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more and areas (usually minor civil divisions) classified as urban under special rules relating to population size and density. Thus, using the 1950 definition, there were an additional 129,908 persons classified as urban who, under the old definition would have been classified as rural.

The Urban Population

The trends in the urban and rural population can be examined only on the basis of the old definition. On this basis the urban population rose from 186,790 in 1900 to 1,238,193 in 1950. The highest rate of growth in the fifty-year period occurred in the decade 1900-1910, when the increase was at the rate of 70.5 percent. The largest increase

nonfarm population later when occupational categories are discussed.

The Rural Farm Population

The rural farm population of North Carolina is getting smaller and smaller, just as it is in other states. However, North Carolina is one of three states that gained farms from 1940 to 1950. Our gain of more than 10,000 farms was the largest of these three states. The others were South Carolina and California. North Carolina is the only state that gained farms both from 1940-1945, and from 1945-1950.

In 1940 there were 1,655,101 North Carolinians classified in the rural farm category. By 1950 this group had declined to 1,378,061. This decrease in size of the rural farm population is tied up with the decrease in amount of tenancy in the past two decades, gradual increasing mechanization of farming and migration of excess farm population to small towns and larger cities, both in and out of the state. North Carolina is still classed as a rural state, but one of the main reasons for this is the preponderance of small towns and villages with less than 2,500 population, which are not classified as urban by the census. As pointed out previously, North Carolina's rural population is almost equally divided between this rural nonfarm element and the rural farm.

At this point we might note the differences between the races with respect to the urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm classifications. The following table shows that the Negro population is almost 40 percent rural farm, while about 31 percent of the whites are so classed. Another interesting difference is that shown between the two races in patterns of rural nonfarm settlement.

The Urban, Rural Nonfarm and Rural Population of North Carolina, by Race, 1950

	White		Negro	
Classification	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Urban	1,005,744	33.7	361,685	35.5
Rural nonfarm	1,042,381	34.9	268,458	25.6
Rural farm	934,996	31.3	417,210	39.8

The Negro urban ratio is slightly higher than the white. However, only 25.6 percent of the Negro population as against 34.9 percent of the white population is classed as rural nonfarm. Some of the reasons for these differences will be pointed out below.

(To be concluded next issue)

Population in Groups of Places According to Size: 1950

Type of area and size of place	Number of places	Population	Percent of total pop.	Percent of total Class.
The state	-	4,061,929	100.0	—
Urban, total (1)		1,368,101	33.7	100.0
Within urbanized areas	-	517,367	12.7	37.8
Central cities, total	6	486,232	12.0	35.5
Cities of 100,000 to 250,000	1	134,042	3.3	9.8

Type of area and size of place	Number of places	Population	Percent of total pop.	Percent of total Class.
Rural, total	-	2,693,828	66.3	100.0
Places under 2,500	415	334,929	8.2	12.4
Places of 2,000 to 2,500	29	65,069	1.6	2.4
Places of 1,500 to 2,000	36	63,284	1.6	2.3

tically no people from foreign countries have come into North Carolina for more than 120 years. In no state is the ratio of foreign-born lower than in North Carolina. On the other hand, we have sent into almost every state in the Union more people than we have received from those states. The only noteworthy exchange gain has been from South Carolina.

Population of North Carolina, by Decades, 1790-1950

Year		Inhabitants	Rank in Percent	Pop. Increase
1790	....	393,751	3	
1800	....	478,103	4	21.4
1810	....	555,500	4	16.2
1820	....	638,829	4	15.0
1830	....	737,987	5	15.5
1840	....	753,419	7	2.1
1850	....	869,039	10	15.3
1860	....	992,622	12	14.2
1870	....	1,071,361	14	7.9
1880	....	1,399,750	15	30.7
1890	....	1,617,949	16	15.6
1900	....	1,893,810	15	17.1
1910	....	2,206,287	16	16.5
1920	....	2,559,123	14	16.0
1930	....	3,170,287	12	23.9
1940	....	3,571,623	11	12.7
1950	....	4,061,929	10	13.7

Nativity of White Population

The 1850 census of population revealed that of our total white population, 95.7 percent was born in the state; 3.8 percent was born out of the state but in the United States; and only 0.5 percent were of foreign birth. At that time, North Carolina had the highest ratio of native-(state) born whites among all the states, and the smallest ratio of people of foreign birth. The 1920 census showed that North Carolina still had the highest percentage of native-born inhabitants. Only three of every thousand whites in 1920 were of foreign birth. In 1950 only about five of every thousand white inhabitants were not native born.

Migration from the State

Historically, North Carolina has been an exporter of population to other states. The 1860 census showed that there were 272,606 native free inhabitants of other states who were born in North Carolina. The native free population born in North Carolina but residing in other states in 1860 was equal to 43 percent of our resident native free population. While there were 276,606 people born in North Carolina but living in other states in 1860, there were only 23,845 people born in other states but living in North Carolina! Only two states, South Carolina and Delaware, had received fewer people from other states. The excess of living people given by North Carolina to other states was 248,761, and only three states had given larger excesses—New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

In 1920 there were 443,844 people born in North Carolina but living in other states. The inhabitants of North Carolina born in other states numbered 157,996, making a net loss sustained of 285,848. Only five states had contributed more people to North Carolina than they had re-

tistics for the decade it is calculated that North Carolina lost a net of 261,000 people to other states between 1940 and 1950 and, according to census estimates, the rate of loss has continued up to 1955. In only 14 counties were population gains in excess of births over deaths between 1940 and 1950. The largest gains have been in urban counties, and counties wtih military establishments such as Onslow and Cumberland. The largest losses have been principally in the Mountain and Tidewater areas and in highly rural counties in other areas. There were 78 counties that gained in population, but in only 14 counties were gains above normal, that is excess of births over deaths.

Race Ratios

Both the white and the Negro population in North Carolina have shown considerable increases in every decade since 1790. The actual rates of growth and the ratio of whites to Negroes have undergone changes. In 1790 the white ratio was 73.2 percent. From 1790 to 1880 the Negro population ratio increased in every decade except one, 1830-1840, and that was negligible. Since 1880 the reverse has been true and the white population ratio has increased in every decade. In 1880 62 percent of the state's population was white. By 1950 the ratio had increased until 73.4 percent of the state's population was white. This was approximately the 1790 ratio.

Looking at it another way, even though the Negro population has increased measurably in every decade, the rate of increase has in general been declining. The Negro population is growing but at a much smaller rate of increase than that of the white population. The following table, based on the 1950 census, gives interesting population ratio facts about North Carolina by decades from 1790 to 1950.

Race Ratios and Race Gains, North Carolina, 1790-1950

				% Increase	
Year	Total Population	Total Pop. Negro	Percent Total Pop. White	White	Negro
1790	288,204	105,499	73.2	—	—
1800	337,764	140,339	70.7	17.2	33.2
1810	376,410	179,090	67.8	11.4	27.5
1820	419,200	219,629	65.6	11.4	22.7
1830	472,843	265,144	64.1	12.8	20.7
1840	484,700	268,549	64.4	2.5	1.3
1850	553,028	316,008	63.6	14.1	17.7
1860	629,942	361,522	63.5	13.9	14.4
1870	678,470	391,650	63.2	7.7	8.3
1880	867,242	531,277	62.0	28.7	35.7
1890	1,055,382	561,018	65.2	21.7	5.6
1900	1,263,603	624,469	66.7	19.7	11.3
1910	1,500,511	697,843	68.0	18.8	11.7
1920	1,783,779	763,407	69.7	18.9	9.5
1930	2,226,160	918,647	70.2	24.8	20.3
1940	2,567,635	981,298	71.9	15.3	6.8
1950	2,983,110	1,047,353	73.4	16.2	7.7

Trend Toward Urbanization

According to the 1950 census, the urban population of North Carolina comprised 1,368,101 persons, or 33.7 percent of the state's total population. The urban population was living in 107 urban places (above 2,500

classified as urban under special rules relating to population size and density. Thus, using the 1950 definition, there were an additional 129,908 persons classified as urban who, under the old definition would have been classified as rural.

The Urban Population

The trends in the urban and rural population can be examined only on the basis of the old definition. On this basis the urban population rose from 186,790 in 1900 to 1,238,193 in 1950. The highest rate of growth in the fifty-year period occurred in the decade 1900-1910, when the increase was at the rate of 70.5 percent. The largest increase numerically took place between 1920 and 1930. From 1940 to 1950 the increase was 264,018 or 27.1 percent. In 1900 the population of the state was 9.9 percent urban and in 1950 it was (new definition) 33.7 percent urban. The number of incorporated places of 25,000 or over rose from none in 1900 to ten in 1950, with a combined population of 633,660.

There were six urbanized areas in the state in 1950 under the new definition. An urbanized area included a city of 50,000 or more plus the surrounding closely settled incorporated places and unincorporated areas that met certain criteria for being a part of the urban fringe. These urbanized areas were Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh and Winston-Salem. They ranged in size from the Charlotte urbanized area, with a population of 140,930, to the Asheville urbanized area, with a population of 59,437.

The Rural Nonfarm Population

The category designated as rural includes not only those people living on farms, but also those in small towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants and people living in rural areas but not on farms. In 1950, the population classed as rural was almost equally divided between people living on farms and people not living on farms. This second element—the rural nonfarm—is becoming increasingly more important in the total population picture in the state.

By 1930 the rural nonfarm population constituted 24.1 percent of the state's population. In 1950 it made up 32.4 percent. The rate of growth has been roughly equal to that of the urban population.

Just who are these rural nonfarm people? First, they are those who do not live in a town or city, incorporated or unincorporated, with as many as 2,500 people, or who do not live in what the census terms the urban fringe of cities of 50,000 or more people. Second, they do not live on farms. A farm is defined as three acres or more if agricultural products amounted to a value of $150 in 1949; or, where less than three acres, if as much as $150 worth of farm products were sold in 1949. Thus, though 69.5 percent of the population of North Carolina is classed as rural, only about half of these are actually rural farm people. More will be said about the rural

Population in Groups of Places According to Size: 1950

Type of area and size of place	Number of places	Population	Percent of total pop.	Percent of total Class.
The state	-	4,061,929	100.0	—
Urban, total (1)		1,368,101	33.7	100.0
Within urbanized areas	-	517,367	12.7	37.8
Central cities, total	6	486,232	12.0	35.5
Cities of 100,000 to 250,000	1	134,042	3.3	9.8
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000	5	352,190	8.7	25.7
Urban fringes total		31,135	0.8	2.3
Outside urbanized areas	101	850,734	20.9	62.2
Places of 25,000 to 50,000	5	175,876	4.3	12.9
Places of 10,000 to 25,000	20	318,782	7.8	23.3
Places of 5,000 to 10,000	27	181,158	4.5	13.2
Places of 2,000 to 5,000	48	174,918	4.3	12.2
Rural, total	-	2,693,828	66.3	100.0
Places under 2,500	415	334,929	8.2	12.4
Places of 2,000 to 2,500	29	65,069	1.6	2.4
Places of 1,500 to 2,000	36	63,284	1.6	2.3
Places of 1,000 to 1,500	71	87,116	2.1	3.2
Places under 1,000	279	119,460	2.9	4.4
Other rural territory		2,358,899	58.1	87.6
Urbanized areas, total	6	517,367	12.7	100.0
Areas of 100,000 to 250,000	1	140,930	3.5	27.2
Areas of 50,000 to 100,000	5	376,437	9.3	72.8

1. There were 107 places of 2,500 or more.

A PUSH TOWARD PROSPERITY

Governor Hodges has announced a project, called "The Small Industries Plan," which holds hope for North Carolina. Sponsored by a foundation and headed by Capus Waynick of High Point, the project will include as the Governor says, "a practical demonstration of the use of raw materials and capital, under local management, in developing small industries which will provide new incomes in the selected areas and furnish new jobs."

North Carolina's average income is relatively high in the industrialized Piedmont, low in the mountain, coastal plain and coast areas. Our per capita state income is low and we are making extensive efforts to raise it by bringing in more industry from outside the state.

But that is working on a tough problem with only one hand. The other hand which we will put to work is this "Small Business Plan." It can do a great deal. Unused opportunities for money-making are lying around. For instance, eastern North Carolina raises a lot of peanuts but makes no peanut candy or peanut butter. It makes some of the best country hams, barbecue and sausages in the world, but falls flat on marketing them. The coast is a tremendous producer of seafood, but ships it out in bulk and Tar Heels buy it back nicely packaged or processed.

In brief we lazily persist in practicing a raw material economy in which we get the little money and the other fellow gets the big money. What we need to make more money is a combination of vision, initiative, energy, marketing know-how and a moderate amount of industrialization in the under-developed areas of the state.

The "Small Industries Plan" can supply the push that is needed. It has a most important task cut out for it. —Greensboro Daily News

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WATER, WATER

North Carolina has been complacent about water too long. Former Governor, now Senator, Kerr Scott was preaching water conservation, on an ambitious scale, during the latter part of his administration—long before North Carolina's serious drought years. If the state had taken his advice on water then (as it did on roads and schools), this state would not be moving as slowly as it is today in dealing with its No. 1 problem.

North Carolina is on the march. Its urban and rural areas are growing. But that growth will be stunted and cut off if this state fails to make plans for water.

In 1950 North Carolina consumed 330,000,000 gallons of water per day for domestic and municipal purposes and by 1970 the figure will rise to 720,000,000 gallons per day. If cities ran out of water last year, what will they do when demands double?

North Carolina must put forth its best effort in the field of water planning. Otherwise its people will wake up several decades from now to find its riverbeds dry, fields parched and cities ghost-haunted and deserted.

Water is North Carolina's No. 1 problem. —Greensboro Daily News

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.
Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Vol. XLI, No. 7
April 27, 1955

Ed. Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Ed., G. W. Blackwell, G. L. Simpson, R. B. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

Assessed Valuation by Races, 1953

The table which appears elsewhere in this issue of the News Letter shows the total assessed valuation of property by races, and the per capita assessed valuation by races. The counties are ranked according to per capita assessed value for whites, and a parallel column shows the per capita assessed value for non-whites. Non-whites in all but five counties mean Negroes. The five exceptions are Columbus, Hoke, Person, Robeson and Sampson, where property is assessed separately for Indians. In this table the Negroes and Indians are grouped together for total valuations and per capita valuations.

This table covers the valuation of all property assessed locally. It covers all real property, including all rural property, timber, mineral and industrial property, town lots, and tangible personal property. The table does not include bank and building and loan shares and corporate excess of utilities. These properties are assessed by state agencies and reported back to the companies, but values are not separated by races.

Forsyth First

Forsyth county leads in per capita assessed value of property for whites, with $4,917 and Ashe county ranks last with $405. The state average for whites is $1,760 per capita, and oddly enough only 21 counties rank above the state average.

For non-whites, Guilford ranks first, with assessed value of $410 per capita, and five counties have no property listed by non-whites. These five counties are Graham, Clay, Avery, Madison and Ashe. The per capita for non-whites for Swain county is $4.00. Non-whites in Swain mean principally Indians. The non-white population in Swain county

more, than 2 percent of the taxes assessed against all property listed for taxation in the state.

There is no moral intended or implied in the presentation of the above facts. They are presented simply as facts for whatever they are worth.

It is obvious that the Negro has not accumulated much property in North Carolina, and it is likely that his property holdings in North Carolina compare favorably with his holdings in other Southern States, perhaps even in Northern states, for that matter. —S.H.H., Jr.

REAL PROPERTY PREDOMINATES

A much larger share of the total assessed property of Negroes is real property than is true for white people. Of the total of $209 million in Negro property, about $147 million of it was in real property, or above 71 per cent of the total. On the other hand, only 62 per cent of the total white property assessment was real property.

The Negro share of the total assessment is substantially the same now as it was two years ago. Based on reports of the State Department of Tax Research, the Negro share of the total two years ago was 3.69 per cent as compared with 3.82 per cent this year.

The extent to which the Negro is poor in this world's goods as compared with white people is illustrated in some of the counties where the Negro population is larger than the white population. Bertie is a case in point. In that county, the total number of polls is 3,629, of which about 53 per cent are Negroes, and yet this 53 per cent of the taxpaying population owned only 7 per cent of the assessed property.

That point of maximum productivity apparently arrived at about the same time the tobacco cancer scare got loose in the nation. The result: A North Carolina largely dependent on tobacco prosperity was bound to feel the economic sag. What is the answer? It is still agricultural diversification just as our best economists have been telling us for decades.

What about textiles? For several decades N. C. has been benefiting from a profitable migration of textile manufacturing from New England. The bulk of that migration is about over. The point Dr. Ratchford made is that traditionally textile manufacturing is the earliest type of industrializaiton. In India, China, Japan and other parts of Southeast Asia, textile production (since it supplies the basic clothing need) probably will be increasing as those nations feel the impact of the industrial revolution.

What must we do? Certainly we need and want our textile industry to remain happily situated in the South, but we must also campaign vigorously for metal working and other types of "heavy" industry (which normally follow textiles in the industrial cycle). Already North Carolina is benefiting from the development of heavy industry. Westen Electric, General Electric and Westinghouse are choosing North Carolina sites for their expansion, and that is fortunate for us.

That type of industry not only will provide diversity but will assure our people of relatively higher paying jobs, requiring more skill and responsibility. While textile manufacturing in the Greensboro area undoubtedly pays well among competing factories of its kind, as a whole the industry is low paying among 20 top industries in the United States. Textiles cannot neces-

Assessed Value of Property by Races, 1953

In the following table, based on Statistics of Taxation, N. C. Department of Tax Research and State Board of Assessment, the counties are **ranked according** to white per capita valuation of property assessed locally for taxation for the year 1953. The parallel columns show aggregate value of real and personal property listed by whites; aggregate value listed by non-whites; and per capita assessed value for non-whites. In a few counties non-whites includes Indians.

This table does not include bank, building and loan shares, intangibles, nor corporate excess of utilities, largely white-owned.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Albert Schaffer

Rank	County	Assessed valuation white	Asessed valuation non-white	Per capita white	Per capita non-white
1	Forsyth	$514,758,730	$ 9,754,230	$4,917	$235
2	Durham	266,373,436	12,186,918	3,928	360
3	Guilford	515,401,687	15,289,547	3,352	410
4	Dare	16,203,648	134,619	3,224	354
5	Mecklenburg	442,918,860	8,812,545	3,011	176
6	Rockingham	121,429,598	3,875,185	2,343	298
7	Lenoir	59,965,385	3,482,630	2,295	176
8	New Hanover	95,908,543	4,525,591	2,208	228
9	Alamance	119,769,661	3,229,165	2,064	245
10	Halifax	51,680,349	6,091,101	2,039	184
11	Wayne	75,580,945	4,600,256	2,035	170
12	Davie	26,662,288	798,088	2,010	371
13	Montgomery	26,386,441	763,459	1,984	193
14	Hoke	12,307,138	1,305,182	1,980	137
15	Edgecombe	48,449,559	4,401,519	1,952	164
16	Granville	31,867,458	3,769,900	1,880	254
17	Onslow	28,223,133	1,637,753	1,863	245
18	Wake	178,423,841	8,487,046	1,850	212
19	Nash	63,090,187	3,491,915	1,829	137
20	Northampton	18,573,666	3,170,053	1,824	174
21	Rowan	110,303,622	3,784,112	1,763	294
22	Hertford	15,029,896	3,027,560	1,749	235
23	Gaston	166,410,175*	2,267,235	1,734	152
24	Person	26,874,797	2,686,403	1,730	304
25	Cabarrus	91,980,024	1,866,206	1,703	191
26	Catawba	94,347,625	1,061,729	1,679	190
27	Pitt	56,970,767	3,512,092	1,662	119
28	Vance	28,739,775	2,766,215	1,643	189
29	Chatham	28,312,275	1,576,143	1,641	194
30	Caldwell	65,194,130	873,163	1,616	291
31	Currituck	6,774,947	445,884	1,609	225
32	Richmond	44,139,711	2,720,993	1,604	225
33	Randolph	73.721,893	1,283.720	1,585	298
34	Martin	21,602,803	2,262,224	1,559	161
35	Moore	37,502,758	1,871,535	1,548	210
36	Scotland	21,064,136	1,228,840	1,533	97
37	Pasquotank	23,059,181	2,091,573	1,532	225
38	Cleveland	76,832,329	1,595,799	1,528	113
39	Wilson	48,400,972	2,798,123	1,494	127

Forsyth First

Forsyth county leads in per capita assessed value of property for whites, with $4,917 and Ashe county ranks last with $405. The state average for whites is $1,760 per capita, and oddly enough only 21 counties rank above the state average.

For non-whites, Guilford ranks first, with assessed value of $410 per capita, and five counties have no property listed by non-whites. These five counties are Graham, Clay, Avery, Madison and Ashe. The per capita for non-whites for Swain county is $4.00. Non-whites in Swain mean principally Indians. The non-white population in Swain county totals 1,551 and the assessed value of property listed by non-whites is only $6,288.

Guilford county has a slight edge in the total assessed valuation of property listed by whites, the amount being slightly over 515 million dollars, followed closely by Forsyth with slightly under 515 million dollars. The counties range all the way down to Clay county with total white assessments of slightly more than three and one half million dollars.

Guilford also leads in total assessed valuation listed by non-whites, with $15,289,547, Durham is second with somewhat over 12 million dollars and Forsyth is third with $9,754,230. There are 14 counties in the state where total valuation listed by non-whites is less than $100,000 each. There are 11 counties where the per capita assessed valuation listed by non-whites is less than $100 while there are only six counties with per capita non-white assessments exceeding $300.

Negro Percents Low

Negroes are approximately 27 percent of the popluation of North Carolina but they listed only 3.8 percent of property assessed locally in 1953. Only 5 percent of the total rural acreage listed for taxation was listed by Negroes. Again, while Negroes are only 27 percent of the population, only 19 percent of polls listed in 1953 were Negroes.

While this table does not include bank and building and loan shares, corporate excess of utilities, and intangible property, the position of the Negro is not harmed in this fact. As a matter of fact, the proportion of such wealth in the hands of whites is considerably in excess of the proportion of real and personal property listed by whites. It is doubtful if more than 1 percent of the bank and building and loan shares, corporate excess, and intangible property is owned by the Negro race. Such properties total approximately 3 billion dollars, which leads to the conclusion that not much more than 2 percent of all property listed for taxation in North Carolina is listed by the Negro race.

Finally, it thus appears that, while Negroes are approximately 27 percent of the total population of North Carolina, they pay not much, if any

now as it was two years ago. Based on reports of the State Department of Tax Research, the Negro share of the total two years ago was 3.69 per cent as compared with 3.82 per cent this year.

The extent to which the Negro is poor in this world's goods as compared with white people is illustrated in some of the counties where the Negro population is larger than the white population. Bertie is a case in point. In that county, the total number of polls is 3,629, of which about 53 per cent are Negroes, and yet this 53 per cent of the taxpaying population owned only 7 per cent of the assessed property.

Hertford is another county in which the number of Negro polls is larger than the number of whites, by a ratio of 54 per cent. The Negro share of the assessed property in Hertford is 17 per cent, which means that the Negroes in Hertford are much better off relatively than in Bertie, assuming that property valuations have been arrived at uniformly in the two counties.

Northampton and Warren are two more counties in which the number of polls was larger among Negroes than among whites.

It is important to bear in mind that this ratio of property ownership among the races—26 per cent of the population owning 3.82 per cent of the property—is limited to property which is listed locally for tax purposes. This means that it is tangible property. It does not take into account intangible property nor does it take into account income. There is no information available on income tax payments on a racial basis. Income-wise, the relative position of the Negro is much better than property as such.

—N. C. Research Institute.

SOME DISTURBING FACTS

Dr. B. U. Ratchford of Duke University raised several disturbing points about the Tar Heel economy in his talk to Greensboro Kiwanis Club last week.

One was that North Carolina has not been moving ahead economically as fast in the last seven years as it did in the preceding 20 or 30.

Why? The reasons seem to lie in the nature of our agricultural and industrial king pins—tobacco and textiles.

Tobacco has been our "money crop" mainstay for years. During the decades when tobacco consumption was rising and tobacco giants like Duke and Reynolds transformed the yellow leaf into yellow gold, North Carolina was sitting on top of the world. While tobacco consumption was rising phenominally all over the world, we were also finding ways of increasing acreage productivity. Thus, it seemed North Carolina's agricultural prosperity might go on rising indefinitely. But the point of diminishing returns has set in, as Dr. Ratchford noted in his brutally realistic appraisal.

development of heavy industry. Westen Electric, General Electric and Westinghouse are choosing North Carolina sites for their expansion, and that is fortunate for us.

That type of industry not only will provide diversity but will assure our people of relatively higher paying jobs, requiring more skill and responsibility. While textile manufacturing in the Greensboro area undoubtedly pays well among competing factories of its kind, as a whole the industry is low paying among 20 top industries in the United States. Textiles cannot necessarily afford higher wages; by their nature they are "low paying" on the industrial scale.

The same factor affects the tobacco business—as an industry. Tobacco manufacturing requires relatively low-skilled workers and over the years its wage scale has not risen much. In the agricultural field tobacco is not subject to the same labor-saving devices that have transformed other crops. Tobacco growing still requires considerable personal attention and cannot be easily mechanized, if at all.

Dr. Ratchford's comments were not encouraging or pleasant to hear. But they had the ring of truth, and they were delivered by a scholarly economist(a Tar Heel by birth and training) with no axes to grind and, undoubtedly, an abiding love for his home state.

What he said went a long way toward explaining our present fiscal dilemma in Raleigh—and also our relatively low per capita income in the nation.

—Greensboro Daily News

BEAUTIFYING ROADSIDES

It is good news that the State Highway Commission proposes to beautify North Carolina's roadsides and calls on citizens to co-operate with it on lands adjoining highway rights of way.

If North Carolina were an ugly or ordinary looking state, it would not make much difference what happened to its roadsides. But it is a naturally beautiful one, from coast to mountains. There never has been any sense in our hiding our scenic beauty under a bushel of roadside excrescences, such as snipe signs, billboards and automobile boneyards. In a countryside where almost any sort of a tree or shrub will grow without much urging, there is every reason for the state and its people to cooperate to make our roadsides some of the most beautiful in the nation.

It will pay us to do so from three viewpoints—the esthetic, the patriotic and the practical, all of which interlinked. Tourists come out to see beautiful scenery and spend over $300,000,000 a year in North Carolina in the process; that sum could be raised to half a billion by outstandingly beautiful roadsides.

22	Hertford	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	Gaston	166,410,175*	2,267,235	1,734	152
24	Person	26,874,797	2,686,403	1,730	304
25	Cabarrus	91,980,024	1,866,206	1,703	191
26	Catawba	94,347,625	1,061,729	1,679	190
27	Pitt	56,970,767	3,512,092	1,662	119
28	Vance	28,739,775	2,766,215	1,643	189
29	Chatham	28,312,275	1,576,143	1,641	194
30	Caldwell	65,194,130	873,163	1,616	291
31	Currituck	6,774,947	445,884	1,609	225
32	Richmond	44,139,711	2,720,993	1,604	225
33	Randolph	73,721,893	1,283,720	1,585	298
34	Martin	21,602,803	2,262,224	1,559	161
35	Moore	37,502,758	1,871,535	1,548	210
36	Scotland	21,064,136	1,228,840	1,533	97
37	Pasquotank	23,059,181	2,091,573	1,532	225
38	Cleveland	76,832,329	1,595,799	1,528	113
39	Wilson	48,400,972	2,798,123	1,494	127
40	Iredell	68,933,944	1,565,460	1,489	157
41	Camden	4,755,923	512,196	1,486	253
42	Chowan	10,415,340	1,007,910	1,473	184
43	Gates	6,638,681	1,046,778	1,465	208
44	Warren	11,558,395	2,953,962	1,463	189
45	Robeson	54,679,943	9,219,527	1,458	183
46	Perquimans	7,265,635	903,185	1,449	197
47	Lee	25,013,470	976,795	1,438	160
48	Beaufort	33,030,130	2,291,980	1,420	165
49	Pamlico	9,247,465	858,274	1,415	248
50	Transylvania	20,426,293	101,637	1,414	135
51	Anson	19,095,354	1,462,034	1,386	128
52	Tyrrell	4,053,823	382,103	1,370	183
53	Henderson	39,402,233	402,580	1,365	194
54	Harnett	46,890,250	2,192,530	1,336	175
55	Burke	56,223,148	717,995	1,335	211
56	Stanly	43,681,586	781,617	1,328	185
57	Orange	33,522,826	2,553,925	1,300	295
58	Washington	9,610,559	983,842	1,294	171
59	Davidson	71,776,993	1,152,446	1,285	180
60	Alexander	17,307,363	243,713	1,280	236
61	Hyde	4,706,298	206,713	1,257	96
62	Graham	8,373,611	....	1,256	.....
63	Lincoln	29,711,856	408,527	1,239	117
64	Duplin	31,727,081	3,604,669	1,225	237
65	Buncombe	132,932,707	2,743,025	1,218	180
66	Surry	52,076,541	524,933	1,211	201
67	Bertie	12,697,575	2,099,178	1,195	133
68	Watauga	21,140,989	89,859	1,167	394
69	Franklin	19,821,209	2,410,765	1,163	169
70	Pender	11,019,662	1,669,714	1,157	188
71	Bladen	19,343,345	3,283,635	1,107	270
72	Brunswick	13,405,988	1,323,557	1,098	188
73	McDowell	26,291,827	331,150	1,083	230
74	Cumberland	74,616,795	5,859,092	1,079	218
75	Sampson	33,681,929	3,670,160	1,070	190
76	Carteret	20,066,881	507,046	996	174
77	Haywood	36,048,483	99,852	980	120
78	Johnson	50,134,820	1,880,101	972	131
79	Macon	14,188,831	48,170	938	133
80	Caswell	10,238,929	1,777,237	936	179
81	Rutherford	36,248,588	808,850	891	142
82	Columbus	29,743,132	3,167,706	889	184
83	Craven	28,939,696	2,600,485	877	170
84	Jones	5,201,884	746,819	865	150
85	Union	27,632,045	934,389	849	99
86	Yadkin	18,178,032	214,458	829	195
87	Greene	7,954,076	572,637	826	68
88	Jackson	14,381,573	71,318	808	49
89	Polk	7,940,991	172,152	790	114
90	Stokes	15,209,864	350,290	776	181
91	Alleghany	5,401,466	52,895	673	197
92	Wilkes	27,868,501	497,517	655	183
93	Swain	5,309,973	6,288	634	4
94	Clay	3,553,523	....	598	.....
95	Cherokee	10,110,845	20,907	562	66
96	Yancey	7,972,208	30,456	494	165
97	Avery	6,269,546	....	477	.....
98	Madison	9,188,308	....	452	.....
99	Mitchell	6,583,570	2,319	436	47
100	Ashe	8,749,644	....	405	.....
	State	5,249,518,545	214,749,152	1,760	199

* For Gaston county the amounts do not include inventories of cotton valued at $6,439,193.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.
Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

VOL. XL, No. 14
Dec. 15, 1954

Ed. Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Ed., G. W. Blackwell, G. L. Simpson, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

Net Migration, North Carolina, County

[Ed. Note: This News Letter is based on a study by Dr. Horace Hamilton of N. C. State College. It deals with net migration of population in and out of North Carolina, and in and out of the counties. The net loss of some 261,000 people from 1940-1950 should be a matter of grave concern. It probably cost nearly four billion dollars to raise these people. And in addition we will lose the billions of income they would have made in North Carolina had they found suitable employment and stayed at home.]

During the decade of 1940-1950, North Carolina lost about 261,199 people by migration to other states and countries. This migration from the state represents 6.8 percent of the state's mean population during the decade and is more than three times the amount of net migration in any previous decade. In the decade 1930-1940 the state lost only 80,000 people by net migration.

In spite of the heavy migration from the state during the 1940's, the population of the state increased 490,306. This net gain represents the excess of natural increase over the loss by migration. The natural increase of North Carolina's population during the 1940's was 751,505, or 19.7 percent of the mean population of the decade. Births during the decade, corrected for underregistration, amounted to 1,052,914 and deaths amounted to 301,409. The difference between births and deaths is referred to as natural increase.

The net outmigration of nonwhite population (almost all Negroes), amounting to 162,557, was relatively four times as great as the net outmigration of white population which amounted to only 98,642. The ratios of net outmigration to the white and

hanced by wartime production demands and postwar prosperity and rising levels of living.

(4) Location of military installations and war industries in certain areas. By and large, North Carolina did not get her share of large war industry, but did get and keep a few large military installations.

(5) Mechanization of agriculture and changes in the types and amounts of agricultural production.

(6) The continued drift of Negroes from rural areas of the South, a movement which has been going on for the last 50 years and which has been accelerated by the war and its aftermath.

Significance of Migration

It hardly needs to be said that the net migration of more than a quarter of a million people from North Carolina is a tremendously significant fact from both a human and an economic point of view. We shall only outline here the major significant aspects:

(3) There is, of course, a social significance to this great outmigration of North Carolinians which cannot be put into economic terms. Migrants leaving their home state and home communities must make many personal and social adjustments. New employers, new friends, new homes, new church affiliations, new play groups, and new ways of living must be taken on. No doubt many of these new social adjustments are happy ones; but, on the other hand, we do know that high rates of social mobility frequently lead to personal and social problems of a pathological character. It takes a generation or more for a new population to become firmly established in a new community.

(4) Finally, this great outmigra-

came from the low income rural families of the state. On the other hand, we must also consider the value of these outmigrant laborers to urban industry where most of them go. How much, for instance, would it cost an urban family and the urban community to feed, clothe, educate and otherwise service a potential laborer from birth to 18 years of age?

What we are getting at is that the economic value of North Carolina's contribution of 260,000 people to the Nation must be based not only on the cost of living in North Carolina but also on the cost of living in the urban out-of-state areas to which these people are going, as well as on their productive capacities in an urban environment.

Allowing for inflation and other factors, and for purposes of clarification and emphasis, let it be assumed that these migrants represent an economic contribution of at least $15,000 per capita, or a total of $15,000 x 260,000 equals $3,900,000,000. This amount of money would not pay off our national debt; but it would, if returned to North Carolina in the form of federal aid for educational, social, and health services, enable our state to "export" a more productive, healthier, and better educated human product.

ONE CENTRAL LIBRARY

Gov. Luther Hodges said today it is "dangerous to leave to a few leaders" the current operation and future destiny of the state and said a proposed new state library agency would enable all lawmakers to be well informed on vital problems.

An adequate library system is "vital to the modern state" the governor told his news conference today, because the problems of its operation are "too great, too immense" for legislators to handle wisely in a few months time with-

Net Migration and Natural Increase, 1940-50

In the following table, based on a study by Dr. Horace Hamilton of N. C. State College, the counties of North Carolina are ranked according to ratio of net migration in and out of each county from 1940-50. Parallel columns show total population in 1950; net gains or losses by migration.

Estimated births over deaths were 751,505. The actual gain in population was 490,306. Thus there was a net migration from the state of 261,199 people.

		NUMBER			RATIO TO MEAN	
Rank	County	1950 population	Net migration + indicates Net in - indicates Net out	Natural increase	Net migration + indicates Net in - indicates Net out	Natural increase percent
1	Onslow	42,047	+18,481	5,627	+61.6	18.8
2	Craven	48,823	+10,570	6,955	+26.4	17.4
3	Cumberland	96,006	+18,881	17,805	+24.3	22.9
4	Orange	34,435	+5,603	5,760	+19.5	20.0
5	Mecklenburg	197,052	+15,104	30,122	+8.7	17.3
6	Durham	101,639	+6,836	14,559	+7.5	16.0
7	Carteret	23,059	+1,265	3,510	+6.1	17.0
8	Wake	136,450	+7,103	19,803	+5.8	16.1
9	Guilford	191,057	+9,789	27,352	+5.7	15.9
10	New Hanover	63,272	+3,101	12,236	+5.6	22.0
11	Gaston	110,836	+1,983	21,322	+2.0	21.5
12	Henderson	30,921	+410	4,462	+1.4	15.7
13	Alamance	71,220	+574	13,219	+0.9	20.6
14	Lee	23,522	+89	4,690	+0.4	22.2
15	Forsyth	146,135	-830	20,490	-0.6	15.0
16	Buncombe	124,403	-1,297	16,945	-1.1	14.5
16	Pasquotank	24,347	-238	4,017	1.1	17.9
18	Davidson	62,244	-801	9,668	1.4	16.7
19	Catawba	61,794	-1,705	11,846	-3.0	20.9
20	Caldwell	43,352	-1,719	9,276	-4.3	23.4
20	Burke	45,518	-1,788	8,691	-4.3	20.7
22	Randolph	50,804	-2,428	8,678	-5.1	18.2
23	Hertford	21,453	-1,272	3,373	-6.2	16.5
24	Iredell	56,303	-3,389	9,268	-6.4	17.4
25	Transylvania	15,194	-903	3,856	-6.6	28.1
26	Stanly	37,130	-2,466	6,762	-7.0	19.3
27	Rowan	75,410	-5,057	11,261	-7.0	15.6
28	Lincoln	27,459	-1,911	5,183	-7.4	20.1
29	McDowell	25,720	-2,139	4,843	-8.8	19.9
29	Lenoir	45,953	-3,827	8,569	-8.8	19.7
31	Rockingham	64,816	-5,861	12,779	-9.6	20.8
32	Granville	31,793	-3,047	5,498	-10.0	18.0
33	Wayne	64,267	-6,282	12,221	-10.2	19.9
34	Alexander	14,554	-1,507	2,607	-10.8	18.6
35	Chowan	12,540	-1,321	2,309	-11.0	19.2
36	Scotland	26,336	-2,895	5,999	-11.7	24.2
37	Yadkin	22,133	-2,527	4,003	-11.8	18.7

loss by migration. The natural increase of North Carolina's population during the 1940's was 751,505, or 19.7 percent of the mean population of the decade. Births during the decade, corrected for underregistration, amounted to 1,052,914 and deaths amounted to 301,409. The difference between births and deaths is referred to as natural increase.

The net outmigration of nonwhite population (almost all Negroes), amounting to 162,557, was relatively four times as great as the net outmigration of white population which amounted to only 98,642. The ratios of net outmigration to the white and nonwhite mean populations were 3.6 percent and 15.6 percent, respectively.

No important differences in net migration by sex were found among either white or nonwhite populations.

There were great and important differences in net migration among the counties of the state. Fourteen counties, mostly urban, gained by migration and 86 counties lost. The ten counties losing most heavily by migration were:

Swain	-48.8 percent
Hyde	-33.0 percent
Clay	-31.0 percent
Cherokee	-28.7 percent
Greene	-28.6 percent
Madison	-28.4 percent
Yancey	-27.9 percent
Mitchell	-27.8 percent
Graham	-27.4 percent
Tyrrell	-27.0 percent

None of these ten counties has any urban population.

The ten counties gaining most by migration were:

Onslow	+61.6 percent
Craven	+26.4 percent
Cumberland	+24.3 percent
Orange	+19.5 percent
Mecklenburg	+8.7 percent
Durham	+7.5 percent
Carteret	+6.1 percent
Wake	+5.8 percent
Guilford	+5.7 percent
New Hanover	+5.6 percent

All of these counties have substantial urban populations. The three counties gaining most by migration have large military installations.

A more detailed analysis of migration, rural-farm, and rural-non-farm areas of the state is in progress. Preliminary estimates indicate that something like 500,000 people net left the farms of North Carolina during the decade 1940-1950.

Causes of Migration

The major factors responsible for the great net migration from North Carolina and between the counties of the state are:

(1) Population pressure, particularly in the rural areas where a surplus of children is produced.

(2) Population vacuums or deficits in the urban areas because of the relatively low birth rates therein.

(3) Continued growth of urban industry, business, and service, en-

Migrants leaving their home state and home communities must make many personal and social adjustments. New employers, new friends, new homes, new church affiliations, new play groups, and new ways of living must be taken on. No doubt many of these new social adjustments are happy ones; but, on the other hand, we do know that high rates of social mobility frequently lead to personal and social problems of a pathological character. It takes a generation or more for a new population to become firmly established in a new community.

(4) Finally, this great outmigration of people suggests that institutions (public and private) in the communities to which migrants go should develop programs which will help these people make profitable and happy social and economic adjustments. These programs will be particularly acute in the fields of new housing, vocational guidance, recreation, health services, and public welfare.

(1) The contribution of 261,000 persons to other states and countries (mainly to other states) represents a transfer of real economic wealth directly and indirectly. Many of the migrants from the state take money and other personal property with them and hold title to or will inherit real estate and other property which cannot be moved physically. A heavy net outmigration may add to the volume of absentee ownership of our state's wealth, although many of the outmigrants may eventually return to the state.

(2) An indirect economic loss to the state is represented by the cost of rearing and educating the thousands of outmigrants who will provide population deficit areas with a young and productive labor supply. Previous studies show that migrants from rural states are mostly young adults without families. The cost of rearing a person from birth to 18 years of age has been estimated by Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, at $7,766 in a family of five persons with an annual income of $2,500, and at $16,337 in a family of five having an income of from $5,000 to $10,000. These estimates were based on the ways of living and the price levels of 1935-1936.

These estimates, Dublin and Lotka point out, do not include an allowance for the value of personal services rendered by members of the household other than the father. For example, it is most difficult to estimate in dollars and cents the value of the services of mothers who carry the major burden of managing and operating homes and of taking care of children.

At present price levels it probably costs from $15,000 to $30,000 to rear a child from birth to 18 years of age, depending somewhat on the incomes and standards of living of the families involved. It must be remembered, of course, that a large percentage of our out-of-state migrants

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ONE CENTRAL LIBRARY

Gov. Luther Hodges said today it is "dangerous to leave to a few leaders" the current operation and future destiny of the state and said a proposed new state library agency would enable all lawmakers to be well informed on vital problems.

An adequate library system is "vital to the modern state" the governor told his news conference today, because the problems of its operation are "too great, too immense" for legislators to handle wisely in a few months time without ready sources of information.

The governor said "I'll be ready to support" legislation before the 1955 General Assembly to carry out the recommendation of the Commission on Government Reorganization for creation of a new library agency. He also endorsed a recommendation in the fourth of eight anticipated commission reports that the Department of Archives and History be given full responsibility for all important historical functions.

The proposed new agency would replace the present State Library, the Library Commission and the State Documents Library, a section of the State Library.

"Creation of a single library agency . . . will give one agency the authority and opportunity to initiate desirable new library services," the governor said. "Examples of such new services are the creation of a central library record of all books and materials owned by all state agencies in Raleigh and the development of additional special reference services for the General Assembly and state officials."

As lieutenant governor, Hodges urged state senators to write various state sources for pertinent materials to study before attending the 1953 session. He noted that legislators could prepare more easily and work better if they had "a good library with proper reference sources" to consult before and during a session.

The commission recommended that the Historic Sites Commission be abolished and that the State Parks Division of the Department of Conservation and Development be relieved of its duty of deciding on sites to accept for state parks.

Hodges said the move to concentrate that responsibility in Archives and History would provide better administration.

A proposal to centralize responsibility for all cultural and historical functions in one agency was discarded, the governor said, because it would have imposed "an almost impossible task" of trying to coordinate historical, library, art, and museum programs. He said a single board to administer museums also was deemed impractical because museums are related more closely to other state agencies than to each other.

—U.P. Correspondence

20	Burke	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22	Randolph	50,804	-2,428	8,678	-5.1	18.2
23	Hertford	21,453	-1,272	3,373	-6.2	16.5
24	Iredell	56,303	-3,389	9,268	-6.4	17.4
25	Transylvania	15,194	-903	3,856	-6.6	28.1
26	Stanly	37,130	-2,466	6,762	-7.0	19.3
27	Rowan	75,410	-5,057	11,261	-7.0	15.6
28	Lincoln	27,459	-1,911	5,183	-7.4	20.1
29	McDowell	25,720	-2,139	4,843	-8.8	19.9
29	Lenoir	45,953	-3,827	8,569	-8.8	19.7
31	Rockingham	64,816	-5,861	12,779	-9.6	20.8
32	Granville	31,793	-3,047	5,498	-10.0	18.0
33	Wayne	64,267	-6,282	12,221	-10.2	19.9
34	Alexander	14,554	-1,507	2,607	-10.8	18.6
35	Chowan	12,540	-1,321	2,309	-11.0	19.2
36	Scotland	26,336	-2,895	5,999	-11.7	24.2
37	Yadkin	22,133	-2,527	4,003	-11.8	18.7
38	Brunswick	19,238	-2,156	4,269	-11.9	23.5
39	Moore	33,129	-3,849	6,009	-12.0	18.7
40	Edgecombe	51,634	-6,337	8,809	-12.6	17.5
40	Surry	45,593	-5,525	9,335	-12.6	21.4
40	Vance	32,101	-3,922	6,062	-12.6	19.5
43	Davie	15,420	-1,941	2,452	-12.8	16.2
44	Columbus	50,621	-6,270	11,228	-13.0	23.3
44	Union	42,034	-5,289	8,226	-13.0	20.3
46	Richmond	39,597	-4,990	7,777	-13.1	20.4
46	Cleveland	64,357	-8,003	14,305	-13.1	23.4
48	Cabarrus	63,783	-8,139	12,529	-13.2	20.3
49	Wilson	54,506	-6,938	11,226	-13.3	21.4
50	Montgomery	17,260	-2,256	3,236	-13.5	19.3
51	Harnett	47,605	-6,481	9,847	-14.1	21.4
52	Haywood	37,631	-5,197	8,024	-14.3	22.2
53	Chatham	25,392	-3,742	4,408	-14.9	17.6
54	Washington	13,180	-1,912	2,769	-15.0	21.7
55	Bladen	29,703	-4,343	6,890	-15.3	24.2
56	New Hanover	63,272	-8,982	13,293	-15.5	23.0
57	Pamlico	9,993	-1,540	1,827	-15.6	18.5
57	Robeson	87,769	-12,869	23,778	-15.6	28.9
59	Franklin	31,341	-4,993	5,952	-16.2	19.3
59	Beaufort	37,134	-5,974	6,677	-16.2	18.2
61	Pender	18,423	-3,029	3,742	-16.8	20.7
61	Wilkes	45,243	-7,429	9,669	-16.8	21.9
63	Sampson	49,780	-8,275	10,615	-17.0	21.8
64	Rutherford	46,356	-7,867	8,646	-17.1	18.8
65	Martin	27,938	-4,645	6,472	-17.2	23.9
66	Alleghany	8,155	-1,447	1,261	-17.5	15.3
67	Hoke	15,756	-2,757	3,576	-18.0	23.3
68	Caswell	20,870	-3,765	4,603	-18.4	22.5
69	Pitt	63,789	-11,577	14,123	-18.5	22.6
70	Camden	5,223	-1,012	795	-19.0	14.9
71	Currituck	6,201	-1,233	725	-19.1	11.2
72	Johnston	65,906	-12,516	14,624	-19.3	22.5
73	Warren	23,539	-4,525	4,919	-19.4	21.1
74	Duplin	41,074	-7,911	9,246	-19.6	22.9
75	Halifax	58,377	-11,480	13,345	-20.0	23.2
76	Perquimans	9,602	-1,956	1,785	-20.2	18.4
77	Watauga	18,342	-3,700	3,928	-20.3	21.5
78	Gates	9,555	-2,026	1,521	-20.7	15.5
79	Bertie	26,439	-5,480	5,718	-20.8	21.7
80	Jackson	19,261	-4,030	3,925	-20.9	20.3
81	Northampton	28,432	-6,104	6,237	-21.5	22.0
82	Macon	16,174	-3,506	3,800	-21.9	23.7
83	Dare	5,405	-1,305	669	-22.8	11.7
84	Jones	11,004	-2,506	2,584	-22.9	23.6
85	Stokes	21,520	-5,225	4,089	-23.7	18.5
86	Polk	11,627	-2,833	2,586	-24.1	22.0
87	Ashe	21,878	-5,537	4,751	-24.9	21.3
88	Anson	26,781	-7,357	5,695	-26.6	20.6
89	Avery	13,352	-3,592	3,383	-26.7	25.1
89	Person	24,361	-6,591	5,923	-26.7	24.0
91	Tyrrell	5,048	-1,434	926	-27.0	17.5
92	Graham	6,886	-1,822	2,290	-27.4	34.4
93	Mitchell	15,143	-4,327	3,490	-27.8	22.4
94	Yancey	16,306	-4,669	3,773	-27.9	22.5
95	Madison	20,522	-6,108	4,108	-28.4	19.1
96	Greene	18,024	-5,223	4,699	-28.6	25.7
97	Cherokee	18,294	-5,330	4,811	-28.7	25.9
98	Clay	6,006	-1,921	1,522	-31.0	24.5
99	Hyde	6,479	-2,365	984	-33.0	13.7
100	Swain	9,921	-5,390	3,134	-48.8	28.4
	State	4,061,929	-261,199	751,505	-6.8	19.7

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Vol. XXXIX, No. 1
Jan. 28, 1953

Editorial Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., H. W. Odum, G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

The Aging Population in N. C.

The 1950 Census showed that North Carolina had a quarter of a million people aged 65 and over. This represents 5.5 percent of the state's 4,061,929 population and can be compared with 1940 when 156,539 people 65 and over represented 4.5 percent of the population.

While 65 has been taken as the crucial age in Social Security and retirement systems, not all workers retire at this age. Many who do retire are still active physically and mentally. Moreover since workers may retire before this age, 65 is only an approximation to the analysis either of retirement or the workings of the Social Security system. Hence it is useful to distinguish between the very old and the not so old. Only 8,912 of our people are 85 and over as compared to 55,700 aged 75 to 84 years; 63,245 are 70 to 74, and 97,440 from 65 to 69 years old. In the younger groups 110,141 are 60 to 64 and 137,936 are from 55 to 59 years of age.

In the ten years from 1940 to 1950 the state's population increased 13.7 percent; the old people, 65 and over, increased 43.9 percent. The population of the state has been aging but not at a startling rate. The change in median age is a good way to show this. This is the age at which one half the population will be found on one side and one half on the other. This measure increased from 23.1 years in 1940 to 25.0 in 1950. From 1880 to 1910 the median age in the state increased only one year, from 18.3 to 19.3. This represented a very youthful population and with increased length of life it went from 19.6 years in 1920 to 20.4 in 1930.

Our white population lives longer than our colored people and women live longer than men. By the above

with 9.7 over 65 to Onslow County with only 3.0 percent. The large military population accounts for Onslow's low percent. The same is true of Cumberland with 3.3 percent 65 and over.

A generation ago this analysis would have been even more important in terms of numbers in specific counties simply because our thinking ran along the lines of institutional care. Here, of course, the large city counties predominate, with Mecklenburg, Guilford, Buncombe and Forsyth having 9,716, 9,665, 8,849 and 7,512 elders respectively. Social Security now operates, so that these figures are not used by county officials to estimate the need for county poor houses and poor farms. Rest homes and nursing homes will continue to be important but more of the aged under social security and pension plans live in their own homes or with relatives. This is especially true for farmers and other self-employed who do not necessarily retire at 65. Since people are living longer, these numbers may be expected to increase in future censuses.—Rupert B. Vance.

FARM ELECTRIFICATION

The Federal Rural Electrification Administration reports that as of June 30, 1952, there were 260,811 farms in North Carolina receiving electricity. This represents 90.4 percent of all farms in the state. For the nation as a whole 88.1 percent of all farms were receiving electricity six months ago. It is rather remarkable that North Carolina, with the smallest farms of all the states, and thus with many low income farms, should rank above the national average in percent of farms with electricity.

In addition to farms there are customers in North Carolina, or a total of 481,113 farm and rural non farm electric customers. A table which appears elsewhere, gives a summary of rural electrification in North Carolina as of July 1, 1952. This is based on data compiled by the North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority.

On the other hand, the rural telephone picture is in striking contrast. The Census reports that only 8.1 percent of North Carolina farms had telephones on April 1, 1950, and that only Mississippi with 6.5 percent falls below North Carolina. In Virginia, 23.7 percent of all farms have telephones and in Tennessee 18.8 percent. The low ranking states are the solid group from North Carolina through Louisiana, Florida not included.

For the nation as a whole, 38.3 percent of all farms had telephones two years ago, or nearly five times the ratio for North Carolina. The rural people of North Carolina wanted electricity and they got it. They got it from public utilities and from their own electric membership cooperatives. They now want telephones. They are not having too much success. North Carolina has one of the densest rural farm and non farm populations in the United States. It has the largest farm population, and ranks third in total rural population. Public utilities are more practical—profitable—in areas of dense population. Why the disgracefully low rank in rural telephones in North Carolina?

NEED MORE INCOME

In the last five years North Carolina has slipped from 41st place among the states in per capita income to 44th.

In the past year such income was up 10 percent in the nation, 21 percent in South Carolina, in Alabama 13 percent, in Arkansas 12 percent, in Mississippi 10 percent, in Tennessee 10 percent, and in North Carolina come from the Department of Commerce.

Thus North Carolina is lagging not only behind the national increase but also behind that of the Southeastern states.

The explanation, we think, of North Carolina's slide from 41st to 44th place is that this state is not diversifying its industry enough (our main industries are relatively low-pay ones) and is not getting enough big new industry in the national movement of industry southward to keep its place in a race which is marked by keen competition.

Why isn't it?

The trend seems to be for industry on the march to move into less industrialized areas, such as Mississippi or Alabama rather than into more industrialized ones such as Virginia and North Carolina. But North Carolina has plenty of territory which is not saturated by industry; in fact, hardly touched by it.

The suspicion persists that North Carolina is lagging because it isn't trying hard enough, that it is not putting enough intelligently directed energy into the problem to meet the challenge. We have lost much industry to other states which have gone after it more intelligently, more energetically, more systematically and more effectively than we have.

Governor Nominate William B. Umstead said the other day: "What North Carolina needs is "more taxpayers, not more taxes." He is everlastingly right about it. It needs them in order to support itself, its people and its institutions in a manner to which they have not been, but ought to be, accustomed.

How can North Carolina get more taxpayers?

(1) It can divest itself of its complacency which induces it to think it can lead the South without half trying.

(2) It can apply research to industry so as to make use of products which are now wasted or little used, such as sawdust. A lot of research is being done in Florida and Alabama and it is paying off; dividends come in millions. North Carolina in the last Legislature turned down a request for $10,000 for industrial research in co-operation with State College.

(3) It can re-examine its tax structures to determine whether it would make more money in the long run by lightening the tax burden on corporations. Competition from other states is a factor which must be reckoned with.

(4) It can re-examine its whole organization for attracting industry with a view to discovering whether it should be overhauled to make it more capable of doing the extremely important task ahead of it. On the face of it, the Department of Conservation and Development looks as if it "just growed" like Topsy and was not carefully designed for the work it must do. Lessons may be learned from South Carolina's Board of Research, Planning and Development, which was skillfully reorganized a few years ago. Recently South Carolina has been boasting that it was second in the Union in increase of value added by manufacturing. North Carolina ought to have as its "ambassador to industry" a fulltime man who knows as much about how to win industries and influence manufacturing as anybody in the nation. It might pay us to get him. This is a matter involving big money, millions running into billions.

North Carolina has the men, materials and markets to meet all competition, but it can't stay in this race by coasting along.

—Greensboro Daily News

Percent of Population 65 Years of Age and Over,

the state's population increased percent; the old people, 65 and over, increased 43.9 percent. The population of the state has been aging but not at a startling rate. The change in median age is a good way to show this. This is the age at which one half the population will be found on one side and one half on the other. This measure increased from 23.1 years in 1940 to 25.0 in 1950. From 1880 to 1910 the median age in the state increased only one year, from 18.3 to 19.3. This represented a very youthful population and with increased length of life it went from 19.6 years in 1920 to 20.4 in 1930.

Our white population lives longer than our colored people and women live longer than men. By the above measures then white women are the oldest group, 26.7 years median age, white men next with 25.6 years, followed by colored women 22.3, and colored men, 21.3 median age. Thus as we are led to expect, women outnumber men among the elders. Women over 65 outnumber men 93,826 to 81,696 in the white population, and 26,169 to 23,608 among the non-white group.

More Breadwinners

Actually the census figures are reassuring about the problem of support of the different ages for they show more of our population are coming into the mature or working ages, 20 to 64 years. Their group now makes up 53.1 percent of our population. Actually among our natural dependents, the young have always ranked larger than the old. In 1950 children aged 0 to 14 were 32.3 percent of our total population with those 15 to 19 years making up another 9.0 percent to be allocated to either side, depending mainly on whether they are going to school or have gone to work. Since this whole group represents our future productive population, the outlook for mature workers in the state remains cheering. It should insure among other things that North Carolina will have the human resources and thus the basis of social security needed to support old age.

In their geographic distribution we should expect to find high proportions of old people in long-settled areas where people have remained to grow old together. This will likely be on farms and in older areas from which young people have gone out. The highest proportion of older people in our state live on farms, 6.0 percent as compared to 5.4 percent in cities and 5.2 percent in rural non-farm areas. The more rapidly growing industrial areas have smaller proportions of the aged, Charlotte 4.8 percent, Gastonia 4.6 percent, and Kannapolis only 3.8 percent. Asheville ,a retirement center, has 8.1 percent of its people over 65.

Two centers with high proportions of elders are found in the Carolina tidewater and mountain counties. Six counties in the tidewater and 13 in the mountains have over 7 percent of the people 65 and over. The range is from Alleghany county

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In addition to farms there are some 221,000 other rural electric

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Rural Electrification in North Carolina, July 1, 1952

As reported to the North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority by the cooperating electric agencies

MILES

Rural Electric Distribution Power Lines

Agency	Completed and in operation	Under construction	Authorized but not under construction	Total miles
Electric Utility Companies	32,409.16	72.64	271.82	32,753.62
Electric Membership Corporations	36,404.36	621.60	2,654.81	39,680.77
Municipalities	3,745.79	33.00	45.60	3,829.39
Public Institutions	113.20	0	0	113.20
Totals	72,672.51	732.24	2,972.23	76,376.98

CONSUMERS

Consumers on above miles of line

Agency	Completed lines in operation	To be connected to lines under construction	Authorized but not under construction	Total consumers
Electric Utility Companies	282,538	389	1,705	284,632
Electric Membership Corporations	157,031	3,097	10,644	170,772
Municipalities	40,256	173	265	40,694
Public Institutions	1,288	0	0	1,288
Totals	481,113	3,659	12,614	497,386

Population By Age for the State 1880 and 1950

	Population		Percent Distribution	
	1950	1880	1950	1880
All classes				
Total all ages	4,061,929	1,399,750	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	501,632	233,117	12.3	16.7
5 to 9 years	428,599	206,682	10.6	14.8
10 to 14 years	381,492	168,290	9.4	12.0
15 to 19 years	365,718	138,667	9.0	9.9
20 to 24 years	356,326	141,145	8.8	10.1
25 to 29 years	342,115	105,546	8.4	7.5
30 to 34 years	301,769	82,401	7.4	5.9
35 to 39 years	289,295	68,608	7.1	4.9
40 to 44 years	245,000	53,399	6.0	3.8
45 to 49 years	203,510	48,190	5.0	3.4
50 to 54 years	173,099	48,394	4.3	3.5
55 to 59 years	137,936	30,746	3.4	2.2
60 to 64 years	110,141	27,345	2.7	2.0
65 to 69 years	97,440	19,235	2.4	1.4
70 to 74 years	63,245	13,271	1.6	0.9
75 years and over	64,612	14,714	1.6	1.1
Not reported	—	—	—	—
Median age	25.0	18.3	—	—

Percent of Population 65 Years of Age and Over, 1950

In the following table, based on the 1950 Census, the counties are ranked according to percent of total population 65 years of age and over on April 1, 1950. The parallel column shows the total number of such persons in each county.

State total 65 years of age and over 225,297, or 5.5 percent of total population.

Rank	County	Number 65 yrs of age and over	Percent 65 yrs of age and over
1	Alleghany	787	9.7
2	Currituck	585	9.4
3	Hyde	580	9.0
4	Dare	467	8.6
4	Henderson	2,650	8.6
6	Polk	993	8.5
7	Clay	491	8.2
8	Ashe	1,778	8.1
9	Tyrrell	395	7.8
10	Pamlico	757	7.6
11	Davie	1,159	7.5
11	Macon	1,211	7.5
13	Camden	381	7.3
13	Gates	702	7.3
15	Perquimans	691	7.2
16	Buncombe	8,849	7.1
16	Chatham	1,799	7.1
16	Yancey	1,160	7.1
19	Cherokee	1,288	7.0
19	Jackson	1,344	7.0
21	Granville	2,186	6.9
21	Madison	1,418	6.9
21	Mitchell	1,043	6.9
21	Moore	2,302	6.9
21	Swain	689	6.9
26	Carteret	1,570	6.8
26	Yadkin	1,496	6.8
28	Beaufort	2,478	6.7
29	Wilkes	2,980	6.6
30	Pender	1,196	6.5
30	Watauga	1,194	6.5
32	Alexander	925	6.4
32	Chowan	803	6.4
32	Iredell	3,623	6.4
32	Montgomery	1,109	6.4
32	Warren	1,499	6.4
32	Washington	837	6.4
38	New Hanover	3,977	6.3
38	Northampton	1,792	6.3
38	Rutherford	2,912	6.3
38	Stokes	1,353	6.3
42	Bertie	1,651	6.2
42	Franklin	1,933	6.2
42	Pasquotank	1,520	6.2
45	Anson	1,625	6.1
45	Avery	821	6.1
45	Haywood	2,285	6.1
45	Lincoln	1,686	6.1
45	Surry	2,771	6.1
50	McDowell	1,549	6.0
50	Rowan	4,544	6.0
52	Brunswick	1,134	5.9
53	Union	2,449	5.8
54	Burke	2,612	5.7
54	Graham	395	5.7
54	Hertford	1,230	5.7
54	Randolph	2,908	5.7
54	Transylvania	871	5.7
59	Lee	1,308	5.6
60	Rockingham	3,575	5.5
61	Alamance	3,823	5.4
61	Davidson	3,354	5.4
61	Person	1,304	5.4
61	Sampson	2,686	5.4
61	Stanly	2,016	5.4
61	Vance	1,726	5.4
67	Caswell	1,116	5.3
67	Cleveland	3,404	5.3
67	Duplin	2,181	5.3
67	Jones	578	5.3
67	Wayne	3,406	5.3
72	Edgecombe	2,668	5.2
72	Nash	3,118	5.2
72	Wake	7,084	5.2
75	Bladen	1,529	5.1
75	Catawba	3,179	5.1
75	Forsyth	7,522	5.1
75	Guilford	9,665	5.1
75	Halifax	2,986	5.1
75	Harnett	2,408	5.1
81	Cabarrus	3,174	5.0
81	Caldwell	2,174	5.0
81	Durham	5,074	5.0
81	Johnston	3,310	5.0
81	Mecklenburg	9,766	5.0
81	Orange	1,718	5.0
87	Pitt	3,134	4.9
87	Richmond	1,945	4.9
89	Columbus	2,439	4.8
89	Craven	2,331	4.8
91	Lenoir	2,164	4.7
91	Martin	1,303	4.7
91	Scotland	1,230	4.7
91	Wilson	2,577	4.7
95	Gaston	5,058	4.6
95	Hoke	730	4.6
97	Robeson	3,887	4.4
98	Greene	734	4.1
99	Cumberland	3,200	3.3
100	Onslow	1,280	3.0

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

VOL. XXXVII, NO. 15
DEC. 26, 1951

Editorial Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., H. W. Odum, G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher. Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

Vital Statistics Progress in N. C.

The tables which appear in this issue of the News Letter feature some essential vital statistics for North Carolina—chiefly progress that has been made in health during the last three decades or so.

Table number I ranks the states according to death rates per 1,000 population for the calendar year 1949. It will be observed that Utah has the lowest death rate, while North Carolina has the second lowest death rate, 7.7 per 1,000 inhabitants. New Hampshire has the highest death rate, 11.7 per 1,000 population. The average for the United States is 9.7 per 1,000 inhabitants.

One must not conclude from this table that the average North Carolinian will live 120 years. This would be the case if the death rate shown remained at 7.7 indefinitely. The main reason for the low death rate in North Carolina and in other states that rank favorably is the age distribution of the population. Around half of the total population of North Carolina is under twenty-five years of age. A large percent of our population is relatively youthful, in age brackets where relatively few people die each year. In general, the states that have high death rates are states with relatively more older people in their populations. This is notably true of the New England States.

The entire population of the United States tends to be young, compared with European countries. The death rates for all the states should begin to rise as their population ages. Again the low death rate in North Carolina is not altogether an indication of favorable health conditions, but is largely the product of our tendency towards a youthful population. However, improved health is a factor as will be

rate remained between nine and ten per 1,000 inhabitants. For the next six years the rate remained slightly above eight per 1,000 inhabitants. Except for one year during the last five years, the death rate has been below eight per 1,000 inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that more actual deaths were occuring in North Carolina thirty to thirty-five years ago than are occuring at the present time. The population has increased since 1914 from approximately 2,400,000 to 4,062,000 in 1950. There were nearly a million more people in North Carolina in 1950 than in 1930, yet there were some over 4,000 more deaths in 1930 than in 1950.

Deaths by Causes

Table number IV presents data that reflect almost unbelievable improvement in certain health conditions in North Carolina. This table shows the number of deaths from specified causes from 1916 through 1948. In 1916, 702 persons died from typhoid and paratyphoid fever. Only six people died in 1948 from these causes. Back in 1916 ordinarily four or five hundred people would die from whooping cough each year. Only forty-five died in 1948. This means one-tenth as many deaths from almost twice as many people.

Diphtheria was claiming the lives of from three to five hundred people annually thirty-five years ago. Only twenty-eight died of diphtheria in 1948, and nobody should have died from this cause.

Around 3,000 people were dying of tuberculosis annually, thirty-five years ago. Tuberculosis deaths amounted to 838 in 1948.

From four to six hundred people were dying from dysentary. In 1948 there were only fourteen deaths

better. In its current report on a five-year "program of great hope of almost infinite promise, and yet of great practicability," the Hospital and Medical Care Commission discloses that 102 new hospital projects had been completed, were under construction, or had been approved up to November 1.

This is a prodigious achievement. It will put North Carolina up to within .1 per cent of the 1944 national average. Since 1947 this State has added more new hospital beds than any state save Texas.

What this joint attack—Federal State and local—on a gnawing problem of health can mean to a whole people is not difficult to foresee. Where 33 so-called "hospital areas" had no hospital beds in 1947, now only 15 are without hospital facilities or plans for them.

This means, or will mean shortly, that no North Carolinian within a reasonable distance of a medical center need lack for emergency hospitalization or clinical care. Some areas, to be sure, are still unserved. But the facilities available to most of the people should guarantee an equality of opportunity for better health which North Carolina lacked in the past.

There are some missing links in this chain drive toward a healthier State. The Commission's report does not indicate what has been done to meet the even greater 1944 deficiency in Negro hospital beds—unless its 3.3 per 1,000 population figure includes both races.[1] It reports some, but no marked, improvement in the number of rural doctors—possibly because the 1945 General Assembly's student loan fund of $50,000 is now encumbered." ([1] Yes, Ed.)

But the over-all achievement is real and satisfactory. North Carolina was the first state to submit its hospital plan to the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Ser-

I. DEATH RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, 1949

U. S. Rate 9.7 per 1,000 Population

Rank	State	Death rate per 1,000 pop
1	Utah	7.3
2	North Carolina	7.7
3	Idaho	8.2
4	Texas	8.3
5	Arkansas	8.5
6	Wyoming	8.6
7	South Carolina	8.7
8	Georgia	8.8
8	New Mexico	8.8
8	Arizona	8.8
11	Louisiana	8.9
11	Virginia	8.9
11	West Virginia	8.9
11	Tennessee	8.9
11	Alabama	8.9
16	North Dakota	9.0
17	Oklahoma	9.1
18	South Dakota	9.2
18	Michigan	9.2
20	Oregon	9.3
21	Connecticut	9.4
22	Minnesota	9.5
22	Maryland	9.5
22	Florida	9.5
22	Washington	9.5
26	California	9.6
27	Kentucky	9.8
27	Nebraska	9.8
29	Wisconsin	9.9
29	Colorado	9.9
31	Mississippi	10.0
31	New Jersey	10.0
33	Nevada	10.1
33	Kansas	10.1
33	Ohio	10.1
36	Iowa	10.2
36	Rhode Island	10.2
38	Indiana	10.3
39	Pennsylvania	10.4
39	Delaware	10.4
41	New York	10.5
41	Montana	10.5
43	Massachusetts	10.6
44	Illinois	10.7
45	Missouri	11.2
45	Maine	11.2
47	Vermont	11.3
48	New Hampshire	11.7

II. TRENDS IN BIRTHS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1914-1949

Year	Number births	Rate per 1,000 pop
1914	71,931	29.7
1915	79,409	32.1
1916	76,658	30.5
1917	76,290	30.0
1918	75,525	29.9
1919	73,854	29.1
1920	81,407	31.5
1921	88,466	33.4
1922	81,871	30.3
1923	84,158	30.5
1924	87,540	30.9
1925	83,716	28.9
1926	82,202	27.8
1927	83,330	27.5
1928	80,893	26.2
1929	77,161	24.6
1930	76,772	24.2
1931	74,799	23.3
1932	77,902	23.9
1933	75,422	22.7
1934	79,704	23.7
1935	78,753	23.3
1936	76,182	22.4
1937	79,080	23.0
1938	79,934	23.0
1939	79,133	22.4
1940	80,455	22.5
1941	84,595	23.1
1942	89,854	24.5
1943	94,568	25.7
1944	90,629	25.2
1945	87,401	24.9
1946	100,679	27.7
1947	112,877	30.4
1948	109,430	28.8
1949	107,149	26.8
1950	106,359 [1]	26.2 [1]

[1] provisional

distribution of the population. Around half of the total population of North Carolina is under twenty-five years of age. A large percent of our population is relatively youthful, in age brackets where relatively few people die each year. In general, the states that have high death rates are states with relatively more older people in their populations. This is notably true of the New England States.

The entire population of the United States tends to be young, compared with European countries. The death rates for all the states should begin to rise as their population ages. Again the low death rate in North Carolina is not altogether an indication of favorable health conditions, but is largely the product of our tendency towards a youthful population. However, improved health is a factor as will be seen later.

Trends in Births

Table number II shows the total number of births and birth rates by years from 1914 through 1950. This table covers the period during which North Carolina has been included among the registration states. All states are now accepted for Federal Vital Statistics record.

In 1914 there were 71,931 live births in North Carolina and the birth rate that year was 29.7 per 1,000 population. This, by the way, is the smallest number of births for the period of record. The birth rate for North Carolina remained at around thirty per 1,000 inhabitants for the decade following 1914. The highest recorded birth rate was 33.4 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1921, the second year after the close of the First World War. It is interesting to note that the next highest birth rate was 30.4 in 1947, the second year after the close of the second World War. A record crop of 112,877 live births occured in 1947. Since that date the birth rate has dropped about two points each year, although the total number of births has not declined a great deal. It is likely that within four or five years our birth rate will be back to between twenty-two and twenty-three per 1,000 inhabitants, which were the constant rates from 1931 through 1941. In no year has the birth rate of North Carolina dropped below twenty-two, and in general, our birth rate has been about five points above the average for the United States.

Trends in Death Rates

Table No. III shows the trends in death rates in North Carolina from 1914 through 1950. In 1914 there were recorded 29,044 deaths, or twelve deaths per 1,000 inhabitants. The largest total number of deaths and the highest death rate occurred in 1918 when 42,274 people died in North Carolina, and the death rate was 16.8 per 1,000 inhabitants. That record was due largely to the severe influenza epidemic of that year. Since that time there has been somewhat of a steady downward trend in our death rates. For a decade or so, following 1920, the death rate stood at close to eleven per 1,000 inhabitants. For the next decade, from 1931 through 1940, the death

specified causes from 1916 through 1948. In 1916, 702 persons died from typhoid and paratyphoid fever. Only six people died in 1948 from these causes. Back in 1916 ordinarily four or five hundred people would die from whooping cough each year. Only forty-five died in 1948. This means one-tenth as many deaths from almost twice as many people.

Diphtheria was claiming the lives of from three to five hundred people annually thirty-five years ago. Only twenty-eight died of diphtheria in 1948, and nobody should have died from this cause.

Around 3,000 people were dying of tuberculosis annually, thirty-five years ago. Tuberculosis deaths amounted to 838 in 1948.

From four to six hundred people were dying from dysentary. In 1948 there were only fourteen deaths from this cause.

From two to three hundred people were dying from malaria. No death was recorded in 1948 from malaria.

Deaths from measles vary from year to year. However, it will be observed that there has been a notable decline in deaths from this cause. The high mark was 1,042 deaths in 1917. There were only five from this cause in 1930 and six in 1948.

Pellagra is a diet deficiency disease that was claiming from four to seven hundred lives annually, three or four decades ago. Only thirty-seven people died from this cause in 1948.

Deaths from diarrhea and enteritis of children under two years of age have declined from around 2,000 annually, to fewer than 200 annually.

The one exception in this picture is the marked increase in deaths from diseases of the heart. Such deaths numbered around 2,500 thirty-five years ago, while in 1948 there were 8,016 deaths from this cause. Undoubtedly there will be a still further rise in deaths due to diseases of the heart, as our population ages. Heart disease is primarily a disease among elderly people. The improvements in health conditions, noted above, cause people to live longer. Ultimately, they must die of something, and the increase from deaths due to heart disease is largely a natural and inevitable matter.

All data reported in the accompanying tables are official. That is, they have been supplied by the North Carolina Bureau of Vital Statistics, and the Federal Security Agency.—S. H. H., Jr.

Beds For The Sick

Seven years ago when North Carolina began to ask herself some searching questions about the health of its people, this State stood twelfth from the bottom in number of hospital beds per 1,000 population. The boxscore was something like this:

National Average	3.4 beds
N. C. Average	2.6 beds
Percentage of beds concentrated in 6 big urban areas	41.0
Number of counties without hospital beds	30

The score has changed—for the

But the facilities available to most of the people should guarantee an equality of opportunity for better health which North Carolina lacked in the past.

There are some missing links in this chain drive toward a healthier State. The Commission's report does not indicate what has been done to meet the even greater 1944 deficiency in Negro hospital beds—unless its 3.3 per 1,000 population figure includes both races.[1] It reports some, but no marked, improvement in the number of rural doctors—possibly because the 1945 General Assembly's student loan fund of $50,000 is now encumbered." ([1] Yes, Ed.)

But the over-all achievement is real and satisfactory. North Carolina was the first state to submit its hospital plan to the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service. With the aid of the bipartisan Hill-Burton Act and State and local appropriations, North Carolina has pu $50 million into a program for the conservation of its human resources.

The Commission, we think, can justify its "understandable pride" in what has been achieved.

—Asheville Citizen

North Carolina led the nation in 1950 in the percentage of increase in farm income over the previous year.

In the face of a national net farm income drop of about 8 per cent in 1950, North Carolina farmer income increased 11 per cent.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics today disclosed North Carolina cash receipts from farm marketings in 1950 totaled $786,028,000, as compared with $705,646,000 in 1949.

II. TRENDS IN BIRTHS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1914-1949

Year	Number births	Rate per 1,000 pop	Year	Number births	Rate per 1,000 pop
1914	71,931	29.7	1933	75,422	22.7
1915	79,409	32.1	1934	79,704	23.7
1916	76,658	30.5	1935	78,753	23.3
1917	76,290	30.0	1936	76,182	22.4
1918	75,525	29.9	1937	79,080	23.0
1919	73,854	29.1	1938	79,934	23.0
1920	81,407	31.5	1939	79,133	22.4
1921	88,466	33.4	1940	80,455	22.5
1922	81,871	30.3	1941	84,595	23.1
1923	84,158	30.5	1942	89,854	24.5
1924	87,540	30.9	1943	94,568	25.7
1925	83,716	28.9	1944	90,629	25.2
1926	82,202	27.8	1945	87,401	24.9
1927	83,330	27.5	1946	100,679	27.7
1928	80,893	26.2	1947	112,877	30.4
1929	77,161	24.6	1948	109,430	28.8
1930	76,772	24.2	1949	107,149	26.8
1931	74,799	23.3	1950	106,359 [1]	26.2 [1]
1932	77,902	23.9			

[1] provisional

III. TRENDS IN DEATH RATES IN NORTH CAROLINA 1914-1949

Year	Number deaths	Death Rate per 1,000 pop	Year	Number deaths	Death Rate per 1,000 pop
1914	29,044	12.0	1933	30,547	9.2
1915	31,324	12.7	1934	35,180	10.5
1916	31,389	12.5	1935	33,485	9.9
1917	33,969	13.3	1936	35,630	10.5
1918	42,274	16.8	1937	33,981	9.9
1919	30,947	12.2	1938	33,599	9.7
1920	32,654	12.6	1939	31,652	9.0
1921	29,454	11.1	1940	31,904	8.9
1922	30,821	11.4	1941	31,752	8.7
1923	32,142	11.6	1942	29,414	8.0
1924	33,238	11.7	1943	29,971	8.1
1925	32,548	11.2	1944	29,390	8.2
1926	34,562	11.7	1945	28,897	8.2
1927	32,917	10.9	1946	28,724	7.9
1928	36,160	11.7	1947	30,187	8.1
1929	36,919	11.8	1948	30,161	7.9
1930	35,782	11.3	1949	30,675	7.7
1931	33,116	10.3	1950	31,232 [1]	7.7 [1]
1932	31,051	9.5			

[1] Provisional

IV. NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM SPECIFIED CAUSES IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1916-1948

Year	Typhoid and paratyphoid fever	Whooping cough	Diptheria	Tuberculosis despiratory	Dysentery	Malaria	Measles	Pellagra	Diseases of heart	Diarrhea and enteritis under 2
1916	702	402	410	3,129	457	337	171	485	2,372	1,871
1917	728	562	315	2,975	610	268	1,042	620	2,574	2,364
1918	568	705	251	3,029	556	189	308	696	2,617	1,997
1919	444	218	271	2,753	291	201	125	400	2,227	1,410
1920	322	357	299	2,660	324	210	62	318	2,634	1,398
1921	314	385	372	2,492	261	180	147	338	2,853	1,708
1922	298	203	513	2,451	232	183	25	330	2,918	1,437
1923	260	492	350	2,428	217	169	588	239	3,014	1,456
1924	270	497	330	2,497	184	145	456	281	3,465	1,481
1925	279	153	303	2,539	187	141	16	382	3,574	1,472
1926	277	298	262	2,521	186	102	96	455	3,869	1,442
1927	234	624	277	2,319	164	60	246	671	3,858	1,155
1928	191	188	369	2,238	189	64	515	851	4,356	1,284
1929	166	280	343	2,392	153	64	20	950	4,717	973
1930	163	305	282	2,236	156	47	5	1,031	4,922	1,091
1931	162	199	244	2,143	111	46	113	695	4,520	831
1932	163	242	166	2,030	84	53	61	479	4,593	650
1933	128	205	216	1,935	92	51	90	392	4,709	805
1934	90	424	199	1,956	128	66	334	438	5,446	996
1935	82	307	162	1,764	98	91	70	383	5,399	828
1936	71	36	188	1,902	124	150	9	351	6,053	805
1937	78	168	160	1,765	110	87	39	332	5,905	838
1938	74	265	168	1,710	110	70	251	254	6,184	1,009
1939	51	229	164	1,463	80	53	62	205	5,455	637
1940	38	90	107	1,492	60	60	11	167	5,413	490
1941	29	199	83	1,415	88	28	104	144	5,978	692
1942	19	104	76	1,326	53	33	55	116	5,830	446
1943	16	116	53	1,257	57	22	24	105	6,182	424
1944	10	145	40	1,145	36	25	59	70	6,390	494
1945	13	97	96	1,159	38	24	7	72	6,456	407
1946	8	59	46	1,096	13	8	43	73	6,682	189
1947	7	54	32	1,047	18	2	25	57	7,492	156
1948	6	45	28	838	14	—	6	37	8,016	180

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

VOL. XXXVII, NO. 13
NOVEMBER 28, 1951

Editorial Board: S. H Hobbs, Jr., H. W. Odum, G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher.

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of Aug. 24, 1912.

Farm Tenancy in North Carolina

In the table which appears elsewhere in this issue of the News Letter, the counties are ranked according to percent of all farms operated by tenants as of April 1, 1950, the date of the 1950 Census of Agriculture. The parallel columns show the total number of farms in each county in 1950 and the percent of farms operated by tenants in 1940 and in 1945. A farm tenant is a farm operator who does not own any of the land which he is utilizing. Full owners are farmers who own all the land that they are utilizing. Part owners are farmers who own some land and rent additional land. Managers are farmers who have general supervision over farm operations where the land is owned by a non farmer and where the work is done with hired labor. Tenants are sub-divided into cash tenants, share-cash, share tenants, and croppers. The tenant data used in the accompanying table cover all tenants, none of whom own and land.

The outstanding observation about tenancy in North Carolina is that it is definitely on the decline. It will be noted, from the accompanying table, that the percent of farms operated by tenants increased in only nine counties between 1940 and 1950, and in no instance was the increase of any significance. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the percent of farms operated by tenants in ninety-one of our one hundred counties. In a few of these counties the decreases were immaterial but in a large majority of them the decreases were quite sizeable. As a general rule, the counties that now have the lowest tenant ratios are the ones where the tenant percents have decreased the most during the last ten years. For instance, the percent of

ranks twenty-sixth with 47.5 percent; or Richmond which ranked thirteenth in 1910 with 62 percent tenants and now ranks forty-second with 33.4 percent; or Mecklenburg, where farm tenancy has declined from 61.9 percent in 1910 to 29.8 percent in 1950, and Camden which has declined from 57.2 percent to 27.4 percent.

The 288,508 farms in the state are distributed by tenure of operators as follows:

Tenure Status	Number
Full owners	142,085
Part owners	35,422
Managers	516
All tenants	110,485
Cash tenants	4,341
Share, cash	1,462
Share tenants	38,805
Croppers	57,457

The outstanding tenure change during the last five years, a trend quite common throughout the United States, is the large increase in the number of farms operated by part owners. In 1945 there were 19,835 part owners in North Carolina, while in 1950, there were 35,422. The part owner is generally a farmer who has decided to expand his operations and instead of buying additional land he takes over the operation of a neighbor's farm or other land. This neighbor may have moved to town or he may be a farmer who sublets a part of his estate to the part owner. In almost every case the part owner is a small to modest size farmer who is expanding his operations but who is not buying additional land. In some of the western states from one-third to one-half of all farmers are part owners. In general he farms more land than an owner does. He is not to be confused with

not be measured in dollars and cents. I know that all of you who have felt the pull of a bass or experienced the thrill of seeking, finding and taking your favorite game bird or animal will agree with me that there is no finer sport and recreation than that which is found along a stream, or in a field or forest. Nothing can replace our great outdoors and the things that go with it. These are a few of the reasons why we should give attention to wildlife.

The question of how we should attend it is also an important one.

Today your Wildlife Resources Commission and you sportsmen are faced with the problem of how to produce more wildlife on less land. and satisfy the desires of an ever-growing army of hunters and fishermen.

Compensating Factors

The land area available for wildlife production is shrinking. I doubt that there is a quail hunter present who has not shot quail in a place where a building now stands. Clean farming practices have been stimulated by modern farm machines. The old rail fence is gone, replaced by a straight line of wire. Moisture conserving, food and cover producing hedges across many open fields have been eliminated. How can we compensate for these factors? Better planning and management is the answer. Practices advocated by the Soil Conservation Service, the Forest Service, the North Carolina Agriculture Extension Service and other agencies will increase land values and make the land produce more of the cash crop as well as the wildlife crop. Fish will also benefit by reduction of the silt load in our streams. Silt is soil washed from fields unprotected by vegetation. When carried by the stream in large quantities, silt smothers fish and other aquatic life. We can and must

Percent of N. C. Farms Operated by Tenants

In the following table, based on U. S. Agricultural Census reports, the counties are ranked according to per cent of all farms operated by tenants in 1950. The parallel columns show total number of farms in 1950, and also percent of farms operated by tenants in 1940 and 1945.

North Carolina had 288,508 farms in 1950. Of these 38.3 percent were operated by tenants, farmers who own no farm land. The tenant ratio was 44.4 percent in 1940, and 42.6 percent in 1945.

Rank	County	Number Farms 1950	Percent Tenants 1940	Percent Tenants 1945	Percent Tenants 1950
1	Edgecombe	3,980	77.7	78.9	77.6
2	Green	2,944	76.2	81.1	77.3
3	Wilson	4,303	76.4	76.9	75.9
4	Pitt	5,969	73.5	76.0	73.0
5	Nash	5,854	67.5	71.5	69.8
6	Scotland	1,686	76.7	77.0	69.6
7	Lenoir	3,782	68.1	74.2	68.7
8	Hertford	1,943	70.4	72.2	68.6
9	Robeson	8,523	68.7	72.4	68.2
10	Martin	2,786	62.1	67.1	67.6
11	Northampton	3,359	64.4	71.3	64.5
12	Person	2,843	67.8	65.3	63.3
13	Vance	2,404	65.8	57.0	62.7
14	Wayne	4,916	64.6	67.2	62.3
15	Halifax	4,471	62.6	64.1	60.9
16	Granville	3,334	65.6	65.4	60.8
17	Jones	1,604	63.9	65.5	58.5
17	Johnston	8,100	59.7	62.7	58.5
19	Bertie	3,138	63.0	69.0	58.3
20	Cleveland	5,348	61.0	57.1	58.2
21	Franklin	4,117	59.2	62.5	58.1
22	Hoke	1,735	70.5	66.7	56.9
23	Caswell	3,054	60.8	59.3	55.1
24	Harnett	4,840	51.6	55.9	52.8
25	Wake	6,221	50.8	53.2	51.7
26	Anson	2,556	52.9	52.8	50.8
27	Rockingham	4,401	54.7	50.2	47.5
28	Warren	3,161	50.8	54.4	46.8
29	Duplin	5,911	48.4	53.2	44.2
29	Sampson	7,218	46.9	52.0	44.2
31	Craven	2,345	47.7	49.7	43.4
32	Stokes	3,632	53.8	45.9	40.7
33	Gates	1,279	42.4	43.6	37.1
34	Union	4,959	50.7	45.6	36.8
35	Columbus	6,321	34.3	35.2	36.7
35	Durham	1,784	49.3	42.1	36.7

noted, from the accompanying table, that the percent of farms operated by tenants increased in only nine counties between 1940 and 1950, and in no instance was the increase of any significance. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the percent of farms operated by tenants in ninety-one of our one hundred counties. In a few of these counties the decreases were immaterial but in a large majority of them the decreases were quite sizeable. As a general rule, the counties that now have the lowest tenant ratios are the ones where the tenant percents have decreased the most during the last ten years. For instance, the percent of farms operated by tenants in Clay County has decreased from 33.5 to 10.2; in Swain county from 35.3 to 12.8; in Graham county from 29.3 to 7 percent, and in a number of other counties from half to two-thirds or more of the tenants have disappeared in the last ten years.

There has been a steady decline in the percent of farms operated by tenants in North Carolina for the last twenty years. From the Civil War down to 1930 there was a gradual increase in farm tenançy in this state. The high point of tenancy was reached in 1930 when 49.2 percent of all North Carolina farms were operated by farmers who did not own a square foot of land. By 1940 the ratio had dropped to 44.4 percent tenants, and in 1945 to 42.6 percent tenants. The 1950 census revealed that only 38.2 percent of our farms are now operated by tenants. This is only five points above the tenant rate in North Carolina back in 1880 when the first census of farm tenancy was conducted.

Cash Crop Counties

It will be observed that practically all of the twenty-six counties that now have tenant rates above fifty percent are chiefly cash crops counties with either tobacco or cotton or both crops of great importance. The other counties above the state average are also in general cash crop counties. In no county with a tenant rate below twenty percent is either cotton or tobacco very important in the agricultural picture. These lowest ranking counties are primarily in the mountain area and scattered around in the piedmont section. Two or three are tidewater counties.

One definite observation is that the leading cash crop counties have shown very little change in farm tenant ratios, one way or the other, during the last ten or twenty years. These leading tenant counties were experiencing a rapid rise of tenancy prior to 1930. Since that time there has been little change, up or down. For all the rest of the state, the decline of farm tenancy has been quite considerable. It would be interesting to point out a number of significant trends by counties during the last few years, or few decades for that matter. We would find a number of instances, such as Anson, which ranked seventh in farm tenancy in 1910 with 67.5 percent, and now

in 1950, there were 35,422. The part owner is generally a farmer who has decided to expand his operations and instead of buying additional land he takes over the operation of a neighbor's farm or other land. This neighbor may have moved to town or he may be a farmer who sublets a part of his estate to the part owner. In almost every case the part owner is a small to modest size farmer who is expanding his operations but who is not buying additional land. In some of the western states from one-third to one-half of all farmers are part owners. In general he farms more land than an owner does. He is not to be confused with the part-time farmer who farms and also works at one or more other jobs.

—S.H.H., Jr.

Wildlife Resources

(Editor's Note: The following is an abstract from an address delivered by Clyde P. Patton, executive director of the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, before the Greensboro Kiwanis Club.

Wildlife is one of the world's four renewable natural resources—soils, forests and waters are the other three. Wildlife holds a very important position among the renewable natural resources upon which our state, the nation and the world depend for their standards of living.

Since there are many businessmen present I should like to mention a few of the purely economic benefits that accrue to countless businesses and individuals in North Carolina. It has been conservatively estimated that the wildlife business values alone in our state run upward toward $100,000,000. Thousands of persons and businesses in the state are wholly or partly dependent upon the wildlife resources for employment and prosperity. The total volume of expenditures by people from within and without the state in the pursuit of game and fish runs into millions of dollars. The monetary value of the wildlife crops produced on North Carolina soil annually runs into millions of dollars. A few of the persons and businesses affected are manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers of hunting and fishing equipment. Businesses of filling station operators, restaurants and lodging houses are created and stimulated by the traveling hunter and fisherman in pursuit of their favorite sport.

Kennel operators, fur dealers, and processors, veterinarians who treat hunting dogs, outdoor writers, and hunting and fishing guides are other good examples of how wildlife creates and stimulates business. One steel company reported recently that it manufactured 500,000 fish hooks per day. This times 365 days per year would give an annual volume of 182,500,000 fish hooks. This is big business—it would not exist except for the fish in our streams and the anglers' desire.

Recreational Values

Recreational values of wildlife can-

ing hedges across many open fields have been eliminated. How can we compensate for these factors? Better planning and management is the answer. Practices advocated by the Soil Conservation Service, the Forest Service, the North Carolina Agriculture Extension Service and other agencies will increase land values and make the land produce more of the cash crop as well as the wildlife crop. Fish will also benefit by reduction of the silt load in our streams. Silt is soil washed from fields unprotected by vegetation. When carried by the stream in large quantities, silt smothers fish and other aquatic life. We can and must compensate for this diminishing wildlife habitat by better management and greater production in what remains.

North Carolina is no longer able to produce enough game and fish to provide each of its more than half a million nimrods and anglers with all the game and fish they desire. It has been necessary therefore to establish a rationing system. This system is not new. It is my opinion, however, that the future wildlife prosperity in this state will depend largely upon the efficiency of its operation.

Two Big Wheels

The rationing machinery used by your state government has two big wheels — regulation and enforcement. Your commission has just finished establishing the regulations—seasons and bag limits—which will control the take of harvestable game this fall. Differences in breeding and reproductive habits and the distribution and abundance of game in the various parts of the state were important factors in preparing proposals for regulations which were presented by the commission for sportsmen's consideration at public hearings in each of the nine districts throughout the state. After having benefitted from sportsmen's comments, the proposed regulations were amended and adopted. It is my opinion that we have a set of regulations this year that are satisfactory for a large majority of sportsmen.

Enforcement is the other important element in our rationing system. Regulations must be observed by everyone if each hunter is permitted to have his fair share of the total surplus. Without enforcement of the established regulations the game hog and chisler prospers at the expense of the good sportsmen who often ends up with an empty bag or creel.

Inadequate Enforcement

Lack of manpower makes game law enforcement our most difficult job. We are able to employ one game protector for each county. One police officer in this city could do just as effective a job as our one game protector in this county is able to do.

We are indeed fortunate that there is now an organization of interested sportsmen in most counties that is cooperating by supporting and assisting our protector with his work.

19	Bertie	3,138	63.0	69.0	58.3
20	Cleveland	5,348	61.0	57.1	58.2
21	Franklin	4,117	59.2	62.5	58.1
22	Hoke	1,735	70.5	66.7	56.9
23	Caswell	3,054	60.8	59.3	55.1
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26	Anson	2,556	52.9	52.8	50.8
27	Rockingham	4,401	54.7	50.2	47.5
28	Warren	3,161	50.8	54.4	46.8
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34	Union	4,959	50.7	45.6	36.8
35	Columbus	6,321	34.3	35.2	36.7
35	Durham	1,784	49.3	42.1	36.7
37	Cumberland	3,070	48.6	46.4	36.2
38	Onslow	2,178	46.3	46.2	35.1
39	Chowan	798	47.6	44.2	34.6
40	Lee	1,655	47.2	40.4	34.5
41	Washington	865	43.1	49.5	33.4
42	Richmond	1,658	47.8	32.8	32.9
43	Surry	4,311	40.4	37.7	32.3
44	Perquimans	960	46.7	48.3	31.8
45	Beaufort	3,326	38.2	42.2	31.6
46	Lincoln	2,440	43.2	37.7	30.5
47	Mecklenburg	3,215	45.3	40.4	29.8
48	Hyde	686	44.3	44.0	29.4
49	Bladen	3,669	33.4	37.5	28.9
50	Pasquotank	785	39.9	33.9	27.5
51	Camden	464	43.5	54.6	27.4
52	Rutherford	3,541	45.4	33.6	26.1
53	Madison	3,457	36.4	32.1	26.0
54	Orange	2,038	33.6	30.6	25.9
55	Yadkin	3,344	33.8	34.5	24.7
56	Guilford	4,768	30.5	26.9	23.8
57	Moore	2,534	28.7	28.1	23.6
58	Alamance	2,946	26.0	27.6	23.3
59	Polk	1,197	45.6	39.3	23.0
60	Montgomery	1,216	34.2	27.4	22.9
61	Cabarrus	1,954	38.4	27.6	21.7
62	Gaston	2,431	37.7	28.2	21.5
63	Iredell	4,140	38.9	25.5	21.1
64	Pender	2,280	29.7	32.1	19.3
65	Forsyth	3,295	26.9	25.7	18.7
66	Currituck	542	33.9	21.1	18.6
67	Rowan	3,118	31.2	22.9	18.4
68	Tyrrell	542	31.2	21.3	18.1
69	Davie	1,510	32.9	26.9	17.2
70	Chatham	2,978	31.8	24.7	17.0
71	Catawba	3,144	29.4	22.9	15.5
72	Yancey	2,741	28.3	22.2	15.4
73	Brunswick	2,168	20.2	16.8	15.3
74	Carteret	614	24.5	19.6	14.8
75	Stanly	2,594	29.4	20.3	14.7
76	Haywood	2,784	28.9	15.7	14.3
77	Swain	927	35.3	9.4	12.8
78	Transylvania	1,096	26.3	15.7	12.2
79	Burke	2,074	23.7	14.6	11.8
80	Henderson	2,394	21.6	10.9	11.3
81	New Hanover	400	12.3	8.2	11.2
82	Dare	36	9.1	2.0	11.1
83	Pamlico	788	21.2	12.4	10.5
84	Cherokee	1,937	25.9	12.4	10.4
85	Alexander	1,904	18.8	16.2	10.3
86	Clay	1,012	33.5	18.5	10.2
87	McDowell	1,556	26.5	20.2	10.1
88	Alleghany	2,946	14.5	7.4	10.0
89	Randolph	3,618	21.1	18.1	9.9
90	Macon	2,276	21.3	14.9	9.7
91	Buncombe	4,266	22.2	13.5	9.4
92	Davidson	3,401	20.6	14.6	8.1
93	Ashe	3,887	17.9	10.0	8.7
94	Jackson	2,256	20.3	9.5	7.7
95	Graham	759	29.3	13.8	7.0
96	Mitchell	1,931	15.2	6.3	6.9
97	Wilkes	5,075	16.8	9.9	6.8
98	Caldwell	2,482	17.7	10.0	6.7
99	Watauga	2,640	16.6	7.9	5.8
100	Avery	1,786	13.4	1.2	3.8
State		288,508	44.4	42.6	38.3

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

VOL XXXVII, NO. 11
OCTOBER 31, 1951

Editorial Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., H. W. Odum, G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher.

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of Aug. 24, 1912

Cash Farm Income by States, 1950

The tables which appear elsewhere in this issue of the News Letter rank the states according to cash income from agriculture for the year 1950. By cash income, is meant cash received from the sale of livestock and livestock products, cash from the sale of crops, and cash received by farmers in the form of government payments.

Table No I ranks the states according to cash income from the sale of livestock and livestock products. Table No. II ranks the states in cash farm income from crops. Table No. III ranks the states according to cash income from crops, livestock and livestock products, and government payments. These tables also show the total cash farm income from livestock and from crops. The reader can add the totals for Tables I and II in order to get the total cash farm income exclusive of government payments. In the case of North Carolina, government payments amounted to $8,800,000 or approximately one per cent of the total cash farm income of the state.

The accompanying tables do not include the value of farm products used for home consumption. The total value of crops and livestock products produced on the farm and consumed by the farm families amounted to approximately $142,000,000. Approximately $91,000,000 of this total was livestock and livestock products and $51,000,000 was crops. This means that the average farm produced about $500.00 worth of home living in 1950 and about the same amount the previous year. The $500.00 of family living supplied by the average farm in North Carolina is considerably above the average for the United States.

The states range in cash income per farm from livestock and live-

North Carolina ranks fortieth among the states in total cash income per farm, the amount being $2,803.00. This was an increase of around $350.00 over the year 1949. The increase for the average tobacco farmer was a good deal more than this amount.

Our rank of fortieth is the same as for 1949 and does not appear too complimentary. However, we must remember that North Carolina farms are among the smallest in the nation on an average and it is this fact primarily which accounts for our relatively low farm income per farm. There are approximately 287,000 farms in North Carolina and the average farmer cultivates only about twenty-one acres of land. In view of this fact, it is rather surprising that the farm income per farm is as high as it is. Were it not for the very high income per acre from tobacco our rank would be low indeed.

Among the real surprises in the accompanying tables is the high income of a number of states in farm income per farm. One would hardly suspect Delaware to rank fourth, New Jersey fifth, Connecticut tenth in farm income per farm. One would certainly not expect Delaware to rank ahead of Iowa in this connection, nor would one expect Rhode Island to rank ahead of Kansas. The tables present other interesting ranks. The eight states that rank below North Carolina in per farm income are all Southern. The highest rank of any Southern state is Florida in fourteenth position.

An accompanying table shows the total amount of cash received by North Carolina farmers from the sale of various forms of livestock, from field crops, from fruits and nuts, and from other products, both

with 21.4 per cent. In fact, the relative income from livestock in North Carolina was less in 1950 than in 1949, due to the large increase in income from the sale of tobacco. There was practically no change in the total income from livestock. Certainly farming is not well balanced in a state that stands at the bottom among the states in per cent of farm income derived from the sale of livestock and livestock products. It is interesting to note that considerably more than half of the cash income for the nation is derived from the sale of livestock and livestock products. North Carolina is making tremendous efforts to become a livestock state but we find it difficult to raise the per cent of total farm income derived from livestock.

We have a long way to go before we can be considered a reasonably well balanced agricultural state. We are not suggesting that tobacco be curtailed. As a matter of fact, North Carolina is very fortunate to have such a splendid cash crop, a crop that ranks near the top in price index compared with all previous prices. Tobacco, by and large, is being well managed and will probably continue to be the backbone of North Carolina's agriculture, at least for a number of years. However, there is a great deal of land in North Carolina that could be put to livestock use. There is a great deal of underemployment in agriculture in the state. This means that our surplus land and surplus labor could profitably be devoted to more livestock in our farm program. We have excellent resources for production of livestock and we are making some progress in this direction. But so long as our livestock ratio remains at the bottom in the United States it is quite evident that we need to accelerate our progress towards a better balance between livestock and livestock products.

erage annual return of less than $30 an acre.

With an automobile for every 88 feet of paved road, we still have many farm people living in a primitive manner, some sleeping on floors without mattresses.

We spend more per car but less per child at the schoolhouse than all but three states.

These facts, Weaver declared, underscore the need for adjustments on North Carolina's farms and in its farm homes. He recommended:

1. Balancing farm production to make the best use of land and labor.
2. Increasing labor efficiency, mainly through mechanization.
3. Improving the quality of farm products.
4. Better packaging and marketing.
5. Wise use of increased income for sound improvement in farm living conditions.

"North Carolina has almost unlimited opportunities in agricultural production," Director Weaver told the group. "We have the land, although 75 per cent of our cleared acres are yielding only 25 per cent of our farm income.

"We also have the know-how to produce good crops and livestock," he continued, "For example, our corn and tobacco yields have almost been doubled in the past few years.

Cash Farm Income By States 1950

I. CASH INCOME FROM LIVESTOCK AND PRODUCTS

RANK	STATE	TOTAL LIVESTOCK INCOME (000)	PER FARM	RANK	STATE	TOTAL LIVESTOCK INCOME (000)	PER FARM
1	Nevada	$ 42,650	$13,723	25	Penna.	$ 558,497	$ 3,780
2	Delaware	82,717	11,110	26	N. Hamp.	50,044	3,738
3	Wyoming	112,546	8,922	27	Idaho	144,937	3,601
4	Arizona	89,858	8,666	28	Missouri	780,263	3,392
5	Iowa	1,734,188	8,535	29	Ohio	623,413	3,128
6	N. Jersey	187,534	7,553	30	Oregon	173,865	2,907
7	Colorado	316,199	6,939	31	Maine	83,371	2,745
8	R. Island	16,407	6,320	32	Washington	191,555	2,744
9	California	837,502	6,107	33	N. Dakota	175,020	2,678
10	Connecticut	94,540	6,057	34	Texas	879,681	2,654
11	Nebraska	647,806	6,040	35	Michigan	407,517	2,619
12	N. Mexico	127,951	5,458	36	Oklahoma	341,618	2,401
13	S. Dakota	360,122	5,421	37	Florida	107,424	1,890
14	Illinois	1,051,808	5,387	38	Virginia	219,173	1,452
15	Mass.	118,427	5,341	39	Kentucky	279,265	1,278
16	Wisconsin	851,737	5,053	40	W. Virginia	89,879	1,103
17	Montana	171,872	4,906	41	Georgia	192,479	971
18	Minnesota	876,872	4,895	42	Tennessee	216,811	939
19	New York	587,612	4,705	43	Arkansas	166,106	911
20	Vermont	88,692	4,659	44	Louisiana	100,186	807
21	Utah	112,430	4,656	45	Alabama	129,228	611
22	Maryland	160,975	4,458	46	Mississippi	130,502	519
23	Kansas	566,507	4,312	47	N. Carolina	146,707	511
24	Indiana	705,522	4,234	48	S. Carolina	67,479	484

proximately one per cent of the total cash farm income of the state.

The accompanying tables do not include the value of farm products used for home consumption. The total value of crops and livestock products produced on the farm and consumed by the farm families amounted to approximately $142,000,000. Approximately $91,000,000 of this total was livestock and livestock products and $51,000,000 was crops. This means that the average farm produced about $500.00 worth of home living in 1950 and about the same amount the previous year. The $500.00 of family living supplied by the average farm in North Carolina is considerably above the average for the United States.

The states range in cash income per farm from livestock and livestock products from Nevada with $13,723 to South Carolina with $484 per farm. The average for the United States is approximately $3,000.00 per farm.

The average North Carolina farm sold livestock and livestock products amounting to $511.00. This is approximately one-sixth the average for the United States, and North Carolina ranks 47th among the states in cash farm income per farm from livestock and livestock products. Only South Carolina ranks below North Carolina in per farm income from livestock. The rank of North Carolina dropped from forty-fifth to forty-seventh from 1949 to 1950. The total income each year was approximately $147,000,000 dollars.

Crop Income

The states rank in cash income per farm from crops from Arizona with $17,942 to West Virginia with $319.00. The average for the United States was approximately $2,330.00.

North Carolina ranks twentieth among the states in cash income per farm from crops, the amount for the year 1950 being $2,261, or slightly below the average for the nation. Approximately sixty per cent of North Carolina's total farm income was from the sale of tobacco alone. Tobacco brought to the farmer $486,000,000 out of a total of farm sales of $795,503,000. This is the highest ratio of income from tobacco perhaps in the history of the state.

North Carolina's farm income in 1950 was approximately $86,000,000 dollars above the total for 1949. This increase was more than accounted for by tobacco. Tobacco sold for $127,000,000 more in 1950 than in 1949. The income from the sale of cotton dropped from nearly $84,000,000 to $42,000,000. The total income from each of the other commodities varied very little. Some were up slightly and some were down slightly. A main factor in the case of tobacco was a higher price received per pound, the average being around fifty-seven cents.

Total Cash Income

Table No. III ranks the states according to total cash income per farm from all sources, including government payments. The states range from Arizona with $26,776 per farm to West Virginia with $1,448.00 per farm. The average for all the states was approximately $5,400 per farm.

come of a number of states in farm income per farm. One would hardly suspect Delaware to rank fourth, New Jersey fifth, Connecticut tenth in farm income per farm. One would certainly not expect Delaware to rank ahead of Iowa in this connection, nor would one expect Rhode Island to rank ahead of Kansas. The tables present other interesting ranks. The eight states that rank below North Carolina in per farm income are all Southern. The highest rank of any Southern state is Florida in fourteenth position.

An accompanying table shows the total amount of cash received by North Carolina farmers from the sale of various forms of livestock, from field crops, from fruits and nuts, and from other products, both for the years 1950 and for 1949. As already stated, tobacco is in a class by itself among the crops, having brought in eleven times as much income as cotton last year. Among the livestock sections, dairy products lead with approximately $41,000,000, hogs slightly under $34,000,000, and from $19,000,000 to $25,000,000 each from chickens, eggs, cattle and calves.

Last in Livestock

Table No. III also shows the per cent of farm income in each state derived from the sale of livestock and livestock products. It is interesting and perhaps discouraging to note that in the case of North Carolina only 18.2 per cent of the total cash farm income was from the sale of livestock and livestock products. This was three points below the next lowest ranking state, Florida,

being well managed and will probably continue to be the backbone of North Carolina's agriculture, at least for a number of years. However, there is a great deal of land in North Carolina that could be put to livestock use. There is a great deal of underemployment in agriculture in the state. This means that our surplus land and surplus labor could profitably be devoted to more livestock in our farm program. We have excellent resources for production of livestock and we are making some progress in this direction. But so long as our livestock ratio remains at the bottom in the United States it is quite evident that we need to accelerate our progress towards a better balance between livestock and livestock products.

S. H. H., Jr.

Increase Farm Income

North Carolina farmers can increase their incomes and pave the way for better farm living by more efficient use of their land and labor, a Farm and Home Week audience was told by D. S. Weaver, director of the Agricultural Extension Service at N. C. State College.

Weaver pointed out that we produce only two-thirds of our milk requirements, less than one egg a day for each of the State's residents, and less than a nickel's worth of beef per person each day.

On three-fourths of their land North Carolina farmers earn an av-

Total Cash Farm Income

Cash from Crops, Livestock and Products, Government Payments

	1949 (000)	1950 (000)
Livestock and products	$146,860	$146,707
Dairy products	37,533	40,896
Hogs	33,418	33,680
Chickens (including broilers)	26,217	25,285
Eggs	27,580	22,567
Cattle and calves	17,860	19,456
Turkeys	2,845	3,404
Other	1,407	1,419
Crops	564,109	648,796
Field Crops:		
Tobacco	359,264	486,167
Cotton lint	83,577	42,088
Peanuts	32,302	25,695
Corn	16,003	20,423
Soybeans	7,693	9,873
Wheat	6,025	6,885
Potatoes	7,705	6,346
Cottonseed	7,885	5,363
Sweet potatoes	5,117	4,912
Hay	3,455	2,769
Oats	2,490	2,498
Lespedeza seed	2,343	1,681
Sorgo sirup	606	646
Truck crops	11,166	9,950
Other	770	824
Fruits and tree nuts:		
Apples	1,346	2,599
Peaches	2,776	1,802
Strawberries	1,498	1,242
Pecans	522	425
Other	550	647
Other products:		
Forest	8,535	13,303
Greenhouse, nursery	2,481	2,658
All Commodities	710,969	795,503

4	Arizona	89,858	8,666	28	Missouri	760,263	3,392
5	Iowa	1,734,188	8,535	29	Ohio	623,413	3,128
6	N. Jersey	187,534	7,553	30	Oregon	173,865	2,907
7	Colorado	316,199	6,939	31	Maine	83,371	2,745
8	R. Island	16,407	6,320	32	Washington	191,555	2,744
9	California	837,502	6,107	33	N. Dakota	175,020	2,678
10	Connecticut	94,540	6,057	34	Texas	879,681	2,654
11	Nebraska	647,806	6,040	35	Michigan	407,517	2,619
12	N. Mexico	127,951	5,458	36	Oklahoma	341,618	2,401
13	S. Dakota	360,122	5,421	37	Florida	107,424	1,890
14	Illinois	1,051,808	5,387	38	Virginia	219,173	1,452
15	Mass.	118,427	5,341	39	Kentucky	279,265	1,278
16	Wisconsin	851,737	5,053	40	W. Virginia	89,879	1,103
17	Montana	171,872	4,906	41	Georgia	192,479	971
18	Minnesota	876,872	4,895	42	Tennessee	216,811	939
19	New York	587,612	4,705	43	Arkansas	166,106	911
20	Vermont	88,692	4,659	44	Louisiana	100,186	807
21	Utah	112,430	4,656	45	Alabama	129,228	611
22	Maryland	160,975	4,458	46	Mississippi	130,502	519
23	Kansas	566,507	4,312	47	N. Carolina	146,707	511
24	Indiana	705,522	4,234	48	S. Carolina	67,479	484

II. CASH FARM INCOME FROM CROPS 1950

RANK	STATE	TOTAL CROP INCOME	PER FARM	RANK	STATE	TOTAL CROP INCOME	PER FARM
1	Arizona	$ 186,037	$17,942	25	Arkansas	$ 345,992	$ 1,897
2	California	1,483,939	10,821	26	Minnesota	337,274	1,883
3	Florida	390,911	6,877	27	Iowa	380,681	1,874
4	Montana	204,379	5,833	28	Utah	43,505	1,802
5	N. Dakota	348,430	5,331	29	New York	223,252	1,788
6	Washington	344,834	4,940	30	Nevada	5,513	1,774
7	Idaho	196,978	4,893	31	Louisiana	219,807	1,771
8	Colorado	189,711	4,163	32	Georgia	326,932	1,649
9	N. Jersey	102,696	4,136	33	Indiana	270,633	1,624
10	Texas	1,267,381	3,823	34	Michigan	252,320	1,622
11	Oregon	215,480	3,603	35	S. Carolina	219,840	1,577
12	Kansas	462,014	3,517	36	Oklahoma	222,979	1,567
13	Illinois	686,261	3,515	37	Virginia	217,166	1,439
14	N. Mexico	78,943	3,361	38	Ohio	279,999	1,405
15	Connecticut	48,832	3,127	39	Mississippi	349,240	1,389
16	Nebraska	332,016	3,096	40	Penna.	173,937	1,183
17	Maine	81,505	2,684	41	Missouri	254,289	1,105
18	Mass.	55,530	2,504	42	Vermont	20,777	1,092
19	Wyoming	30,718	2,435	42	Kentucky	238,506	1,092
20	N. Carolina	648,796	2,261	44	N. Hamp.	14,104	1,053
21	S. Dakota	148,082	2,229	45	Alabama	220,559	1,043
22	Maryland	76,261	2,112	46	Tennessee	213,533	925
23	Delaware	16,378	2,200	47	Wisconsin	117,173	695
24	R. Island	5,248	2,022	48	W. Virginia	25,974	319

III. TOTAL CASH INCOME FROM CROPS, LIVESTOCK AND PRODUCTS, GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS

RANK	STATE	TOTAL CASH INCOME PER FARM	PERCENT FROM LIVESTOCK	RANK	STATE	TOTAL CASH INCOME PER FARM	PERCENT FROM LIVESTOCK
1	Arizona	$26,776	32.4	25	Utah	$ 6,559	71.0
2	California	17,027	35.9	26	Texas	6,552	40.5
3	Nevada	15,573	88.1	27	New York	6,539	71.9
4	Delaware	13,367	83.1	28	Indiana	5,892	71.8
5	New Jersey	11,725	64.4	29	Vermont	5,819	80.1
6	Wyoming	11,597	76.9	30	Wisconsin	5,794	87.2
7	Colorado	11,362	61.1	31	Maine	5,462	50.3
8	Montana	10,913	45.0	32	Pennsylvania	5,026	75.6
9	Iowa	10,462	81.6	33	New Hampshire	4,832	77.3
10	Connecticut	9,219	65.7	34	Ohio	4,570	68.4
11	Nebraska	9,217	65.5	35	Missouri	4,542	74.7
12	Illinois	8,954	60.2	36	Michigan	4,287	61.1
13	New Mexico	8,911	61.1	37	Oklahoma	4,031	59.6
14	Florida	8,824	21.4	38	Virginia	2,924	49.7
15	Idaho	8,582	42.0	39	Arkansas	2,839	32.1
16	Rhode Island	8,379	75.4	40	North Carolina	2,803	18.2
17	North Dakota	8,100	33.1	41	Georgia	2,674	36.3
18	Kansas	7,898	54.6	42	Louisiana	2,670	30.2
19	Massachusetts	7,870	67.9	43	Kentucky	2,403	53.2
20	South Dakota	7,731	70.1	44	South Carolina	2,090	23.2
21	Washington	7,731	35.5	45	Mississippi	1,948	26.7
22	Minnesota	6,824	71.7	46	Tennessee	1,894	49.6
23	Maryland	6,606	67.5	47	Alabama	1,693	36.1
24	Oregon	6,568	44.3	48	West Virginia	1,448	76.2

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

VOL XXXVII, NO. 9
MAY 30, 1951

Editorial Board: S H Hobbs, Jr, H W. Odum G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher.

Enter as second-class matter November 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of August 24, 1912

Urban Population, U.S. and N.C., 1950

There appears in this issue of the News Letter two tables which present certain facts about the urban population by states, and by cities and towns in North Carolina. Table number I ranks the states according to the percent of the total population classed as urban as of April 1, 1950, the date of the recent Census of population. This table also shows the final total population of each state as of April 1, 1950.

Table number II ranks the cities and towns of North Carolina according to percent increase in population from 1940 to 1950. The table also shows the preliminary count of population as of April 1, 1950. It is possible that there will be a few changes in the final official figures.

The definition of what constitutes urban population has been changed for the 1950 census. Therefore, urban data for 1950 and for previous census years are not strictly comparable. Conditions have developed that have made it necessary to change the rules as to what is urban and what is rural. We have a tremendous suburban population which is outside of the legal limits of cities and towns. We also have truly urban communities which are unincorporated. The current definition of what is urban is more realistic than previous definitions.

"For the 1950 Census, urban territory has been defined to comprise (a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, and villages; (b) the densely settled urban fringe, incorporated or unincorporated, around cities of 50,000 or more; and (c) unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside of any urban fringe. The urban territory also includes incorporated towns of 2,500 inhabitants or more except in New England, New York, and Wisconsin, where "towns" new definition, and yet they are not farm people. For the most part these people live in towns and villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants, and those sandwiched in between bona fide farm population. Others are suburban people who are not urban enough to qualify under the new definition.

The population of the United States is now almost two-thirds urban, sixty-four percent to be exact. Thus North Carolina is only slightly more than half as urban as the United States.

The exact distribution of North Carolina's population has not been announced by the Census. However, we had in North Carolina as of April 1, 1950, approximately 1,360,000 urban people, and 2,702,000 rural people. As noted above, approximately half of the 2,702,000 people are rural farm dwellers and half are rural nonfarm.

North Carolina Towns and Cities

The second table shows the growth of towns and cities in North Carolina from 1940 to 1950. This table reports the actual population of the incorporated municipalities and does not include the suburban population. Thus the total population of the urban places in North Carolina is less than the urban population of the state as calculated by the new Census definition.

In the accompanying table all towns and cities with more than 2,500 inhabitants are ranked from high to low according to percent change in population from 1940 to 1950. There are eighty-five such incorporated towns and cities in North Carolina, and the rate of change was from an increase of 349.9 percent in Jacksonville to a loss of twelve percent in Roxboro. There were seventy-three towns that had population gains, the smallest gain being 0.8

Why has our per capita income been so low? Why is the South poor? A good many people have offered explanations. An interesting recent study was that made by John L. Fulmer of the University of Virginia. Some of his findings were published recently in The Southern Economic Journal in an article "Factors Influencing State per Capita Income Differentials." Let not the title discourage the reader; the author is just trying to find out why people in some states make more money than people in others.

Fulmer couldn't reckon on differences in resources as a factor in income differences because there are no suitable measurements available. So he sought the reasons for the differences in "stage of economic development and the abilities of the people and in the extent of their participation in the economy of the respective states."

Four factors which tend to measure these differences were found: the percentage of the employed labor force occupied in agriculture; the educational level of the population; the percentage of the population classified as Negro; and the percentage of population employed.

The more people employed in agriculture, the less advanced the economy will be industrially. The educational level of the people and the percentage of Negro population reflect the ability of the labor force to take advantage of differential employment opportunities. With the Negro it is not so much a lack of training as it is discrimination and restriction against participation in the full range of economic opportunities. And the unemployable part of the population—children and the aged—depresses the per capita income of the employed group.

A series of mathematical tests showed these four factors to be highly related to state per capita income differentials. Together they explain-

000 in population. This increase was swelled to some extent by the immigration of quite a few people from other sections of the nation into the Southeast.

The number of natural increases for the region totaled 3,826,000, a figure which discloses that there isn't anything much wrong with our birth rate. Such increases were greater than emigrations in all of the seven states except Mississippi where emigrations exceeded the natural population increase by approximately 5,000.

In the South as a whole net emigration amounted to nearly 2,500,000 compared with a natural increase of nearly 8,000,000. The net population increase of the South for the decade was 5,531,187, or from 41,665,901 in 1940 to 47,197,088 in 1950.

The figures do not tell the whole story about our losses of people through emigration to other areas. The sad fact is that in many instances the region loses heavily in quality as well as quantities in this movement. The ablest, the most venturesome and ambitious, the best-trained groups in our population provide a heavy proportion of the emigrants to other areas of the nation. This has been true for generations, and while the situation is now improving, with more and more of our able and well-educated young people seeking and finding the opportunities they seek at home, too many by far continue to migrate to other sections of the United States.

— Winston-Salem Journal

I. TOTAL AND PERCENT URBAN POPULATION BY STATES

In the following table, based on the 1950 Census of Population, the states are ranked according to percent of total population classed as urban as of April 1, 1950.

North Carolina has a total population of 4,061,929. Almost exactly one-third, 33.5 percent, is urban. Our urban population under the new definition is approximately 1,360,000. Our rural population is 2,702,000. Our farm population is approximately one-half the rural population. Thus North Carolina is one-third urban, one-third rural farm, and one third rural non farm.

RANK	STATE	TOTAL POPULATION 1950	PERCENT URBAN	RANK	STATE	TOTAL POPULATION 1950	PERCENT URBAN
1	New Jersey..	4,835,329	86.6	26	Oregon	1,521,341	53.8
2	New York ..	14,830,192	85.5	27	Kansas	1,905,299	52.2
3	Rhode Island	791,896	84.6	28	Maine	913,774	51.6
4	Massachusetts	4,690,514	84.5	29	Oklahoma	2,233,351	51.0
5	California	10,586,223	80.6	30	New Mexico	681,187	50.3
6	Connecticut..	2,007,280	77.8	31	Wyoming	290,529	48.9
7	Illinois	8,712,176	77.6	32	Iowa	2,621,073	47.7
8	Michigan	6,371,766	71.0	33	Nebraska	1,325,510	46.8
9	Pennsylvania ..	10,498,012	70.5	34	Virginia	3,318,680	46.4
10	Ohio	7,946,627	70.2	35	Georgia	3,444,578	45.3
11	Maryland	2,343,001	69.2	36	Tennessee	3,291,718	44.1
12	Utah	688,862	65.6	37	Montana	591,024	43.7
13	Florida	2,771,305	65.4	38	Alabama	3,061,743	43.4
14	Washington..	2,378,963	62.9	39	Idaho	588,637	42.9
15	Colorado	1,325,089	62.8	40	Kentucky	2,944,806	36.9
16	Texas	7,711,194	62.7	41	South Carolina	2,117,027	36.5
17	Delaware	318,085	62.5	41	Vermont	377,747	36.5

towns. We also have truly urban communities which are unincorporated. The current definition of what is urban is more realistic than previous definitions.

"For the 1950 Census, urban territory has been defined to comprise (a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, and villages; (b) the densely settled urban fringe, incorporated or unincorporated, around cities of 50,000 or more; and (c) unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside of any urban fringe. The urban territory also includes incorporated towns of 2,500 inhabitants or more except in New England, New York, and Wisconsin, where "towns" are simply minor civil divisions of counties. All other territory is classified as rural.

"In 1950, as in earlier censuses, the most important component of the urban territory is the group of incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more. However, a definition of urban territory restricted to such places would class as rural territory, merely because they lacked legal municipal boundaries, a number of large and equally densely settled places. For censuses prior to 1950 an effort was made to avoid some of the more obvious omissions, principally by classifying whole minor civil divisions of counties as urban on the basis of certain special rules. Under these rules, however, many large and closely built-up places continued to be classified as rural. To avoid this situation in the 1950 Census, the Bureau of the Census has defined arbitrary boundaries for urbanized areas and for unincorporated places of 1,000 or more outside urbanized areas. All the population residing in urbanized areas and of those unincorporated places of 2,500 or more are classified as urban. Consequently, the special rules formerly used are no longer necessary."

New Jersey, according to the new Census definition has the largest urban population ratio, 86.6 percent. Formerly Rhode Island was considered the most urban state, but under the new definition Rhode Island's urban ratio has dropped several points.

North Dakota is still the most rural state with an urban ratio of only 26.8 percent, which is only slightly below the ratio of Mississippi, 27.8 percent.

North Carolina in 1950 had a total population of 4,061,929, of whom 33.5 percent are considered urban. Our urban ratio has risen by approximately six points since 1940. However, North Carolina has not improved her rank among the states in percent of population classed as urban. We are now the forty-fourth state in urban population ratios. Only four states are more rural than North Carolina. North Carolina's population is now almost exactly evenly divided between the three major classifications. We are almost exactly one-third urban, one-third farm population, and one-third rural nonfarm population. Rural nonfarm refers to those people who cannot qualify as urban under the above

not include the suburban population. Thus the total population of the urban places in North Carolina is less than the urban population of the state as calculated by the new Census definition.

In the accompanying table all towns and cities with more than 2,500 inhabitants are ranked from high to low according to percent change in population from 1940 to 1950. There are eighty-five such incorporated towns and cities in North Carolina, and the rate of change was from an increase of 349.9 percent in Jacksonville to a loss of twelve percent in Roxboro. There were seventy-three towns that had population gains, the smallest gain being 0.8 percent in Thomasville. Twelve towns lost population according to the preliminary Census release. The losses range from 1.3 percent in Farmville to Roxboro's twelve percent.

North Carolina has a number of unincorporated places classed as urban under the current Census definition. These unincorporated urban communities are industrial centers. They are either suburbs of incorporated municipalities or they are separate communities which have not become incorporated. These places range in size from Westend with 2,800 to Kannapolis with 28,451 inhabitants. Kannapolis is one of the largest unincorporated municipalities in the United States. It has had a very large growth in population since 1940. These 19 unincorporated urban centers have a total population of approximately 100,000. Incorporation would not affect the urban ratio for North Carolina since these places have been included in the total urban count as of 1950.

North Carolina with 4,061,929 inhabitants, as of April 1, 1950, ranks tenth among the states in total population. However, it is as a rural state that North Carolina really ranks. There are only two states with more inhabitants classed as rural than North Carolina. These are Pennsylvania and Texas. There is only one state that has a larger total farm population, Texas, which is approximately five times as large as North Carolina. We are still a whale of a rural state, even though our urban growth during the last decade has paralleled that of the nation as a whole.—S.H.H., Jr.

Why The South Is Poor

The South is making progress, we like to remind ourselves. It is, but we cannot escape the fact that it is still the poorest section of the nation. Per capita income payment figures make that pretty clear.

In 1948 the per capita income payments to individuals for the whole continental United States averaged $1,647. The middle Eastern region showed the highest average—$1,647. The figure for the Southeast was $957, and for Alabama it was even below that—$891. There were, in fact, only three other states in the Union with lower figures: Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina.

the less advanced the economy will be industrially. The educational level of the people and the percentage of Negro population reflect the ability of the labor force to take advantage of differential employment opportunities. With the Negro it is not so much a lack of training as it is discrimination and restriction against participation in the full range of economic opportunities. And the unemployable part of the population—children and the aged—depresses the per capita income of the employed group.

A series of mathematical tests showed these four factors to be highly related to state per capita income differentials. Together they explained 69 per cent of the differences in state per capita income in the year studied—1940. The percentage of total population employed was the most important factor, and the percentage of Negro population the least.

The trend, as shown between 1929 and 1947, indicates a narrowing of income differences between the Southern states and the rest of the country.

There was a widening of the differences during the beginning of the depression in that period but a narrowing during the emergence from depression.

The South's economic development is proceeding more rapidly than is that of some of the already highly developed regions. The region is gaining on the rest of the nation educationally; but it has a long way to go, and it is suggested that proposed federal legislation in aid of education would accelerate the tendency.

This trend seems to be continuing; a further narrowing of income differences is forecast. The writer says that "it appears that the future holds much promise for further gains in this respect, provided no important retrogression in the politics of the region occurs."

We are on the road to a wealthier South. And good politics will help the economic development along. May the trend continue.

—The Birmingham (Ala) News

But Many Still Migrate

The Southeast is keeping more of its younger men and women at home now than it once did. But the loss of population from migration to other areas of the nation is still staggering.

Between 1940 and 1950, census statistics indicate, the seven states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee experienced a loss of 1,822,000 residents through migration to other sections.

Florida did not contribute to the total, since it gained a net immigration of 558,000 residents. The migration loss thus was suffered by the other six states, which include North Carolina.

Natural population increases, the ratio of births over deaths, however, offset the imigrations from this section consequently the area ended the ten-year period with a gain of 2,507,-

RANK	STATE	TOTAL POPULATION 1950	PERCENT URBAN	RANK	STATE	TOTAL POPULATION 1950	PERCENT URBAN
1	New Jersey..	4,835,329	86.6	26	Oregon	1,521,341	53.8
2	New York ..	14,830,192	85.5	27	Kansas	1,905,299	52.2
3	Rhode Island	791,896	84.6	28	Maine	913,774	51.6
4	Massachusetts	4,690,514	84.5	29	Oklahoma	2,233,351	51.0
5	California	10,586,223	80.6	30	New Mexico	681,187	50.3
6	Connecticut..	2,007,280	77.8	31	Wyoming	290,529	48.9
7	Illinois	8,712,176	77.6	32	Iowa	2,621,073	47.7
8	Michigan	6,371,766	71.0	33	Nebraska	1,325,510	46.8
9	Pennsylvania ..	10,498,012	70.5	34	Virginia	3,318,680	46.4
10	Ohio	7,946,627	70.2	35	Georgia	3,444,578	45.3
11	Maryland	2,343,001	69.2	36	Tennessee	3,291,718	44.1
12	Utah	688,862	65.6	37	Montana	591,024	43.7
13	Florida	2,771,305	65.4	38	Alabama	3,061,743	43.4
14	Washington..	2,378,963	62.9	39	Idaho	588,637	42.9
15	Colorado	1,325,089	62.8	40	Kentucky	2,944,806	36.9
16	Texas	7,711,194	62.7	41	South Carolina	2,117,027	36.5
17	Delaware	318,085	62.5	41	Vermont	377,747	36.5
18	Missouri	3,954,653	61.5	43	West Virginia	2,005,552	34.6
19	Indiana	3,934,224	59.9	44	North Carolina	4,061,929	33.5
20	Nevada	160,083	58.5	45	South Dakota	650,029	33.2
21	Wisconsin	3,434,575	57.8	46	Arkansas	1,909,511	32.8
22	N. Hampshire	533,242	57.7	47	Mississippi ..	2,178,914	27.8
23	Arizona	749,587	55.4	48	North Dakota	619,636	26.8
24	Louisiana	2,683,516	54.7		U.S.	150,697,361	64.0
25	Minnesota	2,982,483	54.3		Dist. of Col.	802,178	100.0

II. GROWTH OF CITIES AND TOWNS IN N.C., 1940-50

In the following table, based on preliminary data issued by the U.S. Census Bureau, the cities and towns of North Carolina, places above 2,500 inhabitants, are ranked according to percent increase in population from 1940 to 1950. A parallel column shows the April 1, 1950 population. There are 19 new or unincorporated towns for which only 1950 population is given. These are generally textile mill towns.

RANK	URBAN PLACE	PRELIMINARY COUNT, APR. 1 1950	PERCENT OF CHANGE 1940 to 1950
1	Jacksonville	3,928	349.9
2	Albemarle	11,751	189.4
3	Chapel Hill	9,169	150.9
4	Wake Forest	3,701	136.9
5	Leaksville	4,057	115.1
6	Sanford	10,004	101.7
7	Burlington	24,495	100.8
8	Fayetteville	34,605	98.6
9	Plymouth	4,471	81.7
10	Waynesville	5,288	79.9
11	Oxford	6,703	68.0
12	Boone	2,964	65.8
13	Lumberton	9,164	57.9
14	Monroe	10,113	56.2
15	Ahoskie	3,568	54.3
16	Smithfield	5,574	51.5
17	Statesville	16,763	46.5
18	Henderson	10,942	43.1
19	Whiteville	4,245	41.0
20	Raleigh	65,123	38.9
21	Morehead City	5,055	36.8
22	Rutherfordton..	3,139	35.0
23	Wilmington	44,975	34.6
24	New Bern	15,784	33.6
25	Charlotte	133,219	32.0
26	Greenville	16,713	31.9
27	Selma	2,634	31.2
28	Southern Pines	4,179	29.6
29	Lexington	13,562	28.5
30	Mount Olive	3,728	27.3
31	Brevard	3,893	27.2
32	Williamston	4,978	25.5
33	Laurinburg	7,126	25.3
34	Greensboro	73,703	24.2
35	Goldsboro	21,399	23.9
36	Clinton	4,399	23.7
37	Belmont	5,341	22.6
38	Dunn	6,325	20.3
39	Lincolnton	5,419	19.8
40	Wilson	22,964	19.4
41	Kinston	18,278	18.8
42	Durham	70,307	16.8
43	Edenton	4,454	16.1
44	Graham	5,013	15.5
45	Mount Airy	7,194	14.4
46	Reidsville	11,760	13.2
47	Tarboro	8,069	12.9
48	Hendersonville	6,061	12.6
9	Washington	9,616	12.2
50	Bessemer City..	3,965	11.2
51	Newton	6,015	11.2
52	Shelby	15,508	10.5
53	Louisburg	2,541	10.0
54	Asheboro	7,674	9.9
55	Kings Mountain	7,193	9.9
56	Elizabeth City..	12,682	9.7
57	Hickory	14,691	8.9
58	Winston-Salem	86,816	8.8
59	Rocky Mount ..	27,644	8.1
60	Cherryville	3,486	8.1
61	Gastonia	23,003	7.9
62	Scotland Neck..	2,758	7.8
63	Morganton	8,252	7.6
64	Concord	16,720	7.4
65	Mooresville	7,118	6.5
66	Salisbury	19,999	5.1
67	Spencer	3,226	5.0
68	Valdese	2,735	4.6
69	Elkin	2,844	4.0
70	High Point	39,930	3.7
71	Lenoir	7,863	3.5
72	Asheville	52,208	1.8
73	Thomasville	11,126	0.8
74	Farmville	2,941	—1.3
75	Forest City	4,965	—1.4
76	Spindale	3,890	—1.6
77	Beaufort	3,217	—1.7
78	Canton	4,924	—2.2
79	N. Wilkesboro	4,370	—2.4
80	Hamlet	4,917	—3.8
81	Roanoke Rapids	8,123	—4.9
82	Wadesboro	3,409	—5.0
83	Marion	2,726	—5.6
84	Rockingham	3,319	—9.2
85	Roxboro	4,047	—12.0

New or Unincorporated Places

Arlington	5,085
Brown-Norcott Mills	4,802
Caroleen-Avondale-Henrietta	3,489
Camerton	3,208
Cross Roads-Bannertown ..	2,941
Draper	3,629
East Gastonia ..	3,718
East Marion	2,952
Erwin	3,344
Kannapolis	28,451
Midway Park..	3,709
Mills-East Rockingham ..	5,181
N. Belmont	3,951
Ogburntown	3,670
Ranlo-Smythe..	2,914
S. Fayetteville	3,426
S. Gastonia	6,471
Spray	5,533
Westend	2,800

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the Institute for Research in Social Science.
Published Semi-Monthly October-May, except January when issued Monthly.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Vol. XXXVI, NO. 11
OCT. 25, 1950

Editorial Board: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., H. W. Odum, G. W. Blackwell, R. P. Vance, P. W. Wager, Katharine Jocher.

Enter as second-class matter November 14, 1914, at the Postoffice at Chapel Hill, under the act of August 24, 1912

Population Growth In N. C., 1940-50

This issue of the News Letter presents the preliminary population data for the counties of North Carolina for the year 1950; also the population for 1940, together with total gains or losses in population for the decade, and percent increase or decrease in population. The counties are ranked according to percent increase or decrease ranging from Onslow, with the largest percent increase, to Swain with the largest percent decrease.

The preliminary figures show a total population of 4,051,740 as of January of this year. The January 1940 population was 3,571,623. Thus the net gain in population during the decade was 480,117.

Seventy-eight counties show gains in population, the total for these 78 counties being 496,799. There are 22 counties that lost population, the total loss for these counties being 16,682.

The counties losing population are located almost altogether in the northeastern corner of the state and beyond the Blue Ridge. Seven northeastern tidewater counties lost population and eleven mountain counties experienced losses. In addition, one central eastern county, Greene, and three mid-state counties, Anson, Person and Stokes lost population.

The largest total losses occurred in Swain, Hyde, Madison, Anson and Stokes. The largest percent losses occurred in Swain, Hyde and Dare.

However, some of the tidewater and mountain counties gained in population. Outstanding in this respect is Onslow which experienced an increase of nearly 24,000 inhabitants, or 133.33 percent. The phenominal growth of Onslow's population was due to the military facilities which have been established in that county. Craven, New Hanover, and Carteret in the tidewater also had significant gains in population. Transylvania, Henderson and Buncombe in the mountains experienced sizeable total and percent gains in decade. Our percent increase was even slightly above the 1930-40 gain of 12.4 percnt.

The growth of population in North Carolina during the last decade was not as evenly distributed as during the previous decade. The local gains were larger and the losses were larger from 1940-50 than during the previous decade. For instance, 22 counties lost population from 1940-50, while only nine counties lost from 1930-40. The largest percent loss from 1940-50 was experienced by Swain county, 18.41, while the largest percent loss from 1930-40 was Perquimans, 8.5 percent. Only one county lost more than 1,000 inhabitants from 1930-40, while five counties lost more than 1,000 from 1940-50.

There have been a few outstanding changes in the rank of counties in total population during the last decade. Guilford was our most populous county in 1940 with slightly more than 152,000 inhabitants. Guilford now has 190,000, while Mecklenburg has approximately 196,000. Onslow county ranked seventy-third in total population in 1940 and now ranks thirty-eighth. Among the other counties that have improved their rank in total population are Cumberland, Craven, Orange, and New Hanover.

Tyrrell remains our least populous county with 5,051 inhabitants, having experienced a loss of 505 inhabitants during the decade. Other counties with small populations, all under 7,000, are Graham, Camden, Clay, Currituck, Dare and Hyde. Of these, only Graham showed an increase of population during the decade, a gain of only 455 inhabitants.

—S. H. H., Jr.

"Keep North Carolina Green"

One of North Carolina's greatest and worst wasted resources has been and is, but should not be, her tim-

the indispensable base is a need which is vast now and bids fair to be even stronger in the future.

The main thing is for North Carolina to keep its forest growing by reasonable conservation. The goose that laid the golden egg has nothing on a stand of timber.

Proper conservation involves: (1) Lumbering practices which leave some seed trees and not destroy too much small stuff; (2) more protection of forests from fires and insects; (3) more tree planting, on both a large and a small scale.

If North Carolinians insist on wantonly squandering instead of rationally conserving those timber resources which are of the greatest value not only to the individual proprietors but also to the state itself, it may well be that the State of North Carolina should pass a law, as did Washington, to the effect that owners of land used for commercial logging must provide for its reforestation. This law has been held constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that constitutional morality "requires that we leave the unborn something more than debts and depleted resources."

The proper use of forests certainly does not imply their destruction. It means rather a perpetual timber crop.

—Greensboro Daily News.

Surprising Gain

The census gain of 13.5 percent, which adds nearly 500,000 North Carolinians and gives the State a population in excess of 4,000,000 is surprising.

However, The News and Observer is not surprised by the fact that preliminary estimates showing that the State would lose a member of Congress as the result of the 1950 census have proved to be erroneous. As this newspaper has pointed out several times, the same prediction was made before the 1920 census and also proved to be erroneous. The conditions are fully comparable.

Mental Health In N. C.

North Carolina's mental hospitals are "home," writes Cecil Brownlow of International News Service, "for some 220 out of every 100,000 persons" in this State.

At first blush this figure isn't bad. The ratio of the country as a whole is 380 per 100,000. This does not mean, however, that North Carolina is bettering the national average. It means, says Superintendent David A. Young of the State Hospitals Board of Control, that facilities "simply are not adequate to meet the demand."

This is an old problem in North Carolina. It is being solved bit by bit, and thus slowly. Several years ago the Committee on Mental Hygiene and Hospitalization, headed by Dr. Maurice H. Greenhill, reported to Governor Cherry and the Hospital and Medical Care Commission.

The mental health problem in North Carolina is a grave one. In a study some years ago North Carolina ranked forty-seventh among the states in the quality of its medical care for mentally ill patients in its hospitals. Yet according to the Thompson Report ("A Study of Mental Health in North Carolina, 1937"), only 3 percent of the expenditures from the North Carolina General Fund went to the care of the mentally ill. All of this applies to State institutional care, which means that North Carolina has not taken seriously enough its responsibilities for its citizens with various types of insanity.

A dreary problem it is, but as the Greenhill committee said, "a grave one." The present rated capacity of state mental institutions is 9,000.

POPULATION GROWTH IN N. C. 1940-50

In the following table, based on preliminary data released by the U. S. Census Bureau, the counties are ranked according to percent gains or losses in population from 1940 to 1950. Onslow ranks first with a gain of 133.33 percent. Swain ranks last with a loss of 18.41 percent. Seventy-eight counties show gains and 22 show losses.

Total population in January 1950 was 4,051,740. The ten year gain was 480,117, or 13 percent. The 1930-40 ten year gain was 392,898 or 12.4 percent.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr. and Robert Weynand

Rank	County	1950 Pop.	1940 Pop.	Gain or Loss	Percent Gain or Loss
1	Onslow	41,857	17,939	23,918	133.33
2	Cumberland	95,799	59,320	36,479	61.50
3	Craven	48,681	31,298	17,383	55.54
4	Orange	34,415	23,072	11,343	49.16
5	New Hanover	63,342	47,935	15,407	32.14
6	Mecklenburg	196,163	151,826	44,337	29.20
7	Gaston	110,706	87,531	23,175	26.48
8	Carteret	22,951	18,284	4,667	25.53
9	Durham	100,641	80,244	20,397	25.42
10	Transylvania	15,321	12,241	3,080	25.16
11	Lee	23,456	18,743	4,713	25.15
12	Wake	135.848	109,544	26,304	24.01
13	Alamance	71,036	57,427	13,609	23.70
14	Guilford	190,126	153,916	36,210	23.53
15	Caldwell	43,329	35,795	7,534	21.05
16	Catawba	61,569	51,653	9,916	19.20
17	Henderson	30,843	26,049	4,794	18.40
18	Pasquotank	24,143	20,568	3,575	17.38
19	Burke	45,119	38,615	6,504	16.84
20	Davidson	62,225	53,377	8,848	16.58
21	Robeson	88,733	76,860	11,873	15.45
22	Forsyth	145,076	126,475	18,601	14.71
23	Hertford	22,036	19,352	2,684	13.87
24	Randolph	50,670	44,554	6,116	13.73

The largest total losses occurred in Swain, Hyde, Madison, Anson and Stokes. The largest percent losses occurred in Swain, Hyde and Dare.

However, some of the tidewater and mountain counties gained in population. Outstanding in this respect is Onslow which experienced an increase of nearly 24,000 inhabitants, or 133.33 percent. The phenominal growth of Onslow's population was due to the military facilities which have been established in that county. Craven, New Hanover, and Carteret in the tidewater also had significant gains in population. Transylvania, Henderson and Buncombe in the mountains experienced sizeable total and percent gains in population. Also Caldwell, if one considers Caldwell a mountain county.

The largest total increases occurred in Mecklenburg, with a gain of 44,337, Cumberland 36,479, Guilford 36,210, Wake 26,304, Onslow 23,918 and Gaston 23,175.

The largest percent gains occurred in Onslow 133.33, Cumberland 61.50, Craven 55.54, Orange 49.16, and New Hanover. Mecklenburg, Gaston, Durham, Wake and Guilford also showed large gains in population.

Piedmont Leads

The piedmont area, as a whole, had the largest increase in population. This industrial and urban region has led the state in population growth for several decades and will probably continue to lead.

Most of the great agricultural counties in the upper coastal plain had population gains, but as a rule they were more or less nominal, being less than seven percent in more than a dozen of these counties. This is a great agricultural region. One does not find here sizeable cities or much industrial development. By and large it is a very prosperous agricultural region, having already acquired a very dense population. Such a region is not likely to experience large gains in population. Some of these counties are finding it difficult to accommodate the natural increase in population within the agricultural framework. This can be done only by reducing the size of the farms. It would probably be better if the average size of farms in this area could be increased rather than the area being further subdivided into smaller farms.

The total net gain in population of 480,117, or 13 percent, was much larger than was expected in view of the periodic predictions issued by the Census Bureau during the decade. This is true not only of North Carolina but of the whole United States. The predictions for North Carolina as of 1947 or 1948 stated that our population growth would be only nominal. It was difficult to believe this when one observed the tremendous activity, especially construction, going on in North Carolina after the close of the war. Anyhow, we had an increase of 13 percent and only twenty-one states had larger percent gains during the last

Hanover.

Tyrrell remains our least populous county with 5,051 inhabitants, having experienced a loss of 505 inhabitants during the decade. Other counties with small populations, all under 7,000, are Graham, Camden, Clay, Currituck, Dare and Hyde. Of these, only Graham showed an increase of population during the decade, a gain of only 455 inhabitants.

—S. H. H., Jr.

"Keep North Carolina Green"

One of North Carolina's greatest and worst wasted resources has been and is, but should not be, her timber.

Landowners should treat their forests more like crops and less like mines. Land thoroughly denuded of old and young trees may be put out of use for 40 years.

The landowner who skins his land of trees will find that he has skinned himself. Formerly the big timber was sold and the little stuff went with it as something useless and valueless. Now pulp wood is a rich cash crop in itself. We learn from a communication from the Southern States Forest Fire Commission, of which H. M. Hardy of Warrenton is chairman, that the paper mills which own 16,000,000 acres of forestry land in the South are doubling their board feet yield per acre by a process of thinning their timber rather than recklessly cutting everything, and that what the farmer may deem non-merchantable timber is sufficient to furnish the paper mills of the South in perpetuity if properly cut.

This is a matter of considerable pecuniary interest to Tar Heels. Defective and diseased trees can be used for pulp wood. So can gums, cottonwood, poplar and hickories. The need for houses, furniture, paper, in its manifold uses, rayon, plastics and the great variety of new articles for which wood pulp forms

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The census gain of 13.5 percent, which adds nearly 500,000 North Carolinians and gives the State a population in excess of 4,000,000 is surprising.

However, The News and Observer is not surprised by the fact that preliminary estimates showing that the State would lose a member of Congress as the result of the 1950 census have proved to be erroneous. As this newspaper has pointed out several times, the same prediction was made before the 1920 census and also proved to be erroneous. The conditions are fully comparable. In both World War I and World War II many North Carolinians went to other States to work in war plants. Their departures went into the statistical records, while their returns to farms and small towns not having employment offices went unnoticed.

But while there will be no loss of a Congressional District, since the State's gain appears to exceed that of the country as a whole, the present unbalance of Congressional districts will be made greater if there is no reapportionment in 1951.

The growth by Congressional districts was quite spotty, ranging from one-tenth of one percent in the First District to 25 percent in the Sixth. Strangely enough, the First, while having the largest area of any district was already the least populous, while the Sixth has the smallest area. The new figures leave the Fourth District as the most populous with the Sixth advancing in rank from fifth to second.

The North Carolina birth rate has again shown itself to be a more important factor than migration statistics from State to State. North Carolina still ranks among the most populous States of the Nation and as the most populous of the Southeast.

— News and Observer.

POPULATION OF NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, 1950

Preliminary population reports of cities in North Carolina

City	1950 Pop.	1940 Pop.	Gain	Percent Change
Charlotte	133,312	100,899	32,413	32.12
Winston-Salem	87,226	79,815	7,411	9.29
Greensboro	73,703	59,319	14,384	24.25
Durham	70,307	60,195	10,112	16.80
Raleigh	65,029	46,897	18,132	38.66
Asheville	52,208	51,310	898	1.75
Wilmington	44,975	33,407	11,568	34.63
High Point	39,930	38,495	1,435	3.73
Fayetteville	34,605	17,428	17,177	98.56
Rocky Mount	27,644	25,568	2,076	8.12
Burlington	24,495	12,198	12,297	100.81
Wilson	22,964	19,234	3,730	19.39
Goldsboro	21,399	17,274	4,125	23.88
Salisbury	20,004	19,037	972	5.11
Gastonia	20,003	21,313	—1,310	—6.15
Kinston	18,278	15,388	2,890	18.78
Statesville	16,765	11,440	5,325	46.55
Concord	16,720	15,572	1,148	7.37
Greenville	16,713	12,764	4,039	31.64
New Bern	15,784	11,815	3,969	33.59
Shelby	15,506	14,037	1,469	10.47
Hickory	14,691	13,487	1,204	8.93
Lexington	13,562	10,550	3,012	28.55
Elizabeth City	12,682	11,564	1,118	9.67
Reidsville	11,851	10,387	1,464	14.09
Albemarle	11,751	4,060	7,691	189.43
Thomasville	11,126	11,041	85	.77
Henderson	10,742	7,647	3,095	40.47

2	Cumberland	95,799	59,320	36,479	61.50
3	Craven	48,681	31,298	17,383	55.54
4	Orange	34,415	23,072	11,343	49.16
5	New Hanover	63,342	47,935	15,407	32.14
6	Mecklenburg	196,163	151,826	44,337	29.20
7	Gaston	110,706	87,531	23,175	26.48
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9	Durham	100,641	80,244	20,397	25.42
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13	Alamance	71,036	57,427	13,609	23.70
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15	Caldwell	43,329	35,795	7,534	21.05
16	Catawba	61,569	51,653	9,916	19.20
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18	Pasquotank	24,143	20,568	3,575	17.38
19	Burke	45,119	38,615	6,504	16.84
20	Davidson	62,225	53,377	8,848	16.58
21	Robeson	88,733	76,860	11,873	15.45
22	Forsyth	145,076	126,475	18,601	14.71
23	Hertford	22,036	19,352	2,684	13.87
24	Randolph	50,670	44,554	6,116	13.73
25	Stanly	37,986	33,834	4,252	12.95
26	Buncombe	122,756	108,755	14,001	12.27
27	Rockingham	64,965	57,898	7,067	12.21
28	Lincoln	27,114	24,187	2,927	12.10
29	McDowell	25,741	22,996	2,745	11.94
30	Lenoir	45,913	41,211	4,702	11.41
31	Iredell	56,148	50,424	5,724	11.35
32	Cleveland	64,316	58,055	6,261	10.78
33	Columbus	50,585	45,663	4,922	10.78
34	Wayne	64,213	58,328	5,885	10.09
35	Surry	45,672	41,783	3,889	9.31
35	Bladen	29,684	27,156	2,528	9.31
35	Granville	32,077	29,344	2,733	9.31
38	Rowan	75,238	69,206	6,032	8.72
39	Haywood	37,660	34,804	2,856	8.21
40	Chowan	12.510	11,572	938	8.11
41	Alexander	14,496	13,454	1,042	7.74
42	Nash	59,900	55,608	4,292	7.72
43	Harnett	47,634	44,239	3,395	7.67
44	Cabarrus	63,910	59,393	4,517	7.61
45	Scotland	24,971	23,232	1,739	7.49
46	Union	41,989	39,097	2,892	7.40
47	Wilson	53,837	50,219	3,618	7.20
48	Yadkin	22,132	20,657	1,475	7.14
49	Martin	27,972	26,111	1,861	7.13
50	Graham	6,873	6,418	455	7.09
51	Richmond	39,412	36,810	2,602	7.07
52	Vance	32,036	29,961	2,075	6.93
53	Washington	13,170	12,323	847	6.87
54	Moore	32,933	30,969	1,964	6.34
55	Montgomery	17,282	16,280	1,002	6.15
56	Wilkes	45,202	43,003	2,199	5.11
57	Edgecombe	51,592	49,162	2,430	4.94
58	Sampson	49,760	47,440	2,320	4.89
59	Hoke	15,609	14,937	672	4.50
60	Caswell	20,892	20,032	860	4.29
61	Pitt	63,770	61,244	2,526	4.12
62	Pender	18,391	17,710	681	3.85
63	Davie	15,433	14,909	524	3.51
64	Duplin	41,118	39,739	1,379	3.47
64	Halifax	58,475	56,512	1,963	3.47
66	Johnston	65,751	63,798	1,953	3.06
67	Franklin	31,303	30,382	921	3.03
68	Pamlico	9,981	9,706	275	2.83
69	Chatham	25,397	24,726	671	2.71
70	Warren	23,556	23,145	411	1.78
71	Macon	16,150	15,880	270	1.70
72	Beaufort	37,031	36,431	600	1.65
73	Rutherford	46,257	45,577	680	1.49
74	Brunswick	19,227	17,125	2,102	1.27
75	Watauga	18,296	18,114	182	1.00
76	Bertie	26,449	26,201	248	.95
77	Jones	11,012	10,926	86	.79
78	Northampton	28,440	28,299	141	.50
				Loss	*Loss*
79	Jackson	19,239	19,366	127	— .66
80	Avery	13,332	13,561	229	—1.60
81	Perquimans	9,601	9,773	172	—1.76
82	Polk	11,613	11,874	261	—2.20
83	Greene	18,041	18,548	507	—2.73
84	Cherokee	18,296	18,813	517	—2.75
85	Alleghany	8,101	8,341	240	—2.88
86	Ashe	21,915	22,664	749	—3.31
87	Person	24,136	25,029	893	—3.57
88	Camden	5,209	5,440	231	—4.25
89	Stokes	21,535	22,656	1,121	—4.95
90	Yancey	16,303	17,202	899	—5.23
91	Mitchell	15,139	15,980	847	—5.30
92	Gates	9,526	10,060	534	—5.31
93	Anson	26,781	28,443	1,662	—5.84
94	Clay	6,001	6,405	394	—6.15
95	Currituck	6,157	6,709	552	—8.23
96	Madison	20,588	22,522	1,934	—8.59
97	Tyrrell	5,051	5,556	505	—9.09
98	Dare	5,364	6,041	677	—11.21
99	Hyde	6,465	7,860	1,395	—17.75
100	Swain	9,935	12,177	2,242	—18.41
	Totals	4,051,740	3,571,623	480,117	13.0

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES

SUBJECT: A REPORT OF REGISTRATION AND VOTING ACTIVITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

TO: SOUTHEAST REGIONAL MEETING, ATLANTA, GA., FEBRUARY 28, -MARCH 3, 1957

FROM: KELLY M. ALEXANDER, PRESIDENT, N. C. STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES AND CHARLES McLEAN, N. C. FIELD SECRETARY

The North Carolina State Conference of Branches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is engaged in an active Political Action Program. This program is in conformity with the policy of the association as established in adopted resolutions of our convention. This vigorous and continuing political action program has as its purpose:

1. Increasing registration;
2. Urging citizens to vote;
3. Encouraging Negroes to take an active part in government;
4. Mobilizing awakened interest into action;
5. Encouraging organizations on the community level to take an active part in the political process.

In order to qualify at the polls, a citizen first registers in the precinct of his residence. North Carolina has a permanent registration system, that is a written record is maintained until changed, although a voter who moves from the original precinct must re-establish his registration. Regular times and places are provided for registration.

The present Constitution of North Carolina was written and adopted in 1868 as part of the process by which the state was returned to the union after the Civil War. It extended suffrage to Negroes.

The number of registered voters throughout the state, either by county or district, is not a matter of record. The State Board of Elections neither collects nor keep such figures.

The North Carolina State Conference in a very small way is endeavoring to organize citizens for effective nonpartisan political action. We are endeavoring to get over to the citizens of this state, that only in a country like America, do individual citizens have the opportunity to decide for themselves the important problems facing them. We are concerned with getting over to the people in this state the importance of voting. The key, of course, to voting is registration.

The implementation of an effective registration campaign requires organization and necessary funds to promote the project. We administered our campaign through a State Conference Political Action Committee. The Executive Committee is composed of the following key people and committee chairmen:

1. State Conference President
2. Field Secretary
3. State Conference Treasurer
4. Coordinators, Political Action Program, North Carolina Conference of Branches
5. Congressional District Chairmen
6. County Chairmen

Consultants from National Office were Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau and Henry Lee Moon, Director, Public Relations and Author of "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote."

The North Carolina Branches are the units that form the basis for local participation. The program is organized within the framework of the 12 North Carolina Congressional Districts. The program is administered on this level by Congressional Chairmen. The counties that make up the congressional districts are under the direction of county Chairmen.

To familiarize leaders, workers and the general membership as to the program, the state conference sponsored a series of educational Political Action Institutes in each congressional district. Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau worked closely with the state conference for the success of the educational institutes. These institutes were not only attended by leaders on the congressional, county and precinct levels but leaders and citizens representatives of various community organizations.

This phase of the program was concluded with a state-wide Register and Get-Out-The-Vote Conference in Raleigh, N. C., March 24, 1956. Henry Lee Moon, Director, Public Relations, was the Guest Consultant. This conference was attended by more than 350 leaders of Church, Labor, Fraternal, Civic, Veterans and Social organizations. Workshops were held on "Practical Political Action", "How To Increase Registration and Voting", "Political Parties", "Congressional Organization", "Political Parties and Registration and Voting Problems".

During the series of educational meetings and conferences a large amount of material was distributed. The material included over 5,000 N.C. Constitutions, Election Law Manuals to all workers and leaders, 1,000 booklets on the North Carolina Conference Political Action Program, Guidebooks for County and Precinct workers. Mr. Mitchell supplied the state conference with a sufficient number of information sheets on the Voting Record of the N.C. Delegation in Congress. Register and Vote Posters, 20,000 Handbills on Registration and Voting. More than 2,000 letters were mailed throughout the state to key leaders, outstanding citizens and community organizations urging them to support the register and vote campaign.

The Field Secretary prepared comprehensive political action data for visual education, such as, maps, charts, sample ballots and other educational information.

Every effort was made to have in operation in every community throughout the state an effective registration program.

Registration Survey Sheets and Progress Report Blanks were sent to leaders in the campaign and to all branches.

The results of our effort from September, 1955 through November, 1956 denote an increase in registered Negro voters. According to the reports received from our community sources, as of December 31, 1956, 20,000 Negroes were registered throughout the state during the NAACP registeration campaign. According to the best available figures in January, 1956 there w ere approximately 125,000 Negroes registered. This 20,000 increase brought the figure up to 145,000. There may be an additional large number of Negroes that did retister during the period this campaign covers. However, we have no way of really finding out at this time. Our estimate is based on reports from our community leaders and key participants in the registration campaign.

There are 1,047,353 non-whites in North Carolina and of this number that are 21 years of age and over the estimate is 549,741.

The 145,000 Negroes registered in North Carolina fall below the national average, which is about 70.2 per cent. We have a great potential in North Carolina and w e are working to cultivate this potential for effective political action.

We may add at this time that the NAACP is really the only organization in North Carolina with an active state-wide Political Action Program in operation deeply concerned with Negro registration increase as a fundamental premise. We realize progress has been slow but considering what we have had to work with, as to qualified leadership on the local level and lack of adequate funds for effective promotion of the project, it is our opinion that we have contributed much in advancing a new interest in effective political action plus an awakening on the part of the general public for registration increase among Negroes throughout the state.

Our State Conference was alert to discriminatory conduct by registrars and other state officials and watched very carefully for intimidation to keep Negroes from the polls.

We found all over the s tate an awareness on the part of most community leaders that there are not enough Negroes registered and something should be done. We received some support from many of these leaders but nothing like was needed or anticipated. We certainly cannot overlook the fact that there still exist in this state too much apathy as to this matter of registration not only from the general citizenry but in many areas of community leadership. The continuation of this program is most necessary.

Political Parties in this state do very little to actually increase registration among Negroes. There are many reasons for this but the major one, as we see it, is fear of political control by Negroes in the so called Black Belt of the state and in the large cities. Negro representation in government throughout the state has resulted in the political power structure being very cautious as to the extension of any program to increase Negro registration. This may seem foolish but it is a fact. All of this means, that the Negro people themselves must accept this great responsibility and priviledge in our country to increase the voting strength of our people in this state.

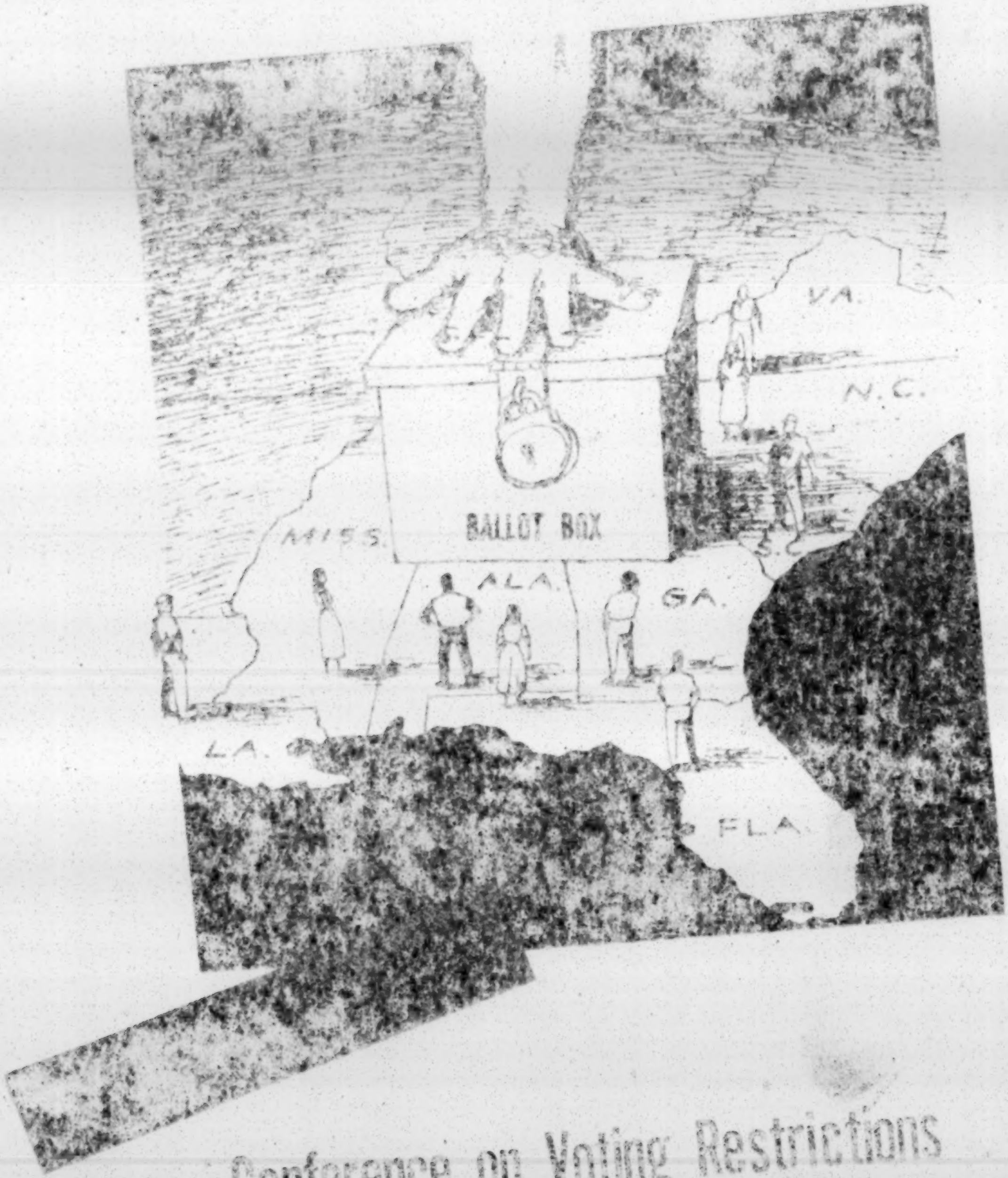
The North Carolina State Conference accept this responsibility. We appreciate the support we have received from Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP. His interest, vision and willingness to invest funds in the future of this project in North Carolina is highly appreciated by every member of the North Carolina State Conference of Branches. The North Carolina State Conference of Branches has prepared a financial statement concerning how the money was expended for the administration of this project. Our Field Secretary worked hard on this project.

The Coordinator of the State Political Action Program was sent on special assignment to see what was really happening as to registration on the branch level. The following findings may prove beneficial:

> Some branches had Registration & Voting Committees in name only.
>
> Activities on the registration front was under the direction of Negro politicians interested only in selfish motives.
>
> Some branches failed to have in operation educational Political Action Institutes to educate the potential voter.

The record show that some of our branches have done an excellent job as to registration and voting but most of our branches need to develop a permanent registration and voting program. This is very important because a few weeks before the books open is not enough time to do an effective job.

We have one of the best programs in the country in the registration and voting field and we are training our branches to do a better job of implementation.


BALLOT BOX
VA.
N.C.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
LA.
FLA.

Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

(S. C. E. 7.)

April 27, 1958

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Miss Willson Whitman, Author and Editor

It is estimated that only 26 per cent of the eligible Negro voters go to the polls in North Carolina. Senator Erwin of North Carolina told the Senate Subcommittee on Civil rights that there was no restriction on the registration and voting of Negroes in his state. But he thought there was some apathy, and he admitted there might be a little trouble with local registrars.

To combat apathy and get out the vote is the purpose of a new organization called the North Carolina Ministers' Committee for Full Citizenship, which wants to see 100,000 more voters registered this spring. With the same objective, the NAACP is calling for/250,000 more Negro voters in North Carolina by 1960.

To achieve these goals it is not proposed to make any special racial appeal by putting Negro candidates into the field, although of recent years we have managed to elect Negro members of city councils and so on. To tie in the registration drive with the election of candidates in a given election is of course to risk, by loss of the election, a feeling of discouragement about voting in the future. The idea is to establish the habit of voting in every election, and to do that the NAACP will depend on door-to-door appeals to the individual voters.

Of course the matter of apathy in registration is closely connected with the difficulty of registration wherever such difficulty exists. But there is little or no trouble registering Negro voters in the larger cities and in those parts of the state where white elements in control feel little or no fear of Negro majorities. I have even heard it suggested that there is more discouragement of white mill workers who/might wish to register in some industrial districts.

In the northeastern part of the state, notably in Northampton and Halifax counties, literacy tests, so-called, have been used to disqualify Negro voters and it is hoped that cases now pending will show that these tests are contrary to the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution.

Until recently there was no appeal under state law from the decision of election district registrars. This year the law was changed to provide for such appeal, first from the registrar to the board of elections and then to the state courts. There is, however, some question as to whether this newly enacted provision for review was intended to be an actual reform or merely a deterrent to Federal Court action to declare the law unconstitutional.

In Northampton County, for example, one of the cases pending would permit registration of Mrs. Louise Lassiter, denied registration by application of the test in the little town of Seaboard. This case has now become two cases---one an appeal to the board of elections and the state courts under the new law, and the other a plea in Federal Court designed to show that the law is unconstitutional. The Federal case cannot be decided until the state courts dispose of the case pending there.

If anyone feels that the literacy test is fair, it must of course be argued that it is fair only if it is applied to all voters, white and Negro alike. In practice of course this is not the case. I had lived and voted in North Carolina for seven years before I ever heard of a literacy test, and I sincerely hope that no registrar will ever expect me to interpret the North Carolina constitution in all its provisions. This constitution, like most state constitutions, is more than twice as long as the U.S. Constitution, and a great deal more complicated. Moreover, in registration the requirement is not merely to understand the constitution but to give it the individual interpretation preferred by the registrar. The state election law does not examine registrars on the constitution.

In the Seaboard case, it was suggested that the registrar fairly and faithfully tried to administer the spirit of the law as she saw it. Her understanding and belief was that white people, in the nature of things, were entitled to vote. Due to unfortunate loss of a war in the last century, she thought, Negroes are also entitled to vote but only if they can successfully surmount the obstacles put in their way; and it is the duty of a registrar to provide the obstacles.

The conscientious registrar may of course have a little help now and then. The same registrar in the little town of Seaboard had earlier disqualified an Air Force sergeant, Alexander Faison, whose right to vote was about to be submitted to Federal adjudication, just as Mrs. Lassiter's has been. But in that case local authorities discovered that the district line ran in a way to put the sergeant in another district, even though the registrar had already registered his brother who lived in the same house.

Another case involving the literacy test, the Ivey case, is also being brought in nearby Halifax County. The great trouble is not winning such cases on appeal. It is the need for litigation and appeal, the expenditure of time and money required to invoke the whole machinery of the law. The fact is of course that the underlying purpose of those opposed to the exercise of voting rights is to delay things. Under the revised law, appeals from registrars' decisions have to pile up before election boards, then go through state courts to federal courts. Now it's being said that action in current cases can't be expected before May, and in May registration in North Carolina ends for the fall elections. Along with less apathy the need seems to be for more and more patience.

#

Spec. Suf. N.C. 58-59

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

DURHAM VOTING STUDY
Spring, 1958

File

check with MM for location

Schedule Number______________ Interviewer____________________

1. ___Male ___W ___Pearson Precinct
___Female ___N ___Holloway Precinct

To begin with we want you to know that the information you give us will be kept completely confidential. We will be securing the same information from several hundred people and each set of answers will carry a number. Your name will not appear on this form.

In the first part of this questionnaire we want to get a few general facts as to your occupation, education, age, and the like.

2. Age_____years.

3. Number of children______

4. How many grades of school have you completed?

Grades: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College: 1 2 3 4 Post Graduate

5. What is your church preference?

___Protestant ___Catholic ___Jewish ___None

6. Would you say you go to church regularly, often, seldom or never?

___Regularly ___Often ___Seldom or never

7. Where have you lived most of your adult life? __________________________

8. How long have you lived in Durham and vicinity?_________________________

If less than 10 years; What was your regular occupation or job before you moved to Durham?____________________

9. Are you a registered voter? ____Yes _____No

(If yes) How registered? ____Republican ____Independent
____Democrat ____Other

10. About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?

____Under $1,000 ____$1,000-1,999 ____$2,000-2,999

____$3,000-3,999 ____$4,000-4,999 ____$5,000-7,499

____$7,500-9,999 ____$10,000 and over

11. What is your regular occupation or job? (Make your statement sufficiently specific so it will be clear as to what you do.)

What kind of work do you do?____

____

12. What is the regular occupation or job of your wife (husband)?

What kind of work does he (she) do?________________________________

13. Do you belong to a labor union? ____Yes ____No

14. What about your wife (husband), does she (he) belong to a union? ___Yes ___No

15. Do you read any newspaper regularly (i.e. at least every other day)?

____Yes ____No
If yes, which one(s)________________________________

16. How about magazines, do you read any regularly (i.e. at least every other issue)?

____Yes ____No
If yes, which one(s)____

17. What kind of newspaper or magazine stories and articles do you like best?

___ News and Editorials ____Entertainment and features

18. Do you have a television set in your home? ____Yes ____No

If yes, how much do you personally watch TV?

_____Often (every day or two)
_____Occasionally (at least once a week)
_____Rarely or never

19. How about radio, how much do you personally listen to radio?

____Often(every day or two)
____Occasionally (at least once a week)
____Rarely or never

20. What kind of radio and TV programs do you like best?

____News ____Entertainment and features

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your activities in Durham.

21. Do you belong to any organizations or associations in Durham?

____

____

22. What organization or group do you think is most important in getting things done in Durham?

____

23. How active would you say you are in community affairs?

____very ___somewhat active ___somewhat inactive __very inactive

24. In general, how do you feel about living in Durham? Would you say it is:

____ an excellent community to live in?

____ a very good community to live in?

____ a good community to live in?

____ not a very good community to live in?

____ a poor community to live in?

Now I would like to ask you something about the political parties.

25. Do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

____Republican ____Democrat ____Independent ____Other

IF A REPUBLICAN OR A DEMOCRAT:

(a) Would you call yourself a strong (Republican)(Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican)(Democrat)?

____Strong Democrat ____Strong Republican

____A not very strong Democrat ____A not very strong Republican

(b) Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a (Republican)(Democrat) rather than a (Democrat)(Republican)?

____Yes ____No

IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER:

(c) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

___Closer to Repub. ___Closer to Democratic ___No, neither

(d) Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat?

___Yes, a Repub. ___Yes, a Democrat ___No, never

26. Who did you vote for in the 1956 presidential election?

___Ike ___Adlai ___Other ___Didn't vote

How about 1952? ___Ike ___Adlai ___Other ___Didn't vote

How about 1948? ___Truman ___Dewey ___Thurmond ___Other ___Did vot

27. If there was a presidential election today would you still vote as you did in 1956?

___Yes ___No ___Don't know

28. Who did you vote for in the last election for Mayor of Durham: Mr. Biggs, or Mr. Evans (or didn't you vote in that election)?

___Biggs ___Evans ___Other ___No vote ___Don't reme

29. Who did you vote for in the last primary election for state Governor, Mr. Hodges Mr. Sawyer, or one of the other candidates (or didn't you vote in that election

___Hodges ___Sawyer ___Other ___No vote ___Don't remembe

30. Who did you vote for in the last general election for state Governor: Mr. Hodges or Mr. Hayes, (or didn't you vote in that election)?

___Hodges ___Hayes ___No Vote ___Don't remember

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about organizations that are sometimes active in election campaigns.

31. Have you ever heard of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs? ___Yes ___No

ASK ONLY THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD OF COMMITTEE ON NEGRO AFFIARS:

32. do you know any people who are active in the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs?

___Yes ___No

33. In the last election campaign, did anyone active in the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs try to persuade you to vote for the candidates they favored?

____Yes ____No

34. On the whole, would you say the DCNA is a good idea well carried out; a good idea badly carried out, or a bad idea?

____good, good ____good, bad ____bad

IF ANSWERS "BAD IDEA": Why do you think it is a bad idea?

____

____

IF ANSWER "BADLY CARRIED OUT": Why do you think it is "badly carried out"

____

____

35. If you know the names of the candidates supported by the DCNA before going to the polls what effect is this likely to have on your voting?

____Always vote for DCNA supported candidates
____Usually vote for DCNA supported candidates
____Always vote against DCNA supported candidates
____Usually vote against DCNA supported candidates
____Makes no difference
____Never know the names of candidates supported by DCNA

36. During election campaigns many groups and organizations try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for the candidate they favor. During the last campaign:

Did anybody from either one of the parties call you up, or come around and talk to you during the campaign? ____Yes(which party?)__________
____No

Did anybody from one of the labor unions call you up, or come around and talk to you during the campaign? ____Yes ____No

Did anybody from the DCNA call you up or come around and talk to you during the campaign? ____Yes ____No

37. During the last campaign did you receive any political literature in the mail?

____Yes ____No

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

38. People like me don't have any say what the government does.

____Agree ____Disagree

39. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

____Agree ____Disagree

40. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.

____Agree ____Disagree

41. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you are usually very interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following political campaigns?

____Very interested ____Somewhat ____Not much intereste

42. Do you think it will make a good deal of difference to you personally who wins the next local elections, or won't it matter too much?

_____Makes a good deal of difference ____Won't matter too much

43. Which of the following would you rather have

____Better city services (that is, better streets, street lighting, police and fire protection).
____Better economic opportunities
____Lower taxes
____Racially integrated schools

(Probe for ranking and indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th choices).

44. In general, how many of the white people in this state would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races?

____All ____Most ____About half ____Less than hal

45. Do you come into contact with Whites (Negroes) as:
Friends __Y __N Co-workers__Y__N Employees or subordinates__Y__N

Employers or supervisors __Y__N

46. On the whole do you think white people are more intelligent than Negroes, less intelligent, or about the same?

____More intelligent ____Less intellignet ___Same

47. Do you think white people are more moral than Negroes, less moral, or about the same?

_____More moral ____Less moral ____about the same

48. Do you think white people are more responsible than Negroes, less responsible, or about the same?

____More responsible ____Less responsible ____Same

49. Do you think white people are more ambitious than Negroes, less ambitious, or about the same?

____More ambitious ____Less ambitious ____about th
same

50. Suppose the public schools here in Durham were de-segregated next year. What line of action would you favor:

____work for the success of integration

____accept it

____amend the Constitution to prohibit de-segregation

____withhold state funds from desegregated school districts

____close the public schools

____use force if necessary to prevent de-segregation

51. In 5 years, do you think there will be de-segregation in:

restaurants? ____Yes ____No

schools? ____Yes ____No

churches? ____Yes ____No

buses? ____Yes ____No

parks? ____Yes ____No

employment? ____Yes ____No

residential districts? ____Yes ____No

Thank You Very Much.

TABULATIONS - DURHAM STUDY

	Holloway (white)	Pearson (Negro)
1. Sex		
a. Male	38	39
b. Female	16	16
T	54	55
2. Age		
a. Under 21	0	0
b. 22-29	12	3
c. 30-39	8	17
d. 40-49	18	14
e. 50-59	8	9
f. 60 +	9	12
T	55	55
3. Number children		
a. 0	11	15
b. 1	17	16
c. 2	12	12
d. 3 +	15	12
T	55	55
4. Education		
a. 0	1	6
b. 1-8	20	24
c. 9-12	24	14
d. college	11	7
e. post-graduate	0	4
T	56	55
5. What is your church preference?		
a. Protestant	54	51
b. Roman Catholic	1	0
c. Jewish	0	0
d. None	0	4
T	55	55
6. Would you say you go to church regularly, often, seldom or never?		
a. Regularly	28	27
b. Often	16	14
c. Seldom, never	11	14
T	55	55
7. Where have you lived most of your adult life?		
a. Durham	42	45
b. North Carolina	9	4
c. South	2	4
d. Non-South	2	2
T	55	55
8. How long have you lived in Durham and vicinity?		
a. 0-5	7	4
b. 6-10	4	3
c. 11 +	40	48
T	51	55
9. Are you a registered voter?		
a. No	14	14
b. Yes Democrat	37	33
c. Yes Republican	2	6
d. Yes Independent	2	1
e. Yes Other	0	0
f. DK	0	1
T	55	55
10. About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family?		
a. Under $1,000	5	13
b. $1,000-1,999	4	9
c. $2,000-2,999	5	11
d. $3,000-3,999	12	8
e. $4,000-4,999	9	2
f. $5,000-7,499	14	8
g. $7,500-9,999	5	0
h. $10,000-and over	0	3
T	54	54

11. What is your regular occupation or job?

	H	P
a. Professional	1	4
b. Business and managerial	8	5
c. Clerical	6	4
d. Worker	32	28
e. Housewife	1	1
f. Servant	0	2
g. Unemployed	1	5
h. Retired	1	4
i. Other	1	0
T	51	53

12. What is the regular occupation or job of your wife (husband)?

	H	P
a. Professional	0	7
b. Business and managerial	0	0
c. Clerical	10	2
d. Worker	12	11
e. Housewife	15	11
f. Servant	0	5
g. Unemployed	0	1
h. Retired	0	0
i. DK	0	1
T	37	38

13. Do you belong to a labor union?

	H	P
a. Yes	16	13
b. No	39	42
T	55	55

14. What about your wife (husband), does she(he) belong to a union?

	H	P
a. Yes	11	6
b. No	37	32
T	48	38

15. Do you read any newspaper regularly (i.e. at least every other day)?

	H	P
a. No	4	13
b. Sun, Herald	49	38
c. other	0	0
d. Other plus Sum, Herald	2	4
T	55	55

16. How about magazines, do you read any regularly (i.e. at least every other issue)?

	H	P
a. Yes	29	29
b. No	26	24
T	55	53

17. What kind of newspaper or magazine stories and articles do you like best?

	H	P
a. News and editorials	29	25
b. Entertainment & features	17	18
c. Both	8	5
T	54	48

18. Do you have a television set in your home?

	H	P
a. Yes	46	42
b. No	9	13
T	55	55

If yes, how much do you personally watch TV?

	H	P
a. Often	32	35
b. Occasionally	11	5
c. Rarely, never	1	2
T	44	42

19. How about radio, how much do you personally listen to radio?

	H	P
a. Often	19	31
b. Occasionally	21	17
c. Rarely, never	15	5
T	55	53

20. What kind of radio and TV programs do you like best?

	H	P
a. News	5	10
b. Entertainment and feature	39	40
c. Both	6	5
T	50	55

21. Do you belong to any organizations or associations in Durham?

	H	P
a. 0	41	30
b. 1	12	16
c. 2	2	5
d. 3	0	1
e. 4 +	0	3
T	55	55

	H	P
22. What organization or group do you think is most important in getting things done in Durham?		
a. Name	26	38
b. DK	20	10
c. NA	3	5
d. None	3	
T	52	53
23. How active would you say y6u are in community affairs?		
a. Very active	2	12
b. Somewhat active	17	20
c. Somewhat Inactive	17	15
d. Very inactive	19	8
T	55	55
24. In general, how do you feel about living in Durham? Would you say it is:		
a. An excellent community to live in?	14	17
b. A very good community	21	12
c. A good community	19	25
d. Nota very good community	1	1
e. A poor community	0	0
T.	55	55
25. Do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what		
a. Strong Democrat	22	17
b. Weak "	17	20
c. Independent Democrat	4	1
d. Independent	2	2
e. Independent Republican	5	2
f. Weak Republican	0	5
g. Strong Republican	1	4
T	51	51
26. Who did you vote for in the 1956 presidential election?		
a. Ike	17	18
b. Adlai	20	19
c. Other	0	0
d. Didn't vote	16	16
T	53	53
1952:		
e. Ike	9	13
f. Adlai	18	25
g. Other	0	0
h. Didn't vote	25	14
T	52	52
1948: i. Truman	19	32
j. Dewey	3	3
x. Thurmond	0	0
x. Other	0	0
y. Didn't vote	31	15
T	53	50

Switcherees (switched party from one election to another) - 16

	H	P
27. If there was a presidential election today would you still vote as you did in		
a. Ike vote yes	9	9
b. no	4	5
c. DK	3	4
d. Adlai vote yes	19	17
e. no	0	0
f. DK	2	1
g. Didn't vote	16	12
T	53	49
28. Who did you vote for in the last election for Mayor of Durham: Mr. Biggs, or Mr. Evans (or didn't you vote in that election)?		
a. Biggs	14	6
b. Evans	14	23
c. Other	0	0
d. No vote	23	19
e. Don't remember	1	4
T	52	52
29. Who did you vote for in the last primary election for state Governor, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Sawyer, or one of the other candidates (or didn't you vote in that election?		
a. Hodges	28	10
b. Sawyer	1	9
c. Other	0	3
d. No vote	24	25
e. Don't Remember	0	5
T	53	52

30. Who did you vote for in the last general election for state Governor: Mr. Hodges, or Mr. Hayes, (or didn't you vote in that election)?

	H	P
a. Hodges	31	15
b. Hayes	0	9
c. No Vote	20	22
d. Don't Remember	0	5
T	51	51

31. Have you ever heard of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs?

a. Yes	31	50
b. No	23	5
T	54	55

32. Do you know any people who are active in the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs?

a. Yes	1	36
b. No	31	13
T	32	49

33. In the last election campaign, did anyone active in the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs try to persuade you to vote for the candidates they favored?

a. Yes	1	12
b. No	30	36
T	31	48

34. On the whole, would you say the DCNA is a good idea well carried out; a good idea badly carried out, or a bad idea?

a. Good, good	5	43
b. Good, bad	1	2
c. Bad	11	0
DK	13	3
T	30	48

35. If you know the names of the candidates supported by the DCNA before going to the polls what effect is this likely to have on your voting?

a. Always vote for DCNA supported candidates	0	8
b. Usually vote for DCNA supported candidates	1	15
c. Always vote against DCNA supported candidates	3	0
d. Usually vote against DCNA supported candidates	2	0
e. Makes no difference	15	15
f. Never know the names of candidates supported by DCNA	9	6
Never vote	0	3
DK	0	1
T	30	48

36. During election campaigns many groups and organizations try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for the candidate they favor. During the last campaign:

Did anybody from either one of the parties call you up, or come around and talk to you during the campaign?

a. Yes	4	9
b. No	45	45
T	49	54

Did anybody from one of the labor unions call you up, or come around and talk to you during the campaign?

a. Yes	6	8
b. No	44	45
T	50	53

Did anybody from the DCNA or come around and talk to you during the campaign?

a. Yes	0	14
b. No	49	39
T	49	53

37. During the last campaign did you receive any political literature in the mail?

a. Yes	25	23
b. No	22	30
T	47	53

POLITICAL EFFICACY

How do you feel about the following statements?

38. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

a. Agree	23	28
b. Disagree	30	26
T	53	54

	H	P
39. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.		
a. Agree	36	40
b. Disagree	18	13
T	54	53
40. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.		
a. Agree	39	49
b. Disagree	13	5
T	52	54
EFFICACY INDEX (ONe point for "disagree" on questions 38 and 39, and for "agree" on question 40).		
c. 3	10	7
d. 2	20	23
e. 1	17	21
f. 0	7	3
Total	54	54
41. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you are usually very interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following political campaigns?		
a. Very	24	27
b. Somewhat	14	14
c. Not much	16	13
Total	54	54
42. Do you think it will make a good deal of difference to you personally who wins the next local elections, or won't it matter too much?		
a. Make difference	29	31
b . Won't matter	25	24
T	54	55
43. Which of the following would you rather have: Better city services (that is better streets, street lighting, police and fire protection), Better economic opportunities, lower taxes, or racially integrated schools?		
Ranked preference for:		
City Services		
First choice	16	15
Second choice	20	11
Third choice	16	14
Fourth choice	0	13
Total	52	53
Economic opportunities		
First	14	20
Second	19	12
Third	18	11
Fourth	0	8
Total	51	51
Lower taxes		
First	22	7
Second	11	18
Third	15	14
Fourth	2	12
Total	50	51
School Integration		
First	0	12
Second	1	9
Third	1	12
Fourth	50	18
Total	52	51
44. In general, how many of the white people in this state would you say are in favor of strict segregation of the races?		
A. All	6	1
b. Most	32	23
c. About half	4	12
d. Less than half	8	13
Total	50	49

		H	P

INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

45. Do you come into contact with (members of the other race, white or Negro) as:

	Friends		
	a. Yes	22	46
	b. No	31	7
	T	53	53
	Co-workers		
	c. Yes	24	34
	d. No	29	16
	T	53	50
	Employees or subordinates		
	e. Yes	22	17
	f. No	32	36
	T	54	53
	Employers or supervisors		
	g. Yes	0	40
	h. No	53	11
	T	53	51

CONTACT INDEX
(One point for each
type of contact
affirmed)

Col. 44.	h. 4	0	12
	i. 3	3	19
	j. 2	18	9
	x. 1	22	8
	y. 0	11	3
	Total	54	51

RACIAL STEREOTYPY

46. On the whole do you think white people are more intelligent than Negroes, less intelligent, or the same?

a. More	42	6
b. Less	1	1
c. Same	9	47
T	52	54

47. Do you think white people are more moral than Negroes, less moral, or about the same?

a. More	45	2
b. Less	2	0
c. Same	6	50
T	53	52

48. Do you think white people are more responsible than Negroes, less responsible or about the same?

a. More	45	9
b. Less	0	1
c. Same	7	44
T	52	54

49. Do you think white people are more ambitious than Negroes, less ambitious, or about the same?

a. More	37	6
b. Less	6	0
c. Same	10	46
T	53	52

STEREOTYPY INDEX

(Holloway respondents, i.e. Whites:
One point for "more" in questions
46-49; one point subtracted for"less."
Pearson respondents, i.e. Negroes:
One point for "less"; one point subtradted for "more". No points in either
precinct for "same".)

	H	P
d. Plus 4	30	0
e. Plus 3	11	0
f. Plus 2	3	0
g. Plus 1	3	2
h. 0	6	37
i. Minus 1	0	8
j. Minus 2	1	6
x. Minus 3	0	1
y. Minus 4	0	0
Total	54	54

50. Suppose the public schools here in Durham were de-segregated next year. What line of action would you favor:

	H	P
a. Work for the success of integration	2	35
b. Accept it	13	17
c. Amend the Constitution to prohibit de-segregat^{n}	16	1
d. Withhold state funds from desegregated school districts	4	0
e. Close the public schools	9	0
f. Use force if necessary to prevent de-segregation	6	1
Total	50	54

- -

51. In five years, do you think there will be de-segregation in:

	H	P
Restaurants		
a. Yes	18	18
b. No	32	27
Total	50	45
Schools		
c. Yes	30	33
d. No	21	16
T	51	49
Churches		
e. Yes	13	24
f. No	37	25
T	50	49
Parks		
g. Yes	28	36
h. No	20	15
T	48	51
Employment		
i. Yes	34	36
j. No	15	15
T.	49	51
Residential districts		
x. Yes	23	13
y. No	27	39
T	50	52

EXPECTATIONS INDEX

(One point for each "yes")

Col. 52 -	H	P
a. 6	3	6
b. 5	10	5
c. 4	9	9
d. 3	5	8
e. 2	8	14
f. 1	8	5
g. 0	10	4
Total	53	51

LWD – Trust you noticed use of the "Yule" method. (Footnote 5)

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Research Reports

A Series of Student Papers

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Research Reports

WHO BEAT FRANK GRAHAM?

by

Taylor McMillan

Number 1 May 20, 1959

A Series of Student Papers

AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In September, 1957, the Department of Political Science of the University of North Carolina inaugurated a Political Studies Program designed to establish direct observation of and participation in the political process as major elements in the learning process of its students. A grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Roundation has made this educational experiment possible.

The major innovation of the program has been the use of scheduled "laboratory" sessions as a part of regular courses in political science. During these laboratories, students are presented with a real-life question to answer or situation to analyze. Sometimes, these lab problems can be answered on the basis of individual research based on documentary evidence. Often, the lab poses a problem that can be explored only through group research in the "field."

The Political Studies Program is a teaching program. Published research is not a major objective -- more vivid, realistic and meaningful teaching of political science is our major goal. Yet one important by-product of such a teaching technique is the occasional paper of unusual merit which may well be of interest to other members of the profession. The following paper, in our judgment, is worthy of such an audience.

It was written by Mr. Taylor McMillan during a four-week laboratory sequence in the undergraduate course on American Political Parties and Interest Groups.

The students in the course were asked to determine all the varying interpretations and explanations of Senator Frank Graham's defeat by Willis Smith in the 1950 Democratic primary and, by subjecting them to empirical tests, to answer the question: Who -- or what -- beat Frank Graham? Mr. McMillan's answer follows. While it upsets relatively few apple carts, it does provide new evidence in support of the views of most knowledgeable observers and neatly disposes of some alternative explanations sometimes heard in North Carolina political circles.

Mr. McMillan is a junior from Parkton, a small Eastern North Carolina town. A major in political science, he has been selected as a Political Studies Program Summer Intern and will spend the summer working for Congressman Ken Hechler (D., W. Va.) in Washington. During his senior year he intends to be a candidate for Honors in Political Science.

Donald R. Matthews
Director
Political Studies Program

May 20, 1959

WHO BEAT FRANK GRAHAM?

On March 29, 1949, Governor W. Kerr Scott of North Carolina appointed Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, to the United States Senate, filling the vacancy caused by the death of J. Melville Broughton. Senator Graham sought re-election in the Democratic primary of May 27, 1950. His opponents were Willis Smith, Raleigh corporation lawyer, former President of the American Bar Association, and chairman of the Board of Trustees of Duke University; Olla Boyd, an Eastern North Carolina "pig farmer" and an habitual runner for public office; and Robert (Bob) Reynolds, former isolationist, rabble-rousing United States Senator from Asheville.

In the primary, Graham received 303,605 votes or 49.1% of the total votes cast, thus narrowly missing the majority necessary for election. Willis Smith received 40.5% of the vote and, by law, was entitled to call for a run-off. After an unusually long period of silence Smith exercised his right and the campaign was renewed with vigor.

The second primary was held June 24, 1950. In this run-off Graham was defeated by 18,000 votes. Smith received 51.8% of the total votes cast and Graham 48,2%. Although Graham's percent of the total vote cast dropped only .9 percentage points, the 11.3 percentage point gain registered by Smith was considered an overwhelming repudiation of Senator Graham and his liberal views. What had happened between May 27, 1950 and June 24, 1950 that so changed the minds of the North Carolina electorate? What were the contributing factors in the twenty-eight days of campaigning in May and June 1950 that led to the repudiation of "Dr. Frank" --- WHO BEAT FRANK GRAHAM?

Although there were many contributing factors, two appear to be paramount. They can be described with two words -- "Nigger" and "Red". Both the labels "Nigger Lover" and "Red" were pinned on Dr. Graham.

The race issue appears to have been the prime cause of Dr. Graham's defeat. Political journalists, writing shortly after the event, commented as follows:

> "The Eastern section of the state where the Negro population centers but where comparatively few Negroes vote switched almost solidly to Smith."(1)
>
> "The conclusion drawn ffom the election analysis is that he [Graham] was defeated by the eastern, anti-Negro, anti-Fair Deal, North Carolinians who fear Graham because he supports non-compulsory Fair Employment Practices legislation...The recent Supreme Court decisions against segregation, which came between the first and second voting, gave Smith the opportunity he needed to arouse the Southerner's suspicions of Northern, Fair Deal meddling in their affairs."(2)

And

> "the decision to demand the run-off primary was made only after the Supreme Court handed down its decisions against segregation in the Sweatt and Henderson cases."(3)

Samuel Lubell, in The Future of American Politics, adds:

> "an analysis of the vote revealed two dramatic reversals from the first primary. In the agricultural east, heavily populated by nonvoting Negroes, eighteen counties which Graham won in the first primary swung against him in the runoff. Since these black-belt counties were particularly sensitive to racial hatred the change was not unexpected."(4)

Lubell goes on to explain that the race issue did not appear in the first primary because local officials were being elected and did not wish to risk defeat by incurring the wrath of the state machine of Governor Scott.

All of these contentions are supported by Table 1 which shows the relationship between the ranked percentages of increase by Smith in the second primary and the ranked proportion of Negroes by county.*

Table 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SMITH VOTE INCREASE IN SECOND PRIMARY AND NEGRO CONCENTRATION, BY COUNTY

	Counties in Which Smith Vote Increase Was Low	Counties in Which Smith Vote Increase Was High
Counties with HIGH Negro concentration	14	36
Counties with LOW Negro concentration	35	15

Using the quartile system in obtaining correlation, it is found that there is a quite significant relationship of .71 between the two factors.(5) Added significance is given to the fourfold table by the exceptions of Durham, Forsyth, and Mecklenburg counties, which are found in the High Negro-Low Switch quadrant. These counties have relatively high Negro populations, but in the urban centers of Durham, Winston Salem, and Charlotte the Negro bloc voting for Graham helped to offset the "anti-integration" vote.

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* Originally a scattergram which more clearly emphasized the relationship was used. To simplify reproduction the fourfold table is used here.

It is noteworthy that all of the counties in the High Negro - High Switch quadrant are in Eastern North Carolina, while all but two of the counties in the Low Negro - Low Switch are in Western North Carolina. The two exceptions to this observation lend strength to argument since they are in Eastern North Carolina with a low proportion of Negroes. Although surrounded by counties that were rapidly switching to Smith, their disproportionately low share of the Negro population evidently made them less susceptible to or concerned with racist propaganda.

Many observers felt that this susceptibility to racist propaganda was a function of low levels of education. The theory might be advanced that counties with a high level of education would not succumb so easily to racial propaganda and vote for Smith. In this election the theory holds no weight.

> "That the racial emotions of poor whites in the South are readily inflamed has always been known. The surprise in Graham's defeat was the revelation that the cry of "nigger" could inflame even the well-educated, well-to-do middle class. No longer will it suffice to attribute racial prejudice in the South to poverty and inadequate education."(6)

This contention is substantiated by Table 2 which shows the relationship between the ranked proportion of Smith increase in the second primary and the ranked median school year completed by county. Again using the quartile system in determining the correlation coefficient, a relatively insignificant relationship of -.34 is obtained between the county's level of education and their switch to Smith in the second primary.

Table 2

RELATION BETWEEN SMITH VOTE INCREASE
IN SECOND PRIMARY AND EDUCATIONAL
LEVEL, BY COUNTY

	Counties in Which Smith Vote Increase Was LOW	Counties in Which Smith Vote Increase Was HIGH
Counties with HIGH educational levels	30	21
Counties with LOW educational levels	20	29

The Smith forces were keen enough to recognize this "susceptibility" to "nigger" propaganda; many racist leaflets were distributed over the state, especially in Eastern North Carolina. They made political hay of the fact that Dr. Graham had appointed a Negro to West Point (actually Graham had administered competitive tests and the Negro had been the third alternate). They capitalized on his advocacy of FEPC legislation, although Graham had said he was not in favor of compulsory FEPC; and Graham's "string puller" (a Smith cartoon depicted Graham as a puppet of Jonathan Daniels) had gone to the trouble to announce that he was opposed to compulsory FEPC. The Smith forces proclaimed in thousands of leaflets distributed across the state that Negroes would be eating, sleeping, working, playing, going to school, and using the same toilet facilities with Whites. The support of Graham by the Negro press was effectively played up to Smith's advantage. Needless to say, all of these claims rolled up votes for Smith.

The effectiveness of the "Red" campaign against Graham should not be underestimated. The early 1950's was the era of McCarthyism and the "Red" scare was being used, with telling effects, in other campaigns in other parts of the country. It worked in North Carolina, too. Smith forces claimed that Graham was much too far to the "left" and would bring into being the Brannan Plan (although Graham had said he was opposed to it) and socialized medicine, along with FEPC and other "radical" schemes. His past affiliation with "Communist Front organizations" was greatly publicized. Smith rapped Truman's "Socialism" and ran on a somewhat unclear platform of "Liberalism, Progressivism, and Saneness." Of course, the Negro issue came more to the forefront in the second primary, but Graham's "Redness" was also emphasized more in the second primary campaign. This is to be noticed in newspaper advertisements sponsored by the Smith forces. In a half page ad in the Raleigh News and Observer, the day before the election, Graham's "Red" tendencies were given equal space with the race issue. The ad stated that Graham had studied under the British Socialist Harold Laski, and that he had been a member or sponsor of eighteen Communist Front organizations.(7) In other ads Smith told the veterans of North Carolina that they had fought to destroy the works of a "Socialist" party in Germany, and that now they were being asked to elect a "Socialist" to the United States Senate who would seek to destroy the "American Way of Life" and true "Southern Democracy."(8) The Charlotte Observer commented on the day of the second primary:

> "The administration program as a whole would carry the nation far on the road to /̲ a ̲7 socialized state /̲ where ̲7 but little individual freedom and initiative /̲ would be ̲7 left. North Carolina citizens can cast a vote against such a program, a vote to curb the trend, by supporting sound and conservative Candidate Smith."

The whisper campaign throughout the state held that Graham had allowed the University at Chapel Hill to become a "hot-bed" of communist conspiracy.

When the writer asked a seasoned politico from a small Eastern North Carolina town, "Who beat Frank Graham?", an interesting theory that lends support to the preceding argument was received. It can be called the "Conspiracy of Defeat."* His contention was that "Dr. Frank" was becoming "too hot to handle" at the University and had to be gotten rid of -- at least out of the state with all possible speed. Governor Scott then appointed Graham to the Senate vacancy, knowing full well that the voters would repudiate him at election time. This politician and his cohorts saw this as the only justifiable cause for Governor Scott's appointment -- they felt that the "Squire" could do no wrong, particularly as long as his paved roads and rural electrical facilities were coming to their doors!

Although the electorate was happy to accept the paved roads and rural electrification, they proved susceptible to the "socialism" charges made by the Smith forces. It is interesting to observe that the Carolina Power and Light Company had a one-half page ad in the News and Observer several days before the election. It was a standard independent light company ad deploring the evils of socialism, but it would seem to be more than coincidental that the ad appeared at this particular time. Also, the State Medical Society, fearing socialized medicine, campaigned against Graham. Its President, Dr. R. D. McMillan, made radio talks endorsing Smith.

There is another twist to the Conspiracy of Defeat theory. This is the theory of left-wing origin which holds that when Graham got to

---

* This same theory was offered by a Chapel Hill barber; he felt Graham was "poisoning the minds of our youth" with "socialistic" and "integration" activities; and would be "less harmful" if removed from the state.

Washington he turned his ear to the monopoly interest and deserted the "PEOPLE" -- then the "PEOPLE" defeated him. It is contended that North Carolina capitalists got Graham appointed, knowing that they could "seduce" him when he got to Washington, and that the "PEOPLE" would then repudiate him. When Graham was at the University

> "He battled gravely against cottonmill tycoons trying to oust him for defending Negro and sharecropper rights, unions, evolution and students espousing socialism. In that period, his college was the most advanced southern outpost of learning: a light house in a dismal froghole of prejudice, ignorance, superstition and economic injustice."(10)

But, the argument goes on to say that when Graham got to Washington, "the rising tide of Monopoly control, ... inundated [him] and well-nigh drowned [him] in its black and stultifying muck."(11) Of course, this argument appears to be pure conjecture; but it makes for interesting reading. Also, it is notable that "Dr. Frank" is here attacked from the left.

At any rate, both Conspiracy of Defeat theories worked perfectly -- Chapel Hill was "saved" from "Socialism" and "integration", and Frank Graham was effectively "exiled" to the United Nations in New York.

The Conspiracy of Defeat theories, coupled with the "Red-Scare" interpretation, must, because of lack of concrete evidence, take second place to the racist argument as the primary cause for Graham's defeat. Certainly, if statistics are to be trusted at all we must accept the racist argument. If the "Red" argument seems overly emphasized it is because the writer was carried away by his own discourse.

There are many more theories concerning the defeat of "Dr. Frank," some with the statistical sophistication of the fourfold table showing correlation between Negro population and Smith increase; others that use even more conjecture than the "Red" and Conspiracy of Defeat arguments. Separate papers could be written on all of these theories. In the following paragraphs I merely want to point to their existence. Many writers would have given some of these arguments more prominent positions, some writers would have ignored certain arguments all together. More concentrated research would be needed to determine their relative merits and validity. These incompletely validated or substantiated theories are condensed below.

The first arguments do not apply to the "switch to Smith" voting. These arguments seek to show how Smith picked up his votes in the first primary:

> (1) The "Conservative Machine" vs. the "Liberal Machine". "Mr. Smith represents the legitimately conservative point of view in N.C. politics. The contest may well develop into a renewal of the fight between the old organization that supported Charles M. Johnson for Governor in 1948 and the new machine the winner, Governor Kerr Scott, has put together. Mr. Smith would get the support of the Johnsonians."(12) And Samuel Lubell, speaking of what he calls the Conservative Revolution in the South (13), says that "future historians are likely to record the defeat of Graham as the first trial run of a Republican-Southern Political alliance. A precinct-by-precinct breakdown in the major cities shows a remarkably close parallel between the vote cast against Graham and the Republican-Dixiecrat showing in 1948(14). That Graham got the Scott Liberal machine vote and Smith the vote of the "Conservative Revolutionaries," is the conclusion reached by another student in his lab research on this same project. Using the election that he thought most closely paralleled the Smith-Graham race (the 1952 Olive-Umstead campaign) he found a significant correlation between the counties that voted for Graham and those that voted for Olive.
>
> Certainly, standard "liberal" and "conservative" appeals were prominent in both Graham and Smith campaign propaganda. Graham forces pointed out that he represented "all the people" not "36 Big Corporations." Smith forces claimed that North Carolina was not represented in the U.S. Senate, because the Liberal vote

of Graham canceled the Conservative vote of Clyde Hoey. They advised the voter to "send a team to Washington." Also the pro-Graham Raleigh News and Observer was quick to point out in a news article that Smith arrived in town in a "sleek Pontiac convertible" and Graham arrived in a "small black Ford." This election proved to be a good demonstration of North Carolina bi-factionalism.

(2) Graham was the incumbent and Smith had the advantage of running an "ANTI" campaign. This would seem to belie the accepted notion that the incumbent has the advantage in a primary battle; but here it must be noted that Graham was incumbent by appointment and not election. One newspaper noted that "Smith is running an 'I am Not' campaign. The Smith forces don't dare say what they are for. They are Cowards."(15) It was a little difficult to determine what Smith's "safely progressive" program consisted of, but it was quite simple to find out what he was against -- most of his speeches and political literature dwelled on "Anti" policies: anti-Truman, anti-Fair Deal, anti-National Democratic Party, anti-Scott, anti-Graham, anti-integration, anti-socialism, anti-machine politics, anti-University machine, anti-CIO Political Action Committee. Needless to say, Graham was immediately put on the defensive, and not being much of a politician did not satisfactorily satisfy the voters' minds on these subjects. Perhaps the voter did not know any reasons for voting for Smith but he knew plenty of reasons why not to vote for Graham. Witness the reply of the truck driver when asked who he voted for in the Smith-Graham election: "I don't remember who I voted for, but I'm sure I voted against Graham."

These arguments seek to show why voters joined the "Switch to Smith":

(3) The Reynolds vote was transferred to Smith(16). This argument needs more statistical evidence. All Reynolds forces did not work for Smith -- note the newspaper stories appearing after the first primary saying that "more Reynolds workers pledged themselves to Senator Frank Graham yesterday."(17) Also, the student who explored this theory in Lab found that there was transfer -- to Graham that is! However, the method which he was using was only adaptable to three counties.

Allan Sindler's technique for measuring the transferability of personal followings also proved to be inadequate for testing this hypothesis. Sindler, in his Huey Long's Louisiana,(18) examined all the parishes in which there was an essentially three way race in the first primary, and then by assuming that all voters in the first primary voted for the same candidate in the second, was able to estimate the transfer of votes from one contest to the next.

In the primaries under study here, there was a genuine three way race in only Buncombe county, Reynolds' home. Accordingly, the precinct returns from Buncombe County were examined for signs of transfer of votes from Reynolds to Smith. In a majority of those precincts which most closely met Sindler's criteria, it was found that Smith's increase in the second primary was a higher figure than the combined Smith-Graham increase. Thus even if all the Reynolds voters voted for Smith in the second primary, some Graham supporters appear to have deserted to Smith. A necessary assumption of the Sindler method -- that Smith and Graham partisans did not change their vote between primaries -- obviously did not hold in this case.

While our efforts to test it have been inconclusive, the validity of the transfer argument should be seriously questioned.

(4) The Smith forces "had the money" and worked harder. The argument holds that since Smith had the business interest backing him "all kinds" of money was at his disposal. "They [Graham workers] estimate that Smith's supporters spent very close to $1 million on the runoff alone."(19) Of course there are differences in the amounts reported spent and amounts actually spent in campaigns. The campaign expenditures as reported to the Secretary of State should be investigated, but to determine expenses above and beyond these would be difficult. The argument that Smith forces worked harder should be taken for what it's worth. Extensive interviews would need to be conducted on the county and precinct levels in order to substantiate or disprove the argument.

(5) Graham forces stayed home. The counties with the greatest drop in turnout between the first and second primaries by and large went for Graham. Of the 26 counties in which turnout dropped at least twenty percent, Graham had led in 18 and Smith in only 8. If the county vote drops off appreciably, even if the candidate has maintained or increased slightly his percentage of total vote, he has still lost ground in the state wide race. Smith suffered less than Graham from the drop in turnout.

Several implications concerning the political process may be drawn from our findings. The Smith forces seemed to be better versed in Madison

Avenue campaign techniques. Many observers have criticized these tactics, perhaps justifiably, but in truth it must be said that the Smith forces were able to recognize a force dormant within the electorate and use it for their own political advantage. From our findings it seems quite unlikely that Smith could have defeated the personally popular Graham upon a platform of "safely progressive" conservatism. He used the catalyst of racism (and anti-communism to a lesser degree) as a vehicle for entry into office. The fact remains that the majority of the electorate was responsive to Smith's campaign against "Socialism" and "integration." As long as the electorate holds certain social and political beliefs, these beliefs are likely to be played upon for political advantage.

In conclusion, perhaps a somewhat naive conclusion should be advanced -- naive because of its very truthfulness. Many factors have been advanced that account for "Dr. Frank's defeat. There is an underlying current that causally influenced each of these factors. This current was the very personality and social philosophy of Dr. Graham. Graham supporters attempted to play up his charismatic qualities; but, as in times past, the people proved not to be ready for his social philosophy of liberalism and humanitarianism. In North Carolina Frank Graham was a man before his time. Frank Graham defeated Frank Graham.

FOOTNOTES

1. Time, Juhy 3, 1950, p. 11.

2. Commonweal, July 7, 1950, p. 309-310.

3. New Republic, July 3, 1950, p. 8.

4. Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Politics (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1956), p. 112.

5. The Yule method was used in obtaining this coefficient. See Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, (N.Y,: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), Ch. 11.

6. Lubell, op. cit., p. 114.

7. Raleigh News and Observer, June 23, 1950.

8. Loco cit.

9. Charlotte Observer, June 24, 1950.

10. Earnest Seeman, Who Defeated Frank Graham? (no publisher, no date), p. 1

11. Loco cit.

12. Norfolk Virginian, February 27, 1950.

13. Lubell, op. cit., p. 115. According to Lubell, the Conservative Revolution is reflected in "the failure of labor's Southern organizing drive, and the rise of a new, politically insurgent middle class in the Southern cities."

14. Ibid, pp. 106-107.

15. The Pilot (Southern Pines, N.C.), May 19, 1950.

16. Gerald Johnson, review of The Future of American Politics in The Reporter, June 24, 1952, pp. 35-36.

17. See clippings in files of Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library.

18. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press,1956), pp. 265-267.

19. New Republic, July 3, 1950, p. 8.

Cases

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TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

September 1, 1959

MM - ple file

Materials - Special Suffrage
N.C. - 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The enclosed preliminary report may be of interest. It is not for publication or release but merely to show you the work and progress in its area in which you have expressed an interest.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:sk
Enclosure

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
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RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK

September 1, 1959

TO: North Carolina Advisory Committee
Mr. Henry M. Shine

Enclosed is the second draft of the report on voting participation in North Carolina. We have additional information from two or three counties and the promises of others, so it may be that we can get the final report ready on perhaps ninety counties out of the one hundred in North Carolina. This is not bad under all the circumstances.

Please read the report carefully and give me your comments or suggestions for additional conclusions or changes in conclusions. It may be appropriate to release this on September 11 or it may be better to wait until the latter part of the month.

There are appropriate graphs and maps which accompany the report, suitable for reproduction in the State newspapers.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:sk

COPY

REPORT TO

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Voting Participation in North Carolina

This report was prepared by Donald R. Matthews, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, with the assistance of Douglas S. Gatlin, at the request of McNeill Smith, Chairman, North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

August 31, 1959

VOTING PARTICIPATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

Citizen participation in North Carolina's general elections, which is greater than in its primaries, appears to be increasing gradually, but is still far below the high voting levels of the late 19th century. In 1888, 84 per cent of the male inhabitants over 21 voted in the presidential election; in 1892, 75 per cent; in 1896, 85 per cent; in 1900, 70 per cent took part. As Figure 1 shows, participation fell off sharply in subsequent general elections as white supremacy and the one-party system took hold. During the early 1900's about forty-five to fifty per cent of the potential voters actually voted. The addition of women to the potential electorate in 1920 occasioned still further declines.

Electoral turnout in North Carolina began to increase with the Al Smith - Herbert Hoover campaign of 1928 and continued to increase during the New Deal years. With the coming of World War II, participation once again declined until it hit an all-time low of 35 per cent as Harry Truman carried the State in 1948.

President Eisenhower's great appeal as a presidential candidate - perhaps along with some longer lasting changes in the nature of the state - are reflected in the sizeable increases over former levels chalked up in 1952 and 1956. Whether this trend will continue remains to be seen. Our guess, and it is little more than that, is that the State will experience slow increases in electoral turnout in the years ahead.

Turnout rates vary considerably throughout the State, as can be seen in Figure 2. The lowest turnout in general elections is to be found in the Coastal Plains of Eastern North Carolina. The Tidewater counties do a little better. The Piedmont counties have noticeably higher turnout rates. The

Western Piedmont counties and the Mountain counties have the highest proportion of the potential electorate (here defined as those over 21) voting in presidential elections.

Some indication of the possible causes of these differences in turnout are reflected in the following coefficients of association (figured using the quartile method) between turnout rates in 1956 and the social and economic characteristics of the counties.

Per cent of the county population White	+.91
Closeness of the partisan contest	+.84
Median years of education	+.60
Median income	+.35
Per cent of the population living in urban areas	-.12

To put these figures in plain English, we find in the 1956 presidential election that a large voting turnout in North Carolina counties is highly and positively associated with a predominantly White population and the existence of a close battle between Democrats and Republicans. To a much lesser extent, the counties with high educational levels tend to have high turnout rates. There is relatively little relationship between the wealth of the counties' inhabitants and how often they vote. However, the association that does exist is positive, that is, the higher the income the higher the turnout at the polls. There is also a slight tendency for rural counties to have higher rates of turnout than the urban counties.

Election returns are color blind. From them there is no way of accurately telling how many Negroes, Whites or Indians voted in an election. The race of the voter, however, is generally noted on the counties' registration books. In order to obtain this information, the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights sent a mail questionnaire to every county registrar of voters in the State asking for the registration figures in his county, by race for general elections since 1952. Usable answers were received from 85 counties. In many cases, these figures appear to be accurate; in numerous others they are at best rough estimates. Some counties have not purged their registration books for twenty years so that the registration figures include a good many residents of the counties' graveyeards. (In some cases the number registered exceeded the total estimated adult population.) About half the counties responding were unable to give registration figures before 1958. Thus the registration figures are subject to considerable error. Nonetheless, they are the best evidence we have, or are likely to get, on the extent of electoral participation by Non-white North Carolina citizens.

Using these figures, estimates of the proportion of Non-whites and Whites over 21 voting in general elections since 1952 were made for each reporting county. The procedure followed in making these estimates is of some importance. The proportion of the total White and Non-white populations over 21 was figured from the 1950 census. (Since the Federal census does not distinguish between Negroes and other colored peoples it was necessary at this stage to abandon a distinction between Negroes and Indians, which is of some importance in several North Carolina counties. Generally, what is said hereafter about Non-whites applies to Negroes.) Then, assuming that there was little change in the age structures of the counties since 1950, this proportion was taken from the total population estimates, by race, prepared by the North Carolina Department of Public Health for 1952-58. This gives us a rough estimate of the potential White and Non-white electorate for each county and each election year since 1952.

When the proportion of the potential White and Non-white electorates who are registered are compared we find a considerable disparity. The detailed information, by county, is set forth in Appendix I, but it is summarized in Table 1. In 44 of the reporting counties less than 30 per cent of the Non-whites of voting age were registered to vote in 1958. Less than 30 per cent of the Whites are registered in only 2 counties. In 70 of the reporting counties more than 70 per cent of the Whites are registered. The same relatively high degree of registration among Non-whites is found in only 15 counties.

Table 1

PERCENTAGE OF THE POTENTIAL VOTERS REGISTERED IN 1958, BY RACE

(In Number of Counties)

Percentage of the Potential Voters Registered	Whites	Non-Whites
0 - 9	0	6
10 - 19	1	23
20 - 29	1	15
30 - 39	1	7
40 - 49	6	5
50 - 59	3	8
60 - 69	2	6
70 - 79	13	4
80 - 89	13	3
90 plus	44	8
Total Number of Counties Reporting:	84*	85*

*Note: Figures for White registration unavailable for Wilkes county, but available for Non-whites.

Again we find very great differences within the State. As might be expected, the proportion of Non-whites registered is lowest in the East and highest in the Mountain counties. (Figure 3). A comparison of Figure 3 and Figure 4 shows thatareas of low Non-white registration correspond generally to the areas of greatest Non-white population in the State.

It is hazardous to venture estimates of the trend in Negro and White registration on the basis of such incomplete information. For whatever it is worth, here is what the data show.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF REPORTING COUNTIES WITH HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW
WHITE REGISTRATION, 1952-58

Percentage of Potential White Voters Registered	1952	1954	1956	1958
Low (0 - 29%)	3%	5%	2%	2%
Medium (30 - 59%)	10%	5%	2%	12%
High (60% plus)	87%	90%	96%	86%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(40 counties)	(43 counties)	(45 counties)	(84 counties)

The proportion of the Whites of voting age registered to vote appears to have increased slightly between 1952 and 1956 and then to have dropped off slightly in 1958. At any rate the fluctuation between 1952 and 1956 is small (Table 2). Non-white registration, on the other hand, increased steadily (Table 3). In 1952, 28% of the reporting counties indicated that over 30% of the potential Non-white voters were registered. By 1958, half the reporting counties indicated that over 30% of the eligible Non-whites were registered to vote.

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF REPORTING COUNTIES WITH HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW NON-WHITE REGISTRATION, 1952-58

Percentage of Potential Non-white Voters Registered	1952	1954	1956	1958
Low (0 - 29%)	72%	63%	58%	52%
Medium (30 - 59%)	21%	25%	24%	23%
High (60% plus)	7%	12%	18%	25%
	100% (40 counties)	100% (43 counties)	100% (45 counties)	100% (85 counties)

The Non-white increase in registration is by no means constant throughout the State. If we compare the difference between the proportion of voting age Non-whites registered in 1954 with that in 1958 we obtain a rough measure of growth. (1954 is the best year to compare with 1958 in that both are years of "off-year" elections. Registration fluctuates up and down between presidential and mid-term elections.) This has been done in Table 4. As can be seen, the slowest rate of growth is to be found in the Coastal Plain of the East. Non-white registration in Tidewater counties has been increasing a little more rapidly. The biggest difference, however, has come in the Piedmont and Mountain counties.

Table 4

AVERAGE CHANGE IN THE PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POTENTIAL VOTERS WHO WERE REGISTERED, BY REGIONS, 1954-1958

Tidewater (11 counties)	+4.7
Coastal Plains (6 counties)	+3.4
Piedmont (19 counties)	+14.7
Mountain (7 counties)	+14.1

Surprisingly, the fastest increases in Non-white registration in the Piedmont have not occurred in the counties containing the largest cities. There are several possible reasons for this. The more urban Piedmont counties generally possessed a larger number of Non-whites on their voting lists at the beginning of the period under study. It may be that Non-white registration begins to level off after reaching moderately high levels. Or the finding may be the result of the fact that the urban counties purge their voting lists more regularly. If this is the case, the rate of increase in the Non-whites voting in the most urban Piedmont counties may be higher than in the areas with larger, but less active, Non-white registration. **Appendix II shows the information for each county from which Table 4 was constructed.**

APPENDIX I

Number of Whites and Non-whites Registered, and Percentage of White and Non-white Potential Vote Registered, By County, 1958

County	Number of Whites Registered	Percentage of White Potential Vote Registered	Number of Non-whites Registered	Percentage of Non-white Potential Vote Registered
Alamance	42,383	101.6	5,750	71.8
Alexander	5,825	73.9	112	20.3
Alleghany	6,147	136.7	31	24.2
Anson	8,050	104.5	700	12.1
Ashe	13,480	118.7	56	91.0
Avery	7,056	106.9	47	41.2
Beaufort	19,740	141.1	1,624	22.9
— Bertie				
Bladen	7,826	80.2	974	16.6
Brunswick	10,000	140.1	800	21.1
Buncombe	75,621	97.9	5,804	61.3
Burke	28,500	104.1	1,500	77.9
Cabarrus	16,894	48.2	660	12.8
Caldwell	21,110	84.9	530	30.9
Camden	1,745	89.3	155	17.3
Carteret	14,765	101.4	483	28.6
Caswell	6,764	112.2	1,291	27.6
Catawba	33,000	88.5	2,000	65.4
Chatham	10,400	96.9	600	14.9
Cherokee	12,820	138.5	180	82.9
Chowan	3,902	83.5	401	14.9
Clay	3,000	99.6	30	78.9
Cleveland	26,374	84.3	2,930	41.2
— Columbus				
Craven	10,800	41.7	1,800	19.5
Cumberland	21,182	39.1	4,034	23.6
Currituck	2,711	103.6	161	17.2
Dare	2,150	75.1	65	33.7
Davidson	37,885	103.0	1,784	47.1
Davie	7,275	89.6	780	69.1
Duplin	14,323	100.9	1,239	16.0
Durham	39,229	74.5	12,209	53.8
Edgecombe	7,224	44.8	839	6.5
Forsyth	61,457	79.9	12,730	50.7
— Franklin				
Gaston	48,000	73.4	12,000	130.5
Gates	2,340	90.7	150	6.3
Graham	3,324	91.9	0	0.0
Granville	8,501	70.8	1,411	19.8
— Greene				

APPENDIX I (con't)

County	Number of Whites Registered	Percentage of White Potential Vote Registered	Number of Non-whites Registered	Percentage of Non-white Potential Vote Registered
Guilford	73,482	64.9	7,755	31.3
Halifax	14,231	87.8	1,537	10.5
—Harnett				
Haywood	17,800	80.7	350	76.4
— Henderson				
Hertford	6,068	106.5	806	11.9
Hoke	467	11.9	164	3.8
Hyde	2,130	107.3	110	10.8
Iredell	27,355	90.0	2,917	52.0
Jackson	9,549	100.3	59	7.7
Johnston	12,000	41.9	700	10.0
Jones	2,452	75.7	1,311	56.8
Lee	6,908	56.7	693	19.6
—Lenoir				
Lincoln	14,817	98.5	1,105	66.6
McDowell	11,500	77.7	700	113.5
Macon	6,500	74.2	50	34.0
Madison	12,000	121.5	100	109.9
Martin	8,378	105.4	847	12.8
Mecklenburg	81,985	71.3	10,013	30.6
Mitchell	8,418	107.9	39	177.3
—Montgomery				
Moore	15,062	97.8	1,617	36.5
— Nash				
New Hanover	26,125	76.2	6,330	48.7
—Northampton				
Onslow	12,407	46.3	842	20.7
— Orange				
Pamlico	3,673	92.9	280	17.8
Pasquotank	6,629	58.8	1,304	25.1
— Pender				
—Perquimans				
Person	7,820	87.9	1,710	43.7
Pitt	20,336	98.4	1,855	13.1
Polk	9,485	164.2	698	94.8
Randolph	25,000	81.8	500	22.1
Richmond	14,714	85.9	1,696	28.3
Robeson	23,800	106.9	6,389	25.6
Rockingham	15,000	44.3	4,600	62.3
Rowan	45,241	108.6	3,633	51.6

APPENDIX I (con't)

County	Number of Whites Registered	Percentage of White Potential Vote Registered	Number of Non-whites Registered	Percentage of Non-white Potential Vote Registered
Rutherford	26,393	192.6	674	25.5
Sampson	22,890	129.0	5,206	56.9
Scotland	8,504	94.2	884	15.1
Stanly	23,225	108.9	1,300	52.6
Stokes	11,100	104.6	900	114.4
Surry	24,292	93.8	469	33.4
Swain	6,399	187.4	571	81.0
— Transylvania				
Tyrrell	334	21.8	28	2.9
Union	14,844	75.8	877	18.3
Vance	10,714	93.5	1,526	20.5
Wake	46,293	61.6	5,369	23.0
Warren	5,982	124.5	784	11.1
— Washington				
Watauga	8,000	81.8	65	97.0
Wayne	17,890	75.9	3,156	19.8
— Wilkes			1,250	87.1
Wilson	12,290	59.9	2,255	19.9
Yadkin	11,867	93.1	314	57.7
Yancy	8,800	109.1	85	67.4

APPENDIX II

Change in the Percentage of Non-whites 21 Years Old and Over Who Were Registered, by County, 1954-1958

Region and County	Percentage of Non-whites, 21+, Registered to Vote, 1954	Percentage of Non-whites, 21+, Registered to Vote, 1958	Percentage Change
Tidewater Counties:			
Beaufort	18.9	22.9	+ .40
Carteret	27.4	28.6	+1.2
Chowan	11.2	14.9	+3.7
Dare	27.8	33.7	+5.9
Hertford	10.9	11.9	+1.0
Hyde	5.7	10.8	+5.1
Jones	38.8	56.8	+18.0
Martin	10.5	12.8	+2.3
Pamlico	11.1	17.8	+6.7
Pasquotank	20.1	25.1	+5.0
Tyrrell	4.2	2.9	-1.3
Average Percentage Change, Tidewater Counties			+4.7
Coastal Plain Counties			
Bladen	9.4	16.6	+7.2
Hoke	1.4	3.8	+2.4
Johnston	9.5	10.0	+0.5
Scotland	12.3	15.1	+2.8
Pitt	9.7	13.5	+3.8
Wayne	15.9	19.8	+3.9
Average Percentate Change, Coastal Plains			+3.4
Piedmont Counties			
Alexander	1.1	20.3	+19.2
Catawba	16.8	33.2	+16.4
Caldwell	26.1	30.9	+ 4.8
Cleveland	26.9	41.2	+14.3
Davidson	42.1	47.1	+ 5.0
Forsyth	31.6	50.7	+19.1
Gaston	110.6	130.5	+19.9
Granville	9.7	19.8	+10.1
Guilford	32.6	31.3	- 1.3
McDowell	21.3	113.5	+92.2
Mecklenburg	31.1	30.6	-0.5
Person	33.1	43.7	+10.6

APPENDIX II (con't)

Region and County	Percentage of Non-whites, 21+, Registered to Vote, 1954	Percentage of Non-whites, 21+, Registered to Vote, 1958	Percentage Change
Polk	68.2	94.8	+26.6
Randolph	16.6	22.1	+ 5.5
Stanly	30.7	52.1	+21.4
Union	21.7	18.3	- 3.4
Wake	16.2	23.0	+ 6.8
Warren	7.1	11.1	+ 4.0
Yadkin	43.5	51.8	+ 8.3
Average Percentage Change, Piedmont			+14.7
Mountain Counties:			
Ashe	51.9	91.0	+40.9
Cherokee	85.1	82.9	- 2.2
Macon	32.6	34.0	+ 1.4
Madison	103.1	109.9	+ 6.8
Watauga	59.8	97.0	+37.2
Jackson	0.7	0.7	+ 0.0
Swain	60.0	74.6	+14.6
Average Percentage Change, Mountain Counties			+14.1

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  57.50
   1.12
     31
   7.00
     56
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  16.24
   9.74
   8.00
  58.04
  15.00
   6.60
   5.30

   1.55
   4.83
  12.91
  20.00
   6.00
   1.80

   4.01
     30
  29.30

  18.00
  40.34
   1.61
     65
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     36.33
      6.74
     52.06
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Do Not Release Any Portion Of This Report Before [redacted] Sunday, October [redacted] 4, 1959.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
October 2, 1959

State Board of Elections
Raleigh, North Carolina

Re: Voting Participation in North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Attached is a copy of a report on VOTING PARTICIPATION IN NORTH CAROLINA as prepared by the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights and submitted this date to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

In compiling this information, the committee received excellent co-operation from the State Board of Elections and from the County Boards of Election. It is our understanding that this is the first State-wide study of registration by county and by race. The statistical information which was requested of the County Boards of Election was not required to be kept by law, and the co-operation of the County Boards of Election in collecting and supplying this information is appreciated.

The detailed analysis of the registration figures was prepared by Professor Donald R. Matthews, of the University of North Carolina, with the assistance of Mr. Douglas S. Gatlin, Mrs. Natalie S. Dean, and Dr. Alexander Heard, Dean of the Graduate School of the University. Their work in this connection will be of service to all of the people of the state.

The following conclusions, among others, are indicated:

(1) A smaller percentage of our people vote today than at the turn of the century.

(2) The registration books in many counties contain a great many names of persons who are dead or departed.

(3) Only those counties who have put in the loose-leaf system as authorized by the General Assembly in 1949 are able to tell accurately and quickly how many persons are registered.

(4) In almost every county the proportion of whites who are registered is significantly greater than the proportion of non-whites who are registered.

(5) The North Carolina election statutes do not discriminate against non-whites on account of their race.

(6) There is some evidence that the disparity between white and non-white registrations is caused by discrimination in the application of the North Carolina election statutes, particularly the reading and writing test. Our Committee received 17 sworn complaints that Negroes were prevented from registration by discriminatory application of this test. The complaints were made by residents and citizens of Northampton, Halifax and Greene Counties.

(7) While there may be some places in the state where there are obstacles put in the path of Negro registration, in most counties this is not so.

(8) There is a substantial Negro registration in North Carolina, and it is increasing each year.

(9) There is some evidence that the smaller percentage of non-whites who are registered is due to greater apathy among Negro citizens.

Our Committee has undertaken to collect the facts and allow them to speak for themselves. It is our belief that the people of North Carolina, when given the information, can take pride where it is justified and where it is not justified will see that discrimination is eliminated. We believe that in respect to voting the people of North Carolina are in agreement that no citizen of our state shall be denied the equal protection of the laws on account of his race, religion, or national origin.

Very truly yours,

The North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights

McNeill Smith, Chairman

McNS/jo
enc.

cc: Honorable B. C. Trotter, Chairman
State Board of Elections
Leaksville, North Carolina

cc: Honorable Raymond C. Maxwell, Exec. Secy.
State Board of Elections
Raleigh, North Carolina

October 1, 1959

VOTING PARTICIPATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

(a) Statistics

Commencing in March, 1959, the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights undertook to collect statistics by race and by county on registration and voting in North Carolina since 1950. Questionnaires were circulated to all county boards of elections and the answers were collected and studied in conjunction with the United States Census and the North Carolina State Board of Health population figures for North Carolina counties for the years 1950 to date.

Replies were received from nearly every county in the State. Ninety-one counties submitted the statistical data requested as to registrations, broken down by race. This information was submitted voluntarily in response to the Committee's inquiries. Several of the nine counties who failed to supply information replied to the Committee's inquiry indicating that there were insufficient funds or unavailable personnel to make the necessary count of the registrants. Among the counties which failed to supply information were Northampton County and Greene County, two of the three counties from which sworn voting complaints were received, as indicated below.

The statistical details were submitted to Dr. Alexander Heard, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina, who in turn arranged for Professor Donald R. Matthews, Associate Professor of Political Science, to make an analysis of these figures and report the conclusions indicated by the analysis. He was assisted by Mr. Douglas S. Gatlin and by Mrs. Natalie S. Dean. The results of their study, including the tables, charts, and maps, are attached. These would indicate:

1. The percentage of North Carolina citizens who vote in general elections today is far below the percentage that voted at the turn of the century. The low point was reached in 1948, and there may be a slight trend upward in the percentage of eligible persons who actually vote.

2. The percentage of non-whites who are registered is significantly lower than the percentage of whites who are registered. The extent of the discrepancy varies in different parts of the State. A higher percentage of non-whites is registered in the Mountain counties, where the non-white population is relatively small, than in the Coastal Plain where the non-white population is relatively large. In the Mountain and Piedmont counties, the percentage of non-white registrants is the highest in the State; and in the Tidewater counties, the percentage exceeds somewhat the percentage in the Coastal Plain counties. The State map which is attached shows the counties included in each of the four sections of the State.

3. There seems to be a definite trend upward in the percentage of non-whites who are registered. This trend is more marked in the Piedmont and Mountain counties.

There are other pertinent observations in this analysis, the full text of which, with accompanying charts and maps of North Carolina, is attached herewith.

(b) North Carolina Constitution and Statutes

The Committee examined the provisions of the North Carolina Constitution and General Statutes relating to registration and voting and concluded that the North Carolina laws do not discriminate against any person on account of his race, religion or national origin. The compilation of the pertinent provisions of the North Carolina Constitution and General Statutes was made with the assistance of Mr. Henry W. Lewis, Assistant Director of the Institute of Government.

(c) Recent Studies by North Carolina Colleges

The Committee directed an inquiry to the President of each college and university in North Carolina asking whether any research studies had been undertaken in recent years or were now under way, which would reveal any facts on the presence or absence in North Carolina of discrimination on account of race, religion or national origin, in the matter of voting. Replies were received from nearly all of the colleges and universities in North Carolina and these replies all indicated that there has been no recent study of this matter by or under the direction of or in connection with work at any of these institutions.

(d) Committee Hearings

In addition to the foregoing, the North Carolina Advisory Committee held hearings in Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, New Bern, Asheville and Raleigh, at which time opportunity was given for persons who had complaints that their civil rights had been denied by reason of their race, religion, or national origin to appear and testify or to file sworn complaints.

The Committee received seventeen voting complaints in writing and under oath. All of these complaints were from Negroes. The substance of their complaint was that they had been denied permission to register on account of their race, although according to their complaints they were qualified under the laws of North Carolina to register. The complaint was made that the reading and writing tests were applied to the compainants in a manner so as to discriminate against them and deny them the privilege of registering and voting. The complaint was that although the applicant for registration was able to read and write the English language as required by North Carolina law, and although the applicant demonstrated this ability, he was nevertheless told by the registrar that he had failed to pass. One complainant stated he was refused registration because he misspelled the word "democrat."

Ten of the persons filing these sworn complaints were residents and citizens of Halifax County and their complaints related to denials of the right to register in 1956, 1957 and 1958.

Six of the complainants were residents and citizens of Northampton County, and their complaints related to 1956 and 1957 denials of the right to register.

The seventeenth complaint was from a resident and citizen of Greene County and his complaint related to three separate attempts to register since 1951.

In accordance with the 1957 Act of Congress, these sworn complaints were referred to the United States Commission on Civil Rights for appropriate investigation.

In addition, the Committee received the sworn complaint of a resident of Beaufort County that another person, other than the affiant, had been observed to read several pages of the North Carolina Constitution, that the registrar then stated that the applicant "didn't satisfy him", and that the refusal to register this person so intimidated the affiant that no further effort was made to register. This complaint was not forwarded to the United States Commission on Civil Rights inasmuch as the complainant had not been personally refused registration by the registrar.

(e) Refusals to Register for Illiteracy

In this connection, each county Board of Elections was asked by the Committee to advise us the total number of instances, since 1951, in which persons applying to register had been refused on account of inability to read and write. The replies as received are as follows:

Instances in which Persons Applying to Register have been refused on account of inability to read and write (since 1951), as reported by County Boards of Elections:

Avery	One	Johnston	None
Beaufort	One	Lee	Two
Bladen	Of all races, 75	Lincoln	None
Cherokee	None	Mitchell	None
Clay	Three	Moore	Very few
Cleveland	Unknown	Onslow	None
Currituck	None	Orange	One
Durham	None	Pamlico	Twenty-four
Gates	Ten	Person	Ten
Granville	Twelve colored, nine white	Pitt	Very few
Harnett	None	Robeson	One
Henderson	None	Sampson	Sixty (estimate)
Iredell	Very few	Swain	None
Jackson	None	Warren	Quite a few, both White & Negro

(f) Other Reports

Messrs. J. H. Wheeler, Ellis D. Jones and Mrs. N. B. White, on behalf of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, filed a written statement with the Committee in regard to voting, stating:

> "In the exercise of voting rights, Negro citizens of Durham and Durham County have not, to our knowledge, been denied equal protection of the laws on account of race, creed or national origin. On the other hand, almost every citizen of North Carolina is aware of the difficulties experienced by Negro citizens who attempt to register and vote in large numbers in the so-called black belt counties in Eastern North Carolina. This situation is difficult to document because of (1) pressures applied by school boards to Negro teachers; (2) pressures applied by land owners to Negro tenant farmers; and (3) economic pressure applied by small businessmen and merchants to Negro consumers and users of credit. Failure of documentation, therefore, does not mean that most Negro citizens living in rural and small town areas of Eastern North Carolina are not under constant surveillance and pressures which block effectively, their participation in the political life of their respective communities."

(g) Statements of County Boards

The Committee received numerous letters containing suggestions and comments from the various county Boards of Elections. Other comments were made orally to members of the Committee by members of the County Boards of Elections and in one instance, at the time of the meeting in Greensboro, Mr. A. L. Meyland, Chairman of the GUILFORD County Board of Elections, appeared before the Committee and described the loose-leaf permanent registration system in operation in Guilford County, illustrated the procedures used in registrations and answered questions of the members of the Committee. The Committee was satisfied that every effort was being made to see that all persons in the county were given an equal opportunity to qualify for registration and to vote.

Among other things Mr. Meyland stated: "There have been three challenges based on literacy in this county since 1950. All three challenges were white and the challenges were upheld. The number of illiterates applying for registration in Guilford County has been very low and almost without exception the person applying has made no demand to register after an explanation of the necessity of knowing how to read and write.

"Of the registrations made in 1950 and 1952, 14.99% of the White and 23.8% of the Negro were purged after the General Election of 1958 for not voting in the past six years."

Mr. Meyland outlined the procedure for the purge, in which notices were sent to the registrants who had not voted since 1952 advising them that unless they showed cause their names would be taken from the registration records. This experience would indicate that a larger percentage of Negroes, although once on the registration books of Guilford County, had failed to vote in the eighteen subsequent elections since 1952. Mr. Meyland declined to speculate as to whether this was due to greater apathy among Negroes, greater migration in the Negro population, or some other factor.

By way of contrast, Mr. F. E. Wallace, Jr., Chairman of the LENOIR County Board of Elections, stated that: "In the past general election, the percentage of Negro voters exercising the franchise, once registered, would exceed the relative percentage of whites so exercising the franchise by at least 10 to 15 percent. All assistance is given consistent with the requirements for registration, and to our knowledge no one has been turned down for ineptness in reading or for inability to speedily or clearly pronounce the words. Only those cases where the person was unable to meet the Constitutional requirement of reading and writing were refused registration. As far as we were able to determine, this requirement was administered equally regardless of race, and the only protest or dissatisfaction with the registration machinery reported to this office involved a white person seeking registration who was denied on educational grounds."

Mr. Larry S. Moore, Chairman of the WILKES County Board of Elections, stated: "Our registrars do not apply the reading test for registration of voters, either for Negroes or for Whites, and we have had very few challenges based on this test in the past ten years."

Mr. W. A. White, Chairman of the PERQUIMANS County Board of Elections stated: "In the short time I have been chairman no one has been refused registration because of their inability to read or write. I cannot say for sure for the years back to 1951, but I see no indication of such a matter arising."

Mrs. Lucy P. Gray, Secretary of the ROBESON County Board of Elections, stated: "Since 1956, the best estimate is that registration has kept pace with increasing population in the white race; that it has increased by a considerably larger proportion in the Negro and Indian races by virtue of the increased interest of women of those races. There have also been increased in Negro and Indian registrations, particularly in communities affected by Negro and Indian candidacies in elections beginning in 1954. The election of two Indian Recorder Judges (succeeding one another) and of an Indian to the Board of County Commissioners is perhaps significant. Experienced observers recall only one instance of a dispute over denial of registration in the past quarter of a century; and that came in 1954, involved only one refusal, and resulted in the replacement of the registrar. Literacy tests are not elaborate and are concerned with ability to read the ballot."

Mr. J. L. Austin, Chairman of the SAMPSON County Board of Elections, stated: "As to registration, we have no trouble here in Sampson. Each person applying for registration is given the same oath regardless of race. They are required to pass the test required by the State of North Carolina, such as residency, ability to read and write and to support the Constitution of the United States and the State of North Carolina. We do have in all registration periods some applicants turned down. This is primarily due to illiteracy and I would say it was equal between the white and colored. Challenges are almost a thing of the past. I don't believe we have had a challenge in the past ten years."

Mr. A. B. Carter, Chairman of the SURRY County Board of Elections, stated: "We have had no trouble in the registering of either Negroes or Whites and the same procedure is followed, purely and simply one of literacy in addition to the usual requisites of voting."

Mr. S. C. Riddle, Chairman of the MOORE County Board of Elections, stated: "Only one complaint for non-registering has ever been made to this Board since I have been a member. I believe that was prior to 1950 and that was handled agreeably by me as Chairman and with the advice of our dependable Honorable R. C. Maxwell. I do not tolerate discrimination on account of color."

Mr. John M. Watkins, Jr., Chairman of the GRANVILLE County Board of Elections, stated: "We had one investigation by the F.B.I. in Creedmore precinct, but there were not any charges brought against the registrar. We have had no challenges for the past seventeen years."

Mr. J. L. Parker, Jr., Chairman of the BERTIE County Board of Elections, stated: "As to the number of persons being refused registration since 1951 on account of inability to read and write, is a question that no one has any idea about."

Mr. S. T. Latta, Jr., Chairman of the ORANGE County Board of Elections, stated: "I have been Chairman of the Orange County Board of Elections since 1955 and during this period of time there has been only one case where a Negro has been refused the privilege of registering due to the fact that the applicant could not read or even write his own name. We have followed a very liberal policy in Orange County and have allowed all persons applying to register except the case above stated."

Mr. George T. Blackburn, Chairman of the VANCE County Board of Elections, stated: "Registration of any qualified voter has never been a problem in Vance County. The difficulty in Vance County is chiefly the indifferent attitude of the population towards political elections. There is a marked apathy on the part of the white electorate toward voting, and a distinctly negative attitude among the members of the Negro race to even registering."

Mr. Fred L. Gore, Chairman of the ONSLOW County Board of Elections, stated: "Since I have been on the Board, we have had no complaints whatsoever about applicants being denied the right to register."

Mr. Harry C. Finch, Chairman of the WILSON County Board of Elections, stated: "Under the permanent loose-leaf registration system in use in Wilson County since 1956, all registration is now done in the Wilson County Board of Elections office in the Courthouse. An applicant for registration is required to read a portion of the North

Carolina Constitution. I do not recall any challenges being made during the last ten years, during which time I have been Chairman of the Wilson County Board of Elections."

(h) Registration Records

From the comments of many of the County Boards of Elections and from the figures which they submitted, it is obvious that the registration books in many counties are not currently accurate. Many of the registered persons are dead or departed. This may be the first time that we have had a clear picture over the State of how non-current our registration books are. Some of the counties reported as many as 192% of their entire eligible white population as being registered. This is not the fault of the individual registrars or the Boards of Elections involved, nor does it represent any discrimination on account of race, religion, or national origin, but it does show that the machinery which we have for registration does get out of date and stay out of date in many counties.

Those counties which have adopted the loose-leaf system as authorized by the 1949 General Assembly, not only have current accurate figures, but these counties have been able to help pay a large part, if not all, of the cost of installing and maintaining this system by selling accurate voter lists to political candidates, advertising concerns and others. Under the loose-leaf system, where plates are maintained currently, it is no trouble at all to run off lists of registrants in a matter of only a few hours and in some counties only a few minutes. In addition, other data relating to characteristics of the voting population (for example, a comparison between the number of men and women who have registered) can quickly be determined.

Some of the counties, like Guilford and Mecklenburg which show lower percentages of registrations on the attached tables, do not necessarily have a lower percentage of the actual population registered. Their counts are lower because they show more accurately the registrants available in the county to vote and not those who have died or moved away long years past.

(i) Conclusion

The North Carolina election officials, both the State Board of Elections and the County Boards of Elections, have been most cooperative in compiling the registration statistics which are included in this report. This has never been done before in North Carolina.

In most counties in North Carolina there is no obstacle to Negro registration, either in the law or the application of the law. We believe that North Carolinians are in general agreement that none of our citizens should be denied the basic American right to vote and have that vote counted. In such places in the State where any person may have been denied this right, we believe that when known and understood, the good experience in the rest of the State and the loyalty of our people to the fundamental principles of free government will soon eliminate any question of voting discrimination anywhere in North Carolina. This can and should be done within the framework of the present laws of North Carolina.

The North Carolina Constitution Article I, Section 2, provides: "That all political power is vested in, and derived from, the people; all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

Article I, Section 7, amended and approved by the voters of the State as recently as 1946, provides: "No person or set of persons are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services."

Article I, Section 10, provides: "All elections ought to be free."

Fair elections are necessary if we are to have a government of the people. Government by the consent of the governed is the essence of our State.

Therefore, the right of every qualified person in North Carolina to vote and have that vote counted is the equal concern of every citizen, white or non-white alike.

This concern is not to vindicate the claims or to secure the advancement~~s~~ of certain persons or groups, but rather "that the great, general and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established." This is the North Carolina DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, Article I of our North Carolina Constitution.

Respectfully submitted,

THE NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY
COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

McNeill Smith, Chairman
Asa Spaulding, Vice-Chairman
Margaret Vogt, Secretary
Millard Barbee
Paul Ervin
Conrad Pearson
Curtiss Todd
Dr. R. A. Wilkins
Marion Wright

Attached to the original of the enclosed report are excellent maps of the State of North Carolina by counties showing the percentage of potential non-white registration for 1958 and certain other years, the percentage of the adult population voting in the 1956 presidential election by county, and a chart showing the trend downward in voting participation since 1888. These charts are in the hands of Professor Donald Matthews, of the University of North Carolina Political Science Department, and the originals are in the office of the Civil Rights Commission, if you need additional copies.

W. L. SNELL

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H F ✓

M M ✓

L W D ✓

The "Memorandum" is a revision (based now on 91 countries) of the one you saw earlier

EW - File Special Suffrage - NC if O.K. with LWD —

Special Suffrage
NC

(Do Not Release Before Sunday, December 6, 1959)

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Box 868
Greensboro, North Carolina

December 5, 1959

State Board of Elections
Raleigh, North Carolina

Re: Supplementary Report re Voting Participation in North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Since the publication of the Committee's report on October 4, 1959, showing the registration statistics for 91 counties in North Carolina, the Committee has received additional statistics from the remaining 9 of the total of 100 counties in North Carolina. Thus for the first time the people of North Carolina have a current report, based on information furnished by the County Boards of Elections, from each county in North Carolina showing the total registration, the number of white persons registered and the number of non-white persons registered.

The following registration figures were furnished by the Chairmen of the County Boards of Elections of the counties indicated:

Columbus County	14,000	Whites registered
	2,500	Negroes registered
	16,500	total registration
Franklin County	8,500	Whites registered
	1,500	Negroes registered
	10,000	total registration
Greene County	4,742	Whites registered
	300	Negroes registered
	5,042	total registration
Henderson County	26,614	Whites registered
	386	Negroes registered
	27,000	total registration

Nash County	20,951	Whites registered
	2,328	Negroes registered
	23,279	total registration
Northampton County	5,300	Whites registered
(Estimate of current actual	900	Negroes registered
bona fide registrants)	6,200	total registration
Orange County	13,665	Whites registered
	1,380	Negroes registered
	15,045	total registration
Pender County	4,500	Whites registered
	500	Negroes registered
	5,000	total registration
Washington County	4,500	Whites registered
	500	Negroes registered
	5,000	total registration

In addition, the Chairman of the County Board of Elections of Lenoir County gave the following estimate for the county as a whole:

Lenoir County	11,300	Whites registered
	2,000	Negroes registered
	13,300	total registration

In the Committee's original report published October 4, 1959, Lenoir County was represented only by the figures for Kinston Township which contained a large portion of the county's registrations.

The Chairman of the Henderson County Board of Elections reported that its books were last purged 20 years ago and that there were quite a number of names of persons on the books who are not currently actual bona fide registrants. The number of Negro registrants shown is an actual count of their names on the books today. However, some of these Negro registrants may be deceased or may have left the county.

This supplementary report is being submitted to the North Carolina State Board of Elections and the information will be included in a revised map showing the registration of non-whites by counties throughout all of North Carolina and in the tables showing county-by-county registration of whites and non-whites in each county in the state.

If you have any additional information on this subject or if you collect any new data from the County Boards during the course of the next year, we would appreciate receiving such information.

With appreciation for your cooperation, we are

Very truly yours,

The North Carolina Advisory Committee
on Civil Rights

McNeill Smith, Chairman

McNS:sk
Enclosure

cc: Honorable B. C. Trotter, Chairman
State Board of Elections
Leaksville, North Carolina

Honorable Raymond C. Maxwell, Exec. Secy.
State Board of Elections
Raleigh, North Carolina

COPY OF QUESTIONAIRE USED BY THE NAACP TO BE COMPLETED BY NEGROES WHO HAVE COMPLAINED OF DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO REGISTER TO VOTE IN NORTH CAROLINA

Questionaire for persons who were denied the privilege of registering.

County ____
(List your county)

Precinct ____
(Name or number)

Name of registrar ____

Address of registrar ____

Name of person who was not permitted to register ______________________

Address ____

Were you able to find the registrar? Yes ____ No ____
Was the registrar at the polling place or at a private home?

____

Were you asked to read? Yes ____ No ____ Were you asked to write? Yes ____ No ____

Were you asked to read from the Constitution? Yes ____ No ____
(If yes, which Constitution N. C. or U. S.) ______________________
Were you asked to explain the section you read or any other section of the Constitution?
Yes ____ No ____
If you were not asked to read sections from the Constitution, do you know what you read? Yes ____ No ____ (If yes, what did you read?) ______________________
Were you asked to explain what you read? Yes ____ No ____
Were you asked the meaning of words? Yes ____ No ____
Were you asked other questions? Yes ____ No ____ (If yes, list some of the questions that you were asked in the remarks section)
Did the registrar tell you why he did not permit you to register? Yes ____ No ____
Why? ____
(If yes, answer why)
Did he tell you that you could not return to try again before the books closed this time? Yes____ No ____ (If yes,) did you go back to try again? Yes ____ No ____ (If you did, what happened?) ______________________

Please write the following lines below.

> "We, the people of the State of North Carolina, grateful
> to Almighty God, the Sovereign Ruler of Nations, for the
> preservation of the American Union and the existence of
> our civil, political, and religious liberties,"

____

____

____

____

Remarks: ____

____

____

____

I, the undersigned, read and understood the questions that I have answered on this questionaire, and I take full responsibility for them.

______________________ (Seal) ____________
(Signed)

****************************** ********************

Table 1

NUMBER OF CITIZENS 21 AND OVER, ESTIMATED NUMBER OF NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS, RATIO OF REGISTRANTS TO TOTAL NUMBER OF CITIZENS 21 AND OVER BY RACE FOR 100 COUNTIES IN N.C.

	Total number of citizens 21 and over, 1950	Estimated number of Negro registered voters, 1956	# C	Ratio of registrants other than Negro, 1956 to total number of citizens 21 and over, 1950	Ratio of Negro registrants, 1956 to total number of citizens 21 and over, 1950
Alamance	42,798	3,300 A	47.8	70.1%	7.7%
Alexander	7,930	—	—	—	—
Alleghany	4,711	—	—	—	—
Anson	14,190	1,560	25.4	73.6%	11.0%
Ashe	11,761	—	—	—	—
Avery	6,813	—	—	—	—
Beaufort	20,703	200	.02.8	71.5%	1.0%
Bertie	13,469	400	.05.7	56.4%	3.0%
Bladen	14,598	600 +	10.9	64.4%	4.1%
Brunswick	10,047	500-600	18.0	113.5%	6.0%
Buncombe	78,306	4,200	42.1	92.0%	5.4%
Burke	25,972	—	—	—	—
Cabarrus	37,984	—	—	—	—
Caldwell	23,245	—	—	—	—
Camden	2,937	—	—	—	—
Carteret	13,838	—	—	—	—
Caswell	10,391	900-1,000	22.8	57.7%	9.6%
Catawba	35,511	1,000	34.6	109.8%	2.8%
Chatham	14,424	—	—	—	—
Cherokee	9,683	50	29.1	123.4%	.5%
Chowan	6,889	—	—	—	—
Clay	3,225	—	—	—	—
Cleveland	35,446	—	—	—	—
Columbus	25,484	300-400	5.1	—	1.6%
Craven	26,953	—	—	—	—
Cumberland	53,563	1,200	8.4	33.2%	2.2%
Currituck	3,792	—	—	—	—
Dare	3,378	—	—	—	—
Davidson	36,262	2,000	56.1	85.5%	5.5%
Davie	8,998	325	28.4	58.4%	3.6%
Duplin	21,401	—	—	—	—
Durham	63,830	9,000-10,000	49.7	50.3%	15.7%
Edgecombe	27,781	600+	4.6	68.0%	2.2%
Forsyth	91,641	13,000	51.5	63.5%	14.2%
Franklin	16,796	—	—	—	—
Gaston	63,415	—	—	—	—
Gates	5,215	—	—	—	—
Graham	3,539	—	—	—	—
Granville	17,819	—	—	—	—
Green	8,817	—	—	—	—
Guilford	118,563	8,000 +	35.8	57.6%	6.8%
Halifax	30,062	900-1,000	6.9	53.2%	3.3%
Harnett	25,280	900	15.1	83.5%	3.6%
Haywood	21,133	100-125	25.6	122.4%	.6%
Henderson	18,877	—	—	—	—
Hertford	11,547	700	11.2	24.3%	6.1%
Hoke	7,898	385	9.1	71.1%	4.9%
Hyde	3,659	50	4.1	135.3%	1.4%

% of Negro voters of Negroes over 21 compiled from highest vote estimate.

		✓	✓		
	33,075	1,100	20.4	71.7%	3.3%
Jackson	10,313	——	–	——	——
Johnston	34,745	1,200	17.9	59.9%	3.5%
Jones	5,523	165	7.3	105.7%	3.0%
Lee	13,411	585	18.2	——	4.4%
Lenoir	25,416	2,000 -3,000	29.2	66.9%	11.8%
Lincoln	15,176	500	31.3	128.5%	3.3%
McDowell	14,156	under 400	50.9	81.9%	2.8%
Macon	8,765	——	–	——	——
Madison	10,841	35-50	47.6	137.9%	.5%
Martin	13,862	1,500	24.5	75.8%	10.8%
Mecklenburg	123,619	7,500-10,000	33.9	57.5%	8.1%
Mitchell	8,197	——	–	——	——
Montgomery	9,798	945	48.6	112.8%	9.6%
Moore	18,692	1,002	11.2	90.9%	5.4%
Nash	31,806	1,600-2,400	20.4	42.8%	7.6%
New Hanover	39,223	5,445	45.7	65.2%	13.9%
Northampton	14,661	400-500	6.1	40.2%	3.4%
Onslow	20,896	500	15.0	41.2%	2.4%
Orange	20,327	——	–	——	——
Pamlico	5,396	under 100	6.4	109.3%	1.9%
Pasquotank	14,491	——	–	——	——
Pender	9,480	——	–	——	——
Perquimans	5,411	——	–	——	——
Person	13,073	1,400	34.0	65.8%	10.7%
Pitt	33,685	500	3.5	57.9%	1.5%
Polk	6,604	400+	50.0	——	6.1%
Randolph	29,739	600	26.4	78.7%	2.0%
Richmond	21,768	1,525	25.1	75.7%	7.0%
Robeson	42,963	4,000	18.1	55.9%	9.3%
Rockingham	37,868	1,000-1,700	24.4	74.7%	4.5%
Rowan	45,489	1,700-2,500	35.3	88.1%	5.5%
Rutherford	26,196	——	–	——	——
Sampson	25,894	——	–	——	——
Scotland	13,434	488	8.4	55.9%	3.6%
Stanly	21,698	——	–	——	——
Stokes	11,901	——	–	——	——
Surry	25,517	——	–	——	——
Swain	5,104	——	–	——	——
Transylvania	8,289	——	–	——	——
Tyrrell	2,766	——	–	——	——
Union	22,997	1,095	23.4	73.5%	4.8%
Vance	17,859	1,000	12.2	56.0%	5.6%
Wake	83,982	5,000	22.3	66.3%	6.0%
Warren	11,771	600-800	11.5	35.7%	6.8%
Washington	7,080	——		——	——
Watauga	9,762	——	–	——	——
Wayne	36,650	1,500	9.9	——	4.1%
Wilkes	24,053	——	–	——	——
Wilson	29,832	1,500	13.6	62.0%	5.0%
Yadkin	12,590	200 +	34.7	117.6%	1.6%
Yancey	8,581	80	68.9	162.2%	.9%
State	2,304,999	——	–	——	——

Table 2

NUMBER OF BALLOTS MAILED TO THE INDICATED COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA BY THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS FOR THE ELECTION ON AMENDING THE STATE CONSTITUTION, SEPTEMBER, 1956 *

	Regular ballots shipped	Absentee ballots shipped
Alamance	33,000	1,000
Alexander	12,000	1,000
Alleghany	9,000	500
Anson	12,000	1,000
Ashe	22,000	1,000
Avery	10,000	500
Beaufort	15,000	500
Bertie	8,000	500
Bladen	10,000	1,000
Brunswick	12,000	1,000
Buncombe		3,000
Burke	30,000	1,000
Cabarrus	35,000	2,000
Caldwell	26,000	1,000
Camden	3,000	500
Carteret	15,000	1,000
Caswell	7,000	1,000
Catawba	40,000	2,000
Chatham	14,000	1,000
Cherokee	12,000	1,000
Chowan	6,000	500
Clay	7,000	500
Cleveland	30,000	2,000
Columbus		1,000
Craven	16,000	1,000
Cumberland		2,000
Currituck	5,000	500
Dare	5,000	500
Davidson	36,000	2,000
Davie	12,000	1,000
Duplin	16,000	1,000
Durham		2,000
Edgecombe		1,000
Forsyth	70,000	3,000
Franklin	14,000	500
Gaston	50,000	2,000
Gates	5,000	500
Graham	7,000	500
Granville	10,000	1,000
Green	8,000	500
Guilford		3,000
Halifax	20,000	1,000
Harnett	22,000	1,000
Haywood	26,000	1,000
Henderson	24,000	1,000
Hertford	7,000	500
Hoke	6,000	500
Hyde	5,000	500

[illegible]redell.	5,387	16.3
Jackson	732	7.1
Johnston	6,686	19.2
Jones	2,238	40.5
Lee	3,214	24.0
Lenoir	10,266	40.4
Lincoln	1,593	10.5
McDowell	796	5.6
Macon	198	2.3
Madison	105	1.0
Martin	6,117	44.1
Mecklenburg	29,472	23.8
Mitchell	35	.4
Montgomery	1,960	20.0
Moore	8,900	47.6
Nash	11,712	36.8
New Hanover	11,675	29.8
Northampton	8,206	56.0
Onslow	3,316	15.9
Orange	4,385	21.6
Pamlico	1,549	28.7
Pasquotank	4,961	34.2
Pender	4,180	44.1
Perquimans	2,290	42.3
Person	4,118	31.5
Pitt	14,057	41.7
Polk	799	12.1
Randolph	2,273	7.6
Richmond	6,065	27.9
Robeson	22,062 *	51.4
Rockingham	6,966	18.4
Rowan	7,080	15.6
Rutherford	2,828	10.8
Sampson	8,660 *	33.4
Scotland	5,791	43.1
Stanly	2,329	10.7
Stokes	932	7.8
Surry	1,372	5.4
Swain	706 *	3.8
Transylvania	385	4.6
Tyrrell	939	34.0
Union	4,666	20.3
Vance	7,179	40.2
Wake	21,902	26.1
Warren	6,908 *	58.7
Washington	2,730	38.6
Watauga	129	1.3
Wayne	15,141	41.3
Wilkes	1,482	6.2
Wilson	10,964	36.8
Yadkin	576	4.6
Yancey	116	1.4
State	549,741	23.9

* NON-WHITE POPULATION INCLUDES GROUPS OTHER THAN NEGRO

Table 3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITES 21 AND OVER TO TOTAL NUMBER OF CITIZENS 21 AND OVER IN 100 NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES, 1950 *

	Number of non-whites 21 and over	Percentage of non-whites 21 and over to total number of citizens 21 and over
Alamance	6,897	16.1%
Alexander	516	6.5
Alleghany	147	3.1
Anson	6,143	43.3
Ashe	154	1.3
Avery	151	2.2
Beaufort	7,066	34.1
Bertie	7,016	52.1
Bladen	5,496	37.7
Brunswick	3,322	33.1
Buncombe	9,950	12.7
Burke	1,824	7.0
Cabarrus	5,169	13.6
Caldwell	1,574	6.8
Camden	991	33.7
Carteret	1,599	11.6
Caswell	4,383	42.2
Catawba	2,878	8.1
Chatham	3,936	27.3
Cherokee	172	1.8
Chowan	2,681	38.9
Clay	44	1.4
Cleveland	6,652	18.8
Columbus	7,897 *	31.0
Craven	8,446	31.3
Cumberland	14,275 *	26.7
Currituck	1,102	29.1
Dare	241	7.1
Davidson	3,563	9.8
Davie	1,143	12.7
Duplin	7,336	34.3
Durham	20,101	31.5
Edgecombe	12,845	46.2
Forsyth	25,027	27.3
Franklin	6,643	39.6
Gaston	8,163	12.9
Gates	2,344	45.0
Graham	113 *	3.2
Granville	7,179	40.3
Green	3,690	41.9
Guilford	22,309	18.8
Halifax	14,350	47.7
Harnett	5,924 *	23.4
Haywood	488	2.3
Henderson	1,319	7.0
Hertford	6,210	53.8
Hoke	4,201 *	53.2
Hyde	1,207	33.0

Iredell.	32,000	1,000
Jackson	14,000	1,000
Johnston		2,000
Jones	5,000	500
Lee		1,000
Lenoir		1,000
Lincoln	20,000	1,000
McDowell	18,000	1,000
Macon	12,000	500
Madison	15,000	1,000
Martin	12,000	500
Mecklenburg		3,000
Mitchell	10,000	500
Montgomery	12,000	1,000
Moore	18,000	1,000
Nash	20,000	2,000
New Hanover	30,000	2,000
Northampton	9,000	500
Onslow	9,000	500
Orange	17,000	1,000
Pamlico	6,000	500
Pasquotank	12,000	500
Pender	7,000	500
Perquimans	5,000	500
Person	10,000	1,000
Pitt	20,000	1,000
Polk		1,000
Randolph	30,000	2,000
Richmond	18,000	1,000
Robeson	28,000	2,000
Rockingham	30,000	2,000
Rowan	40,000	2,000
Rutherford	28,000	1,000
Sampson	20,000	1,000
Scotland	8,000	500
Stanly	28,000	1,500
Stokes	16,000	2,000
Surry	26,000	2,000
Swain	10,000	1,000
Transylvania	15,000	1,000
Tyrrell	5,000	500
Union	18,000	1,000
Vance	12,000	500
Wake		2,000
Warren	8,000	500
Washington	6,000	500
Watauga	15,000	1,000
Wayne		1,000
Wilkes	30,000	2,000
Wilson	20,000	1,000
Yadkin	15,000	500
Yancey	14,000	1,000
State		

*Counties using voting machines in whole or in part not included.

1,851,000 ballots were prepared for mailing.

Table 4

COMPARISONS BY QUARTILES OF PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AGE POPULATION VOTING IN 1952 AND PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULATION, 1950 IN 100 NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES

Number of counties by percentage of population classified as non-white	Number of Counties by - Percentage of voting age population voting in 1952			
	1st Quartile 26.4%-37.5%	2nd Quartile 37.6%-49.9%	3rd Quartile 50.2%-67.9%	4th Quartile 68.7%-92.5%
1st Quartile 0.3%-9.0%	0	1	6	18
2nd Quartile 9.1%-26.0%	1	4	13	7
3rd Quartile 26.3%-42.2%	5	15	5	0
4th Quartile 42.4%-66.4%	18	5	1	1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1952, Table 3.

North Carolina Research Institute, North Carolina Facts, Vol. II, No. 21(5/22/54).

Table 5

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION VOTING IN 1952, VOTING RANK AND RANK BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS NON-WHITE FOR 100 COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

	Percentage of voting age population voting in 1952	Voting rank of county, 1952	Rank of county by percentage of population classified as non-white, 1950.
Alamance	57.78%	41	41
Alexander	78.87	8	21
Alleghany	76.27	16	12
Anson	42.13	66	90
Ashe	77.23	11	6
Avery	68.71	25	7
Beaufort	37.71	74	68
Bertie	29.23	98	96
Bladen	35.65	83	72
Brunswick	58.71	39	65
Buncombe	59.57	38	30
Burke	72.32	17	22
Cabarrus	63.59	32	36
Caldwell	71.72	19	19
Camden	45.41	60	70
Carteret	52.22	46	31
Caswell	34.31	86	86
Catawba	79.71	7	26
Chatham	54.74	44	59
Cherokee	67.88	26	8
Chowan	28.76	99	78
Clay	89.25	2	3
Cleveland	48.72	54	45
Columbus	38.93	72	62
Craven	32.95	90	60
Cumberland	30.19	96	53
Currituck	46.60	52	58
Dare	50.92	48	20
Davidson	69.48	24	27
Davie	71.20	20	35
Duplin	39.72	70	67
Durham	47.09	56	61
Edgecombe	37.48	76	92
Forsyth	55.46	43	54
Franklin	36.38	79	82
Gaston	58.12	40	34
Gates	30.86	94	93
Graham	83.47	3	11
Granville	32.19	92	85
Green	35.83	82	84
Guilford	52.40	45	42
Halifax	36.58	78	94
Harnett	47.01	57	51
Haywood	70.16	22	9
Henderson	66.36	28	18
Hertford	29.74	97	97
Hoke	36.68	77	98
Hyde	36.15	81	74

Iredell	61.54	36	40
Jackson	77.13	13	23
Johnston	44.35	61	44
Jones	36.21	80	80
Lee	50.51	49	50
Lenoir	35.00	84	77
Lincoln	76.46	15	32
McDowell	76.61	14	15
Macon	77.55	9	10
Madison	42.58	65	2
Martin	66.70	27	91
Mecklenburg	62.35	34	49
Mitchell	63.94	31	1
Montgomery	64.76	30	47
Moore	55.93	42	52
Nash	41.00	68	76
New Hanover	49.93	51	57
Northampton	33.51	87	99
Onslow	26.36	100	38
Orange	43.88	62	48
Pamlico	43.12	63	63
Pasquotank	39.08	71	69
Pender	33.41	89	89
Perquimans	34.85	85	87
Person	43.10	64	64
Pitt	39.93	69	83
Polk	79.89	5	33
Randolph	71.87	18	24
Richmond	49.08	53	56
Robeson	31.23	93	95
Rockingham	50.18	50	43
Rowan	63.23	33	39
Rutherford	61.51	37	29
Sampson	51.69	47	66
Scotland	33.44	88	88
Stanly	79.60	6	28
Stokes	69.66	23	25
Surry	61.80	35	16
Swain	71.04	21	37
Transylvania	92.50	1	13
Tyrrell	46.98	58	73
Union	48.64	55	46
Vance	41.46	67	81
Wake	45.56	59	55
Warren	30.75	95	100
Washington	38.74	73	79
Watauga	83.13	4	5
Wayne	32.51	91	75
Wilkes	77.20	12	17
Wilson	37.62	75	71
Yadkin	66.09	29	14
Yancey	77.39	10	4
State	52.53		

Table 6

VOTING PERFORMANCE IN NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, MAY, 1956

	Total number of people voting for a Democratic candidate for Governor in May, 1956.	Estimated number of negroes voting in the May, 1956 primary	
Alamance	8,171		
Alexander	785		
Alleghany	830		
Anson	3,945		
Ashe	2,024		
Avery	443		
Beaufort	4,431		
Bertie	1,595	250	
Bladen	4,469		
Brunswick	3,815		
Buncombe	13,319		
Burke	5,147		
Cabarrus	6,463		
Caldwell	3,249		
Camden	1,039		
Carteret	3,563		
Caswell	2,320		
Catawba	1,988		
Chatham	3,436		
Cherokee	995		
Chowan	875		
Clay	299		
Cleveland	8,816		
Columbus	7,811	300	
Craven	5,764		
Cumberland	9,025	400	
Currituck	1,743		
Dare	1,376		
Davidson	5,168		
Davie	1,345		
Duplin	4,488		
Durham	13,449	3,000	
Edgecombe	3,483		
Forsyth	1[illegible],386	5,000	
Franklin	5,038	500	
Gaston	13,239		
Gates	419		
Graham	1,108		
Granville	4,498		
Green	2,802		
Guilford	14,159	5,000	
Halifax	7,751	600 to 800	
Harnett	5,642		
Haywood	4,549		
Henderson	1,647		
Hertford	1,773		
Hoke	1,649		
Hyde	1,355		

Iredell	6,763	900	
Jackson	2,606		
Johnston	8,742	400	
Jones	1,748		
Lee	4,001		
Lenoir	4,133		
Lincoln	2,305		
McDowell	1,464		
Macon	2,932		
Madison	1,916		
Martin	3,678		
Mecklenburg	22,982	3,000	
Mitchell	298		
Montgomery	2,181		
Moore	3,957		
Nash	7,974		
New Hanover	15,146	3,000	
Northampton	4,069		
Onslow	3,971		
Orange	5,069		
Pamlico	1,438		
Pasquotank	2,066		
Pender	2,341		
Perquimans	617		
Person	4,826	900	
Pitt	6,265		
Polk	2,087		
Randolph	3,077		
Richmond	7,704		
Robeson	10,063	500	
Rockingham	8,834	800	
Rowan	9,177	1,200	
Rutherford	7,969		
Sampson	2,486		
Scotland	2,972		
Stanly	2,584		
Stokes	2,958		
Surry	7,202		
Swain	1,595		
Transylvania	2,541		
Tyrrell	485		
Union	4,456		
Vance	5,798		
Wake	20,402		
Warren	3,018		
Washington	1,327		
Watauga	570		
Wayne	4,555	under 1,000	
Wilkes	3,596		
Wilson	5,361		
Yadkin	1,107	3,000	
Yancey	2,559		
State	466,654		

Copy for file

NORTH CAROLINA

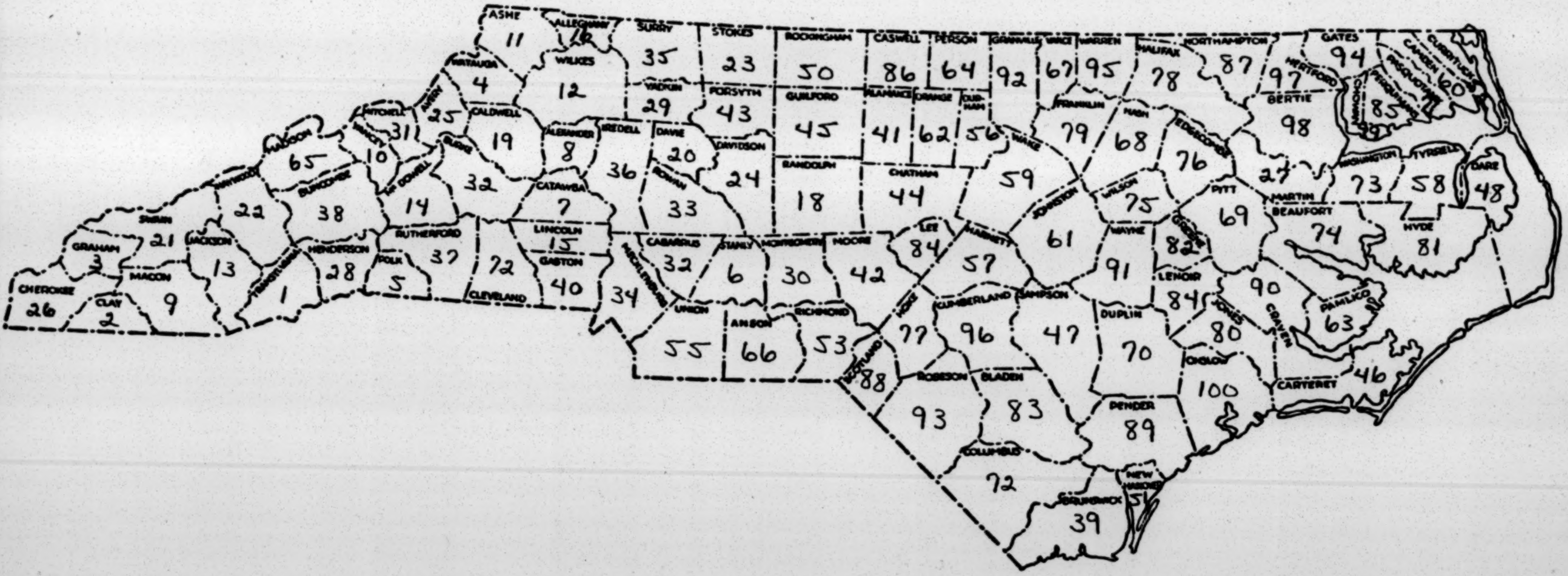
County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alamance	6,897	3,300	Hertford	6,210	700
Alexander	516		Hoke	4,201	385
Alleghany	147		Hyde	1,207	50
Anson	6,143	1,560	Iredell	5,387	1,100
Ashe	154		Jackson	732	
Avery	151		Johnston	6,686	1,200
Beaufort	7,066	200	Jones	2,238	165
Bertie	7,016	400	Lee	3,214	585
Bladen	5,496	600	Lenoir	10,266	2,500
Brunswick	3,322	550	Lincoln	1,593	500
Buncombe	9,950	4,200	McDowell	796	400
Burke	1,824		Macon	198	
Cabarrus	5,169		Madison	105	50
Caldwell	1,574		Martin	6,117	1,500
Camden	991		Mecklenburg	29,472	8,750
Carteret	1,599		Mitchell	35	
Caswell	4,383	950	Montgomery	1,960	945
Catawba	2,878	1,000	Moore	8,900	1,002
Chatham	3,963		Nash	11,712	2,400
Cherokee	172	50	New Hanover	11,675	5,445
Chowan	2,681		Northampton	8,206	500
Clay	44		Onslow	3,316	500
Cleveland	6,652		Orange	4,385	
Columbus	7,897	350	Pamlico	1,549	100
Craven	8,446		Pasquotank	4,961	
Cumberland	14,275	1,200	Pender	4,180	
Currituck	1,102		Perquimans	2,290	
Dare	241		Person	4,118	1,400
Davidson	3,563	2,000	Pitt	14,057	500
Davie	1,143	325	Polk	799	400
Duplin	7,336		Randolph	2,273	600
Durham	20,101	9,500	Richmond	6,065	1,525
Edgecombe	12,845	600	Robeson	22,062	4,000
Forsyth	25,027	13,000	Rockingham	6,966	1,700
Franklin	6,643		Rowan	7,080	2,500
Gaston	8,163		Rutherford	2,828	
Gates	2,344		Sampson	8,660	
Graham	113		Scotland	5,791	488
Granville	7,179		Stanly	2,329	
Green	3,690		Stokes	932	
Guilford	22,309	8,000	Surry	1,372	
Halifax	14,350	950	Swain	706	
Harnett	5,924	900	Transylvania	385	
Haywood	488	125	Tyrrell	939	
Henderson	1,319		Union	4,666	1,095

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Vance	7,179	1,000
Wake	21,902	5,000
Warren	6,908	800
Washington	2,730	
Watauga	129	
Wayne	15,141	1,500
Wilkes	1,482	
Wilson	10,964	1,500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

Map Number 1

VOTING RANK OF 100 COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1952*


ASHE 11
ALLEGHANY 16
SURRY 35
STOKES 23
ROCKINGHAM 50
CASWELL 86
PERSON 64
GRANVILLE 92
VANCE 67
WARREN 95
HALIFAX 78
NORTHAMPTON 87
GATES 94
HERTFORD 97
CURRITUCK 60
CAMDEN
PASQUOTANK 71
PERQUIMANS 85
CHOWAN 99
WATAUGA 4
WILKES 12
YADKIN 29
FORSYTH 43
GUILFORD 45
ALAMANCE 41
ORANGE 62
DURHAM 56
FRANKLIN 79
NASH 68
BERTIE 98
MITCHELL 31
AVERY 25
CALDWELL 19
ALEXANDER 8
IREDELL 36
DAVIE 20
DAVIDSON 24
RANDOLPH 18
CHATHAM 44
WAKE 59
EDGECOMBE 76
MARTIN 27
WASHINGTON 73
TYRRELL 58
DARE 48
MADISON 65
YANCEY 10
BURKE 32
ROWAN 33
WILSON 75
PITT 69
HAYWOOD 22
BUNCOMBE 38
MC DOWELL 14
CATAWBA 7
JOHNSTON 61
BEAUFORT 74
HYDE 81
SWAIN 21
GRAHAM 3
JACKSON 13
TRANSYLVANIA 1
HENDERSON 28
POLK 5
RUTHERFORD 37
CLEVELAND 72
LINCOLN 15
GASTON 40
MECKLENBURG 34
CABARRUS 32
STANLY 6
MONTGOMERY 30
MOORE 42
LEE 84
HARNETT 57
WAYNE 91
GREENE 82
LENOIR 84
CRAVEN 90
PAMLICO 63
CHEROKEE 26
CLAY 2
MACON 9
UNION 55
ANSON 66
RICHMOND 53
SCOTLAND 88
HOKE 77
CUMBERLAND 96
SAMPSON 47
DUPLIN 70
JONES 80
ONSLOW 100
CARTERET 46
ROBESON 93
BLADEN 83
PENDER 89
COLUMBUS 72
NEW HANOVER 51
BRUNSWICK 39

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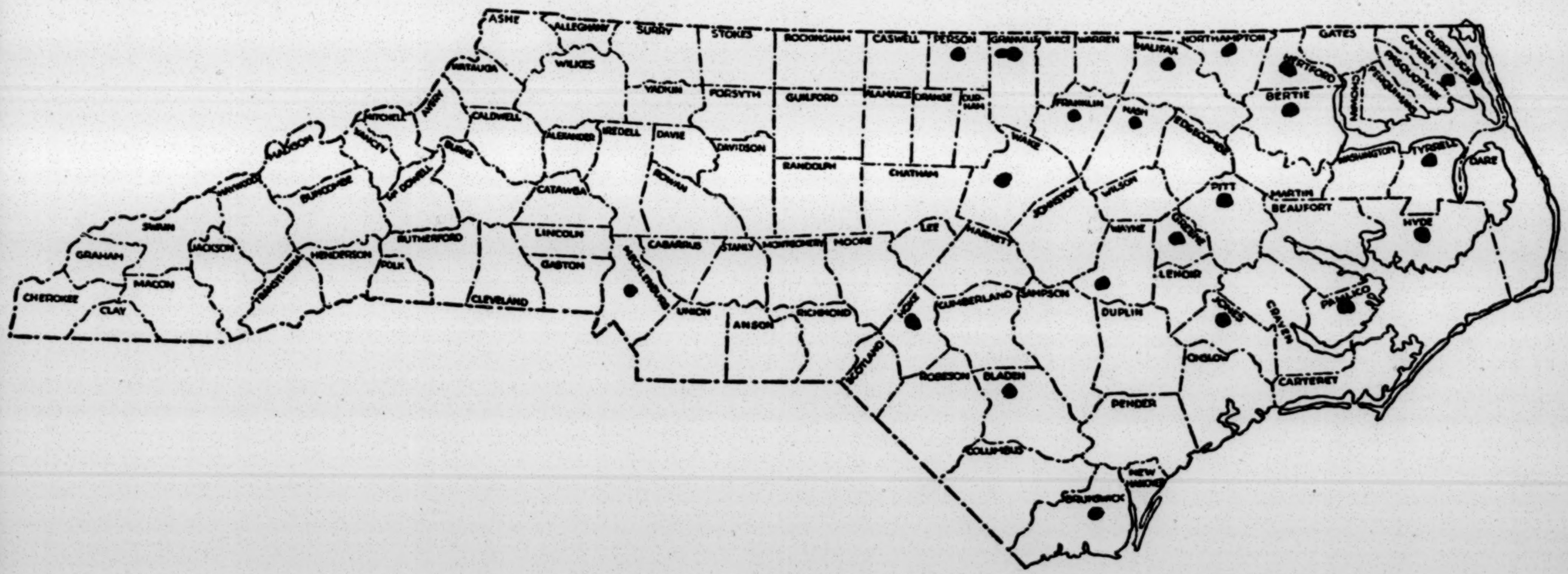
* based on the ratio of persons voting in the 1952 presidential election in relation to the number of citizens age 21 and over, 1950

Map Number 2

COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA IN WHICH ALLEGED DISCRIMINATORY REGISTRATION TECHNIQUES AGAINST NEGROES HAVE BEEN REPORTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE TO THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS OR TO FEDERAL AGENCIES DURING THE SPRING OF 1956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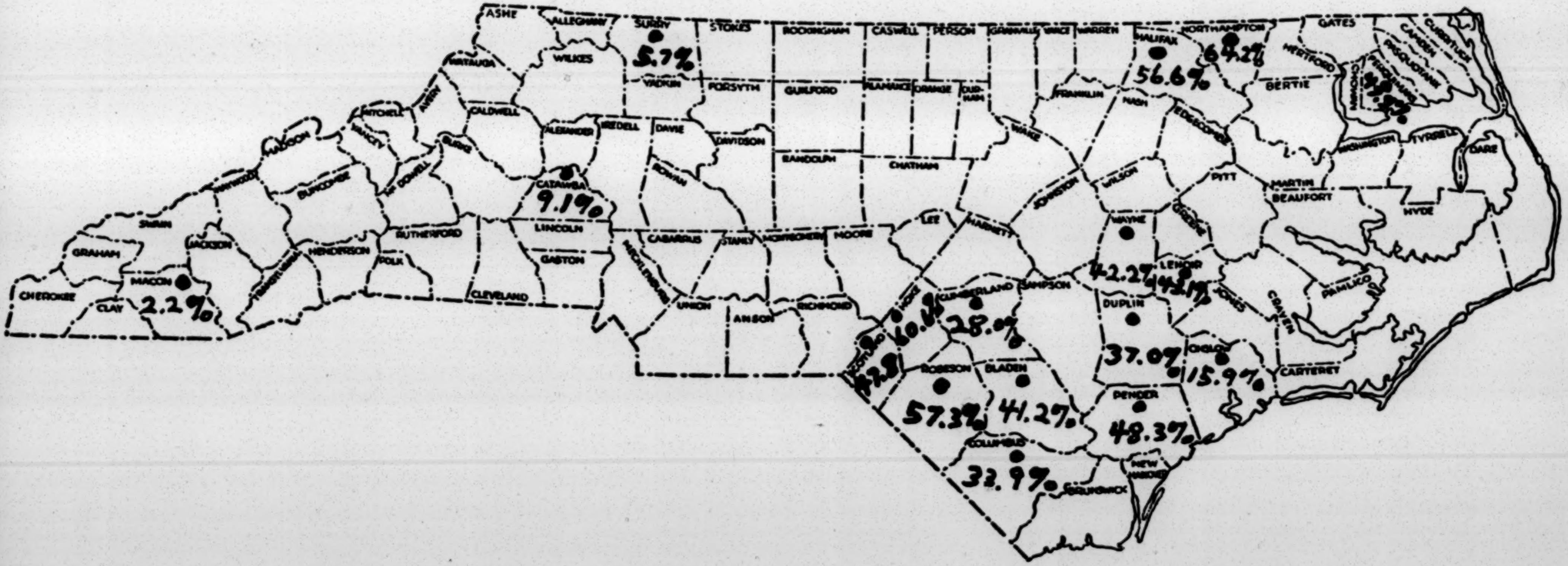
SURRY
STOKES
ROCKINGHAM
CASWELL
PERSON
GRANVILLE
VANCE
WARREN
HALIFAX
NORTHAMPTON
GATES
CAMDEN
CURRITUCK
HERTFORD
PASQUOTANK
PERQUIMANS
CHOWAN
WATAUGA
WILKES
YADKIN
FORSYTH
GUILFORD
ALAMANCE
ORANGE
DURHAM
FRANKLIN
NASH
EDGECOMBE
BERTIE
MITCHELL
AVERY
CALDWELL
ALEXANDER
IREDELL
DAVIE
DAVIDSON
YANCEY
MADISON
BURKE
WASHINGTON
TYRRELL
DARE
HAYWOOD
BUNCOMBE
McDOWELL
CATAWBA
ROWAN
RANDOLPH
CHATHAM
WAKE
JOHNSTON
WILSON
PITT
MARTIN
BEAUFORT
SWAIN
JACKSON
GRAHAM
HENDERSON
RUTHERFORD
LINCOLN
CABARRUS
STANLY
MONTGOMERY
MOORE
LEE
HARNETT
WAYNE
GREENE
HYDE
CHEROKEE
MACON
TRANSYLVANIA
POLK
GASTON
CLEVELAND
MECKLENBURG
UNION
ANSON
RICHMOND
HOKE
CUMBERLAND
SAMPSON
LENOIR
JONES
CRAVEN
PAMLICO
CLAY
DUPLIN
ONSLOW
CARTERET
SCOTLAND
ROBESON
BLADEN
PENDER
COLUMBUS
NEW HANOVER
BRUNSWICK

● - indicates counties in which alleged discriminatory registration techniques against Negroes were used.

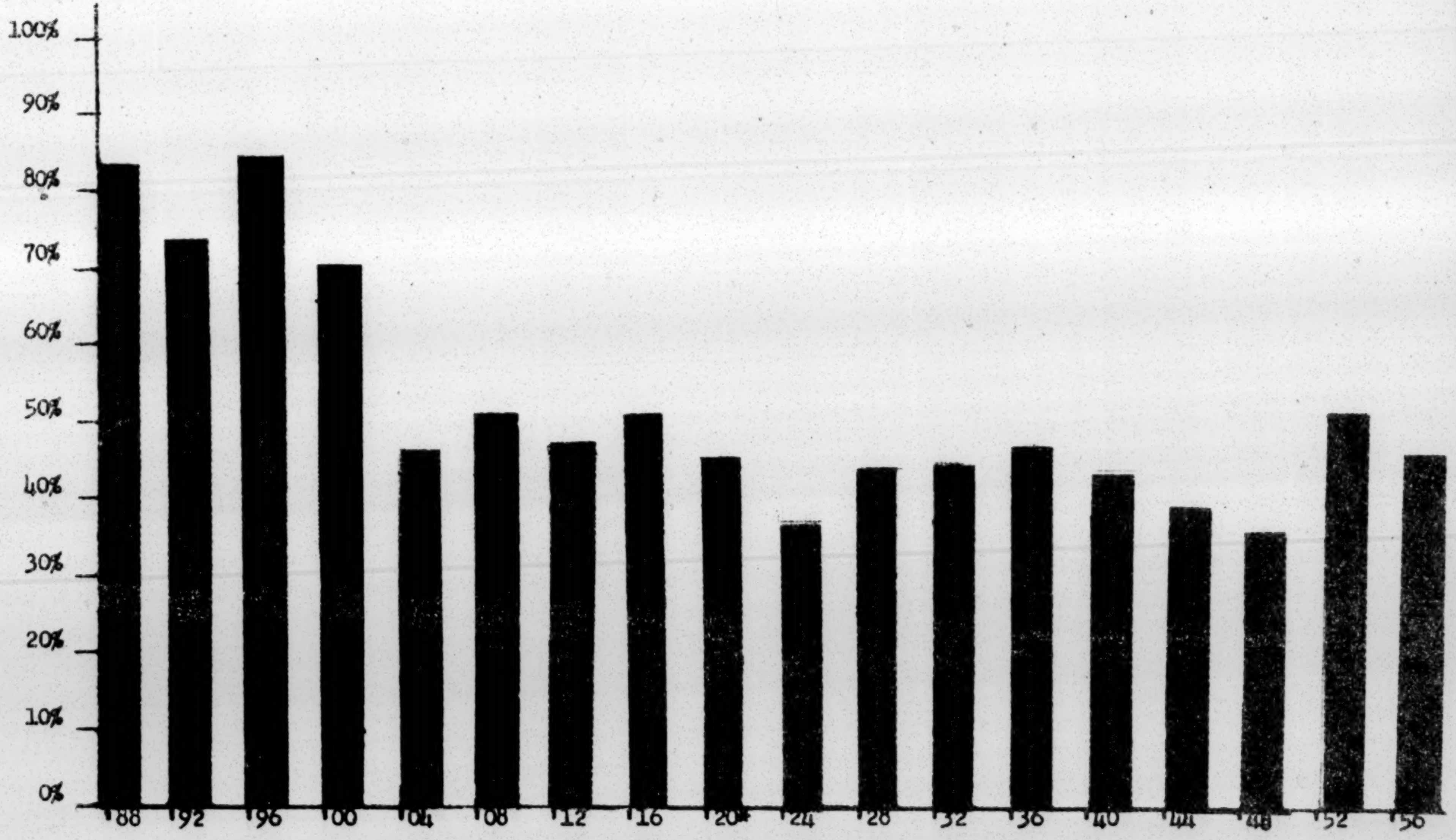
Map number 3

NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES OPERATING UNDER THE "ANTI-SINGLE SHOT" SYSTEM OF VOTING IN 1956


ASHE
ALLEGHANY
SURRY
5.7%
STOKES
ROCKINGHAM
CASWELL
PERSON
GRANVILLE
VANCE
WARREN
HALIFAX
56.6%
NORTHAMPTON
64.2%
GATES
HERTFORD
BERTIE
CHOWAN
PERQUIMANS
PASQUOTANK
CAMDEN
CURRITUCK
WATAUGA
WILKES
YADKIN
FORSYTH
GUILFORD
ALAMANCE
ORANGE
DURHAM
FRANKLIN
NASH
EDGECOMBE
MITCHELL
AVERY
CALDWELL
ALEXANDER
IREDELL
DAVIE
DAVIDSON
RANDOLPH
CHATHAM
WAKE
WASHINGTON
TYRRELL
DARE
MADISON
YANCEY
BURKE
CATAWBA
9.1%
ROWAN
JOHNSTON
WILSON
PITT
MARTIN
BEAUFORT
HYDE
HAYWOOD
BUNCOMBE
MC DOWELL
SWAIN
RUTHERFORD
LINCOLN
LEE
HARNETT
WAYNE
42.2%
GREENE
GRAHAM
JACKSON
HENDERSON
POLK
GASTON
CABARRUS
STANLY
MONTGOMERY
MOORE
LENOIR
43.1%
CHEROKEE
MACON
2.2%
CLAY
TRANSYLVANIA
CLEVELAND
MECKLENBURG
UNION
ANSON
RICHMOND
HOKE
60.1%
SCOTLAND
42.9
CUMBERLAND
28.0%
SAMPSON
DUPLIN
37.0%
JONES
CRAVEN
PAMLICO
ONSLOW
15.9%
CARTERET
ROBESON
57.3%
BLADEN
41.2%
PENDER
48.3%
COLUMBUS
32.9%
NEW HANOVER
BRUNSWICK

● - indicates a county operating under the "anti-single shot" system of voting, together with the percentage of population in that county classified as non-white

FIGURE 1 - Percentage of North Carolina Adults Voting in Presidential Elections, 1888-1956



* Women excluded from potential electorate prior to 1920.

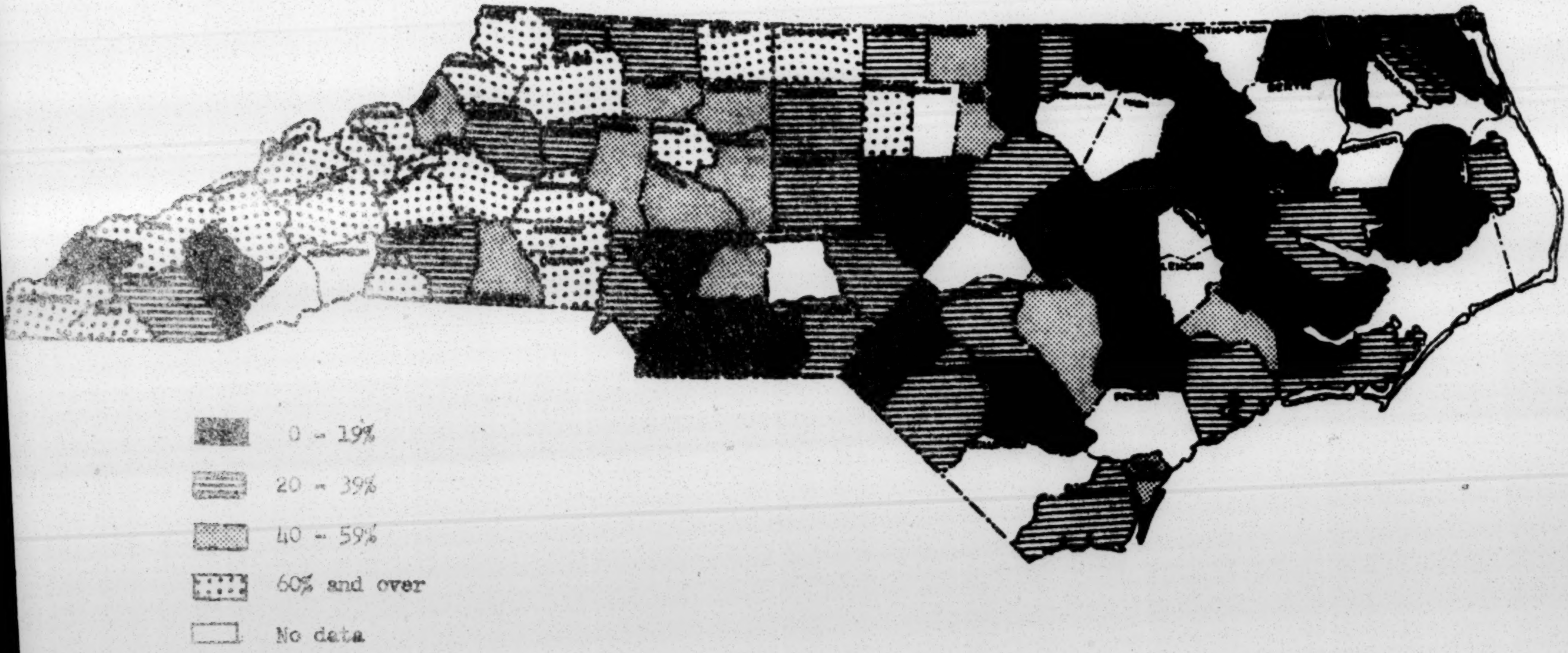


FIGURE 3d - Percentage of Potential Non-white Voters Registered, by County, 1958

▩ 0 - 19%
▤ 20 - 39%
▨ 40 - 59%
⁘ 60% and over
☐ No data

Special Suffrage –
N. C. –

News from Walker-Lassiter Defense Fund,
P. O. Box 47 Weldon, North Carolina
President is the Rev. Alexander D. Moseley,
who may be quoted on any material herein.

WELDON, N.C.----Citizens from all over northeastern North Carolina have formed a committee to carry the case of Mrs. Louise Lassiter through the Federal Courts and to uphold the right of one of her Attorneys to represent her.

James R. Walker, Jr., 34-year-old civil rights lawyer here, has been jailed, fined, and otherwise harrassed since he entered the Lassiter case over two years ago. Mrs. Lassiter seeks the right to register and vote without having to take the North Carolina literacy test, which she says is in violation of the U. S. Constitution.

The Walker-Lassiter Defense Fund was organized at meetings in Weldon, N. C. attended by leaders from Halifax, Northampton, Bertie, Gates, Warren, Edgecomb and Hertford Counties. The population of this area runs as high as 68%.

Mrs. Lassiter, who has three children, first tried to register in Seaboard Precinct of Northampton County in May 1956. The registrar, Mrs. Helen H. Taylor, refused to register Mrs. Lassiter and at least 25 other Negroes because she said they failed to pass the literacy test.

Mrs. Lassiter asked the U. S. District Court to stop election officials from requiring the literacy test. She charged that it is used in a discriminatory manner against Negroes to deprive them of the right to vote. Mrs. Lassiter completed one year of high school and reads and writes very well.

Before her case could be heard, the North Carolina General Assembly amended the registration law. It also set up a system of appeals from adverse rulings of registrars. A three-judge Federal Court held the original law invalid but told Mrs. Lassiter to exhaust all appeal remedies in the state courts before seeking a ruling on the amended law.

She tried to register again in June 1957, but was turned down when she flatly refused to take the literacy test. Mrs. Lassiter then carried her appeal through the North Carolina Supreme Court, which upheld the registrar. Walker and two Attorneys in Raleigh, Samuel Mitchell and Herman Taylor, have appealed this ruling to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Walker has been jailed twice and fined three times since he entered the case. The charges stem from allegations by the registrar, Mrs. Taylor, that he shook his finger at her during a dispute over her refusal to register Negroes. On the charge of assaulting a female, Mrs. Taylor, he was fined $500 and still owes $300 of it. On October 8, the North Carolina Supreme Court quashed an indictment under which Walker was fined $50 on a charge of disturbing a registrar in the performance of her duties.

Walker says public officials "don't intend to have any Negro lawyers practice in this section. They threw the book at me to try to cripple me and to drive me out. They used the criminal law to interfere with my practice of the law and as a psychological weapon to scare away clients and keep me broke". He still has an appeal pending from the $100 fine on a trespass charge.

Officers of the Walker-Lassiter Defense Fund are the Rev. Alexander D. Moseley, President Weldon, N. C. the Rev. C. Melvin Creecy, Vice-President, Rich Square, N. C. Mrs. Cherry E. Clarke, Secretary, Garysburg, N. C. Mrs. Lossie C. Broadnax, Assistant Secretary, Seaboard, N.C. and Augustus C. Cofield, Treasurer, Weldon, N. C. Executive Board are the Rev. Judson King, Bricks, N. C. Chairman. Rev. C. L. Faison, Henderson, N. C. Rev. N. K. Dunn, Weldon, N. C. Fredernand Watson, Rich Square, N. C. Oswald C. Joyner, Margarettsville, N. C. Arthur Poole, Henderson, N. C. Herbert Brown, Pleasant Hill, N. C. Thomas H. Cofield, Enfield, N. C. W. R. Ricks, Severn, N. C. Willie Sykes, Henrico, N. C.

Alexander D. Moseley
Rev. Alexander D. Moseley, Pres.
Cherry E. Clarke
Mrs. Cherry E. Clarke, Sec'y.
Augustus C. Cofield
Mr. Augustus C. Cofield, Treas.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, is contributing the service of its staff in an advisory capacity.

Amy: All dashes represent counties for which no data were found. HCF

NORTH CAROLINA

Percentage of Negro registered voters, 19[illegible]--of total Negro population, 21 and over-19

County	
Alamance	47.8
Alexander	---
Alleghany	---
Anson	25.4
Ashe	---
Avery	---
Beaufort	2.8
Bertie	5.7
Bladen	10.9
Brunswick	18.0
Buncombe	12.1
Burke	---
Cabarrus	---
Caldwell	---
Camden	---
Carteret	---
Caswell	22.8
Catawba	34.6
Chatham	34.6
Cherokee	29.1
Chowan	---
Clay	---
Cleveland	---
Columbus	5.1
Craven	---
Cumberland	8.4
Currituck	---

Dare	---
Davidson	56.1
Davie	28.4
Duplin	---
Durham	49.7
Edgecombe	4.6
Forsyth	51.5
Franklin	---
Gaston	---
Gates	---
Graham	---
Granville	---
Greene	---
Guilford	35.8
Halifax	6.9
Harnett	15.1
Haywood	25.6
Henderson	---
Hertford	11.2
Hoke	9.1
Hyde	4.1
Iredell	20.4
Jackson	---
Johnston	17.9
Jones	7.3
Lee	18.2
Lenoir	29.2
Lincoln	31.3
McDowell	50.9
Macon	---

Madison	47.6
Martin	24.5
Mecklenburg	33.9
Mitchell	---
Montgomery	48.6
Moore	11.2
Nash	20.4
New Hanover	45.7
Northampton	6.1
Onslow	15.0
Orange	---
Pamlico	6.4
Pasquotank	---
Pender	---
Perquimans	---
Person	34.0
Pitt	3.5
Polk	50.0
Randolph	26.4
Richmond	25.1
Robeson	18.1
Rockingham	24.4
Rowan	35.3
Rutherford	---
Sampson	---
Scotland	8.4
Stanly	---
Stokes	---
Surry	---
Swain	---

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Transylvania	---
Tyrrell	---
Union	23.4
Vance	12.2
Wake	22.3
Warren	11.5
Washington	---
Watauga	[illegible]
Wayne	9.9
Wilkes	---
Wilson	13.6
Yadkin	34.7
Yancey	68.9
State (Total)	---

THE CURRENT STATUS OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA

Solomon Sutker
Oklahoma A. and M. College

The material in this study follows as closely as possible the outline sent by the Southern Regional Council although a few variations were made to abet clarity. The data cover parts II through VII of the outline.

II. Registration:

(A) and (B). Data on these two sections have been combined into one table, Table 1. Estimates often had to be used since few counties had any official tabulations that gave all of the information that was desired. As registration records in North Carolina are so decentralized, frequently incomplete and usually not current, estimates for all 100 counties were not obtainable. Also, information was secured on the number of ballots mailed to the various counties in the State by the State Board of Elections for use in the September, 1956 election. Some counties were omitted as they use voting machines in whole or in part, eliminating the need for written ballots furnished by the State Board. Theoretically, each county is sent approximately 105 per cent of the estimated total number of registrants, in multiples of 1,000. Some of these figures are so outdated that there were more ballots mailed to some counties in 1956 than there were citizens age 21 and over in 1950. Of course many counties have gained in population since 1950 but it is highly unlikely that increased registration and population growth account for this differential. Thus Hyde County showed a ratio of registrants other than Negro (based on the number of ballots mailed) to the total number of citizens 21 and over, 1950 that equalled 135.3 per cent, while the ratio for Yancey County was 162.2 per cent. Whenever it was possible, data other than the number of ballots mailed were used to show the ratio of registrants to citizens age 21 and over. The outmoded nature of certain aspects of the North Carolina registration system became quite apparent in this study.

(C). There is every indication that registration by Negroes is on the increase in North Carolina. All persons interviewed, Negro leaders, white election officials, newspapermen, politicians, etc. felt that there had been a rise in Negro registration but no one could give any exact figures. The percentage gain probably is less between 1952-56 than it was between 1947-52. It was during this latter period that the effect of various Supreme Court decisions, plus the existence of political campaigns that openly involved the Negro population such as the Frank Graham--Willis Smith senatorial primaries, influenced the Negro to exercise his franchise at an increasing rate.

State election officials conservatively place current Negro registration as probably being "better than 100,000" while some Negro leaders believe that the figure is nearer 145,000 to 147,000 persons. The *New York Times* in its recent series of articles on the present status of segregation in the South estimated that about 126,000 Negroes were registered voters. The most liberal estimate that this writer could make on the basis of the incomplete data available is that Negro registration in North Carolina is around 135,000.

The State Board of Elections believes that approximately two million persons are registered to vote in North Carolina. In 1950, the State had over 2,300,000 persons who were listed by the census as being citizens 21 and over. In 1956, about 2,500,000 persons would fit into this category. Thus, theoretically, around 80 per cent of the persons qualified to register actually are registered. Actually, many names appearing on the registration books are obsolete because of death, migration or other factors. North Carolina has what is essentially a permanent type of registration system with few counties utilizing any formalized techniques to keep registration records current. The State Board of Elections exercises very loose control over these records.

The Guidebook for County and Precinct Election Officials, 1956, states: "Under 1955 amendments, the twenty-nine counties having within their borders at least one municipality with a population of 10,000 persons are enabled to establish a registration procedure different from that outlined in this guidebook. This alternative method of registration is based on the installation of 'a modern loose-leaf and visible registration system' under which 'the registration books, process, or records shall be open continuously for the registration of voters or the acceptance of registration applications. . .' (See G.S. 163-31.) When such a system has been installed, the modification of numerous election procedures follows as a matter of course. At the present time, fewer than three counties have informed the State Board of Elections of an intention to adopt the alternative system. In view of that fact, and in the belief that interposed references to the alternative system would tend to be confusing to the officials using this guidebook, no effort has been made to describe the alternative registration system here."

According to the rough calculations that can be made from available data, an optimistic tally of Negro registrants would place them as constituting approximately 25 per cent of the number of Negroes who could be registered. Assuming 2,000,000 registrants in the State and 135,000 Negro registrants, then the latter group constitutes less than 7 per cent of the registered voters in the State while consisting of almost 23 per cent of the population of North Carolina age 21 and over. Considerable variation exists throughout the State as illustrated by the following examples:

	Number of nonwhites 21 and over, 1950	Estimated number of Negro registrants, 1956
Urban counties:		
1) Buncombe	9,950	4,200
2) Durham	20,101	10,000
3) Forsyth	25,027	13,000
4) Guilford	22,309	8,000
5) Mecklenburg	29,472	10,000
6) New Hanover	11,675	5,445
7) Wake	21,902	5,000
Rural Eastern Carolina:		
1) Beaufort	7,066	200
2) Bertie	7,016	400
3) Bladen	5,496	600
4) Brunswick	3,322	600
5) Hereford	6,210	700
6) Hyde	1,207	50
7) Martin	6,117	1,500
8) Northampton	8,206	500
9) Scotland	5,791	488
Rural Piedmont Carolina:		
1) Anson	6,143	1,560
2) Alamance	6,897	3,300
3) Caswell	4,383	1,000
4) Davidson	3,563	2,000
5) Davie	1,143	325
6) Person	4,118	1,400
7) Yadkin	576	200
Rural Western Carolina:		
1) Cherokee	172	50
2) Haywood	488	125
3) Madison	105	50
4) McDowell	796	400
5) Polk	799	400

When compared with his former condition the situation of the Negro has shown marked improvement even in the eastern part of the state. But he still is a long way from achieving his potential. Thus in Hyde County located in eastern Carolina it was the contention of one NAACP official that no Negro was known to be on the registration books in 1954. In 1956 between 100 to 150 ? Negroes were registered but the county listed a non-white population of 1,207 age 21 and over in 1950, showing the tremendous gap that still remains.

In particular, some of the white election officials in the eastern part of the state feel that the Negro is doing very well in his registration efforts. (Recently in response to a protest made to the State Board of Elections which was handling a complaint by a Negro who claimed he had been denied the right to register although he felt he was qualified, the chairman of the county Board of Elections stated that there was no trouble in his county (Hertford). He illustrated his opinion by mentioning that almost 700 Negroes now appeared on the election rolls. The 1950 census of population lists the non-white population of this county age 21 and over as being 6,210.)

A major election official in a rural county located in the northeastern part of the state commented: "The colored people here breed like rats. Of every four babies born in the county three are colored. There are 26 white students to every 74 colored. In a period of time as they get to voting age, the colored people will be able to run everything. Every time we turn around the NAACP is on our necks. They watch everything you do and protest all the time." When it was pointed out to the interviewee that his county had a very heavy migration of Negroes going elsewhere, he blurted: "I wish two would leave for every one going now." At the present time Negroes make up less than five per cent of the registered voters in this county although they total over forty per cent of the population of the county age 21 and over.

In the cities Negro registration has steadily advanced over the years. One Negro political leader mentioned that twelve years ago between 600 to 1,000 Negroes were registered to vote in Mecklenburg County of which Charlotte is the county seat. Today the number of active registrants more nearly approached

10,000.

Until a few years ago North Carolina operated under the so-called "Hoey" formula, according to one Hegro political leader. The alleged "Hoey" formula, named after a former governor and senator, supposedly encouraged an informal system which allowed Negro registration to reach a maximum of ten per cent of the registered voters. This was considered a safe margin that still allowed some Negroes to register and vote.

(In theory any qualified Negro can register but registration practices vary widely between the various counties and even within precincts in a particular county. Generally the counties of eastern Carolina attempt to restrict Negro registration while those in the piedmont and mountain areas are less opposed to registration by Negroes.) Exceptions can be found for all the above statements. The state allows the individual registrar considerable leeway in determining the fitness or lack of fitness of an applicant who is trying to register. No requirement exists to list the race of any registrant on the registration books but invariably this is done. The only information that is formally required is shown below.

The Guidebook for County and Precinct Election Officials, 1956 states that "When the registrar is satisfied that the person offering to register possesses the necessary qualifications, he enters in the registration book, the person's name, age, address, place of birth, and the township, county, or state, from which he removed if he was moved, and party affiliation, if any. If done before the primary this registration suffices for the general election as well as the primary."

III. Voting Performance:

Precise figures on the voting performance of all North Carolina counties are not available. However, table number 4 and map number 1, illustrate the voting situation in this state. They show that in areas with a low ratio of non-white population the percentage of voting age population who vote tends to be highest while in counties with the highest percentage of their population classified as non-white are more likely to have the smallest proportion of their voting age population exercising the franchise. Table 4 is divided into quartiles to emphasize general patterns. A more detailed table, table 5, also is included to show variations and similarities in the above mentioned pattern by county. It must be emphasized that tables 4 and 5 are indicative rather than completely valid, particularly today, for the following reasons: 1) voting performance is based upon the presidential election of 1952; the population statistics were compiled from the 1950 census of population. Thus two different periods of time were used, and changes in demographic and suffrage conditions have occurred since 1950 and 1952. 2) There is evidence that the high voting performance of some counties sometimes is related to extra-legal and illegal activities at the polling places such as abuses in the use of absentee ballots. 3) The non-white population includes some Indians and other groups in addition to Negroes although the latter constitutes the largest segment of the non-white population of the state. This situation is most pronounced in Robeson county which had over 22,000 non-whites other than Negro IN all age categories in 1950. At least eleven other counties besides Robeson have over 100 non-whites of all ages other than Negroes in their 1950 populations. These included Columbus with 268, Cumberland with 458, Graham with 211; 402 in Harnett, 764 in Hoke, 1,054 in Jackson, 168 in Person, 786 in Sampson, 1,075 in Scotland, 1,412 in Swain and 821 in Warren. 4) Parts of Tables 4 and 5 are based on the nonwhite population of all ages. In many counties the ratio of nonwhites age 21 and over to the total population age 21 and over is less than the ratio of nonwhites of all

Cherokees in Swain Co.

ages to the total population, since such factors as out-migration, high birth rates and high death rates lower the ratio of nonwhites age 21 and over, particularly in rural counties.

The Negro vote ordinarily gravitates to anyone who seems to be in a position to help them or at least not to hurt them. Yet this is not always the case. On occasion, some white man who is openly anti-Negro can control the vote of some elements in the Negro population. This occurs in both rural and urban areas but is more prevalent in the rural sections of the State. An editor in one of the largest cities of North Carolina commented: "A lot of Negro votes can be bought in this area. The principal Negro political leader will accept money to get out the vote but he won't support just any candidate. If he did, he wouldn't stay in power. Thus in the 1956 primary he didn't support anyone despite various offers received from a number of politicians as he felt that none of the candidates would take a stand that would be for the best interests of the Negro community." But in a small city of the Eastern Piedmont, a different story was told. The editor of a newspaper in this area remarked: "An interesting situation occurred in the last local election that concerned the county school board. The old board had gotten rid of a popular school principal but they still thought that they would be returned to office. The supporters of the old board included some men who operate a tobacco redrying plant. These men had been strong supporters of Willis Smith when he ran against Frank Graham. They actually contacted their colored employees, most of whom were seasonal workers, and got them to vote for the old board although the latter group represented an anti-Negro point of view. The old board lost anyhow for they received about 20 per cent of the total votes that were cast."

A relatively heavy Negro vote usually means that the Negro is more politically conscious and organized. But on occasion this vote is essentially a tool manipulated by white politicians who are not too concerned with the general welfare of the Negro. A Negro from one of the larger communities in North Carolina who is active in local and state politics declared: "Some people say we 'bloc' vote and in one sense that is true. The whites don't like it but they were the ones who taught us the value of organization. Durham probably has the best organized Negro group in the State; Greensboro is next; Winston-Salem is improving; Raleigh has a very loose organization while Charlotte is poorly organized. The Negro in Durham holds the balance of political power in the county. This is related to the fact that organized labor and the Negro have been working together. The professional union men are still holding to that alliance although it has been weakened lately because of the racial issue. The Negro in Greensboro has been helped by the Quaker influence which exists in Guilford County."

Another Negro leader commented: "It takes money to set up an adequate organization and the Negroes don't have money. Unlike Durham where the Negro leadership can put together $10,000 for a campaign if needed, many of the Negroes who could make donations in other cities are too indebted to the local white leadership." Some persons who do not want to see any increase in registration and voting by Negroes contend that encouragement of the exercise of the suffrage by the Negro is dangerous since proportionately more Negroes are prone to register and vote than is true of the white population. Almost all information secured by this writer indicates the falsity of this attitude. One editor described a study made in 1952 of the registration habits of the residents of a white housing project and a colored housing project in a large North Carolina city who were of comparable economic status; theoretically, only persons under a certain income level could live in these units. Eighty-five per cent of the Negro population who were qualified actually were registered while only 38 per cent of the white group were registrants. However, in this same community, less than one third of the potential Negro vote is registered today and the over-all community average on the ratio of Negroes voting to the number registered was low. Apparently, the Negro housing project that was studied was situated in a locality that was unusually well organized.

Even in the Rural Piedmont and Eastern Carolina sections, examples could be found of encouragement of Negroes to vote. Thus, one county run by a group known as "The Ring" had a slush fund to use to overcome any opposition, white or colored. A few years ago, a Negro ran for the county board of education and was defeated readily. This county allows the Negro to register without any difficulty but "The Ring" has been known "to buy up" many of the colored ministers in the county who are expected to influence their membership to vote in favor of "The Ring." In a somewhat similar manner the Negro is encouraged to vote in Asheville and Buncombe County as they often provide a strong bloc of votes that can be used by the local politicians to stay in office.

More specific statistics on voting are to be found in Table 6. As has been indicated, the ratio of Negroes voting in the May, 1956 Democratic primary was much less than in some earlier contests. One leader said: "The voting of Negroes tends to follow a pattern somewhat like that of the rest of the voting population. If there is a hot issue or important candidates to support them, lots of Negroes vote and they usually support the same candidates. As long ballots can create confusion, the Negro group as well as other groups prepare mock ballots for distribution around the polling places. Transportation is furnished and various precinct leaders and their helpers make it their business to get out the vote. There is extensive use of the telephone. Sometimes the Negroes register a protest vote by not voting for any candidate for a particular office." Illustrations are given to show these patterns in some "Negro" precincts in Durham and Winston-Salem.

Votes Cast for Governor in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Durham County:

	For Hodges	For Other Candidates
Whitted School Precinct, Durham	67	91
Burton School Precinct, Durham	25	68
Pearson School Precinct, Durham	39	53
Durham County, all precincts	11,766	1,783

Votes Cast for U.S. Senator in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Durham County:

	For Ervin	For Kurfees
Whitted School Precinct, Durham	57	946
Burton School Precinct, Durham	33	377
Pearson School Precinct, Durham	32	77
Durham County, all precincts	9,493	2,969

Votes Cast for U.S. House of Representatives in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Forsyth County*:

	For Scott	For Chatham
Columbia Heights, Precinct, Winston-Salem	9	363
14th Street Precinct, Winston-Salem	36	1,278
Kimberly Park Precinct, Winston-Salem	33	1,100

* 9,105 persons were listed as being registered in these three precincts.

IV. Legal Determinants:

The general qualifications for a person to register to vote in North Carolina are:

(a) Be a citizen of the United States.

(b) Be 21 years of age.

(c) Not be an idiot or a lunatic.

(d) Be able to read and write any section of the State Constitution in the English language to the satisfaction of the registrar, unless permanently registered under the "Grandfather Clause." ?

(e) Show that there has been no conviction, or confession of guilt in open court, upon indictment, of any crime the punishment for which is imprisonment in the State Prison unless citizenship has been restored.

(f) Show that he is a member in good faith of the party in whose primary he seeks to vote when he desires to vote in a primary.

Thus the constitutional and statutory requirements of the state contain no phraseology that can be directed explicitly at the Negro. Other factors being equal, the Negro is mostly affected by the requirement to pass a literacy test since he has a higher illiteracy rate than the white population. Residential requirements are that the person seeking to register must demonstrate to the registrar that he has resided in North Carolina for one year and in the election district in which he seeks to register for thirty days immediately preceding the election. ? The higher migration rate of Negroes may have an occasional effect.

A major source of difficulty for Negroes who are disqualified from registering lies in the abuse of administrative procedures that have developed to determine their meeting the above listed qualifications. This aspect of the registration problem will be considered in greater detail below when we consider various discriminatory techniques that are currently in use.

Also it has been contended that the system for handling registration books during registration periods causes some Negroes to be reluctant to register. According to the General Statutes of the State of North Carolina each precinct registrar must be at the voting place in his precinct to register voters from 9:00 A.M. until sunset on the fourth, third, and second Saturdays before the primary and general elections. On other days during these periods he must keep the registration book open at his home or place of business from 9:00 A.M. until sunset. Some Negroes are reluctant to go to a white person's home to register particularly if the registrar is a woman. On the other hand, there have been protests that the establishment of a central point for registration, as exists in a few cities, may be too inconvenient.

V. Socio-Economic Factors:

(A) The use of the economic dependency of the Negro on the white population as a means of controlling the registration and voting of Negroes is most apparent in the rural areas of the State and some of the smaller towns, particularly in eastern North Carolina and the eastern piedmont areas. The groups that are most vulnerable to pressure are tenant farmers, school teachers and domestic servants.

A Negro who is active in local political affairs in Durham pointed out: "The economic factor is important in enabling the Durham Negro to be politically active. He usually works for corporations, often large and frequently unionized, that do not concern themselves with his voting behavior. In the eastern part of the State, economic pressures can be brought to bear more directly on most Negroes who want to be politically active. Thus a man may try to register and be told that he should come back next week as the books are closed for the day. In the meantime, the registrar has gotten in touch with his boss who may own a farm or small business and the boss will indicate to his employee that it probably will be better if he doesn't register, so he doesn't."

Teachers now can be fired from their jobs on thirty days notice. Many Negroes who are active in politics in rural North Carolina counties have stated that they generally do not ask teachers to participate in political activities since such action could endanger their jobs. In one rural county, 25 Negro school teachers were fired in May, 1956. Some had been teaching ~~for~~ for ten or 15 years. They asked for a hearing before the school board and all but five eventually were reinstated. The shcool board maintained that various Negroes in the county had complained that these teachers were incompetent which was the reason for the loss of their jobs. Several of these teachers at this time requested that their membership in NAACP be dropped. Shortly thereafter they were reinstated in their old positions. On occasion, a Negro school teacher who is openly active in NAACP affairs in a rural eastern North Carolina county can be encountered but generally the rural Negro educator either avoids politics, keeps silent about his beliefs or else openly supports the white group in power who may be against the Negro getting "too uppity" in his political behavior.

The rules of the State Board of Elections include a provision pertaining to residential qualifications that affects teachers. "Persons who move for the purpose of teaching in the city or county schools temporarily and with the intention or expectation of returning to the residence of their parents (or other relatives) during vacation periods to live, and who do not intend to become residents of the precinct to which they have moved to teach, are considered for voting purposes, to be residents of the precincts in which their parents (or other relatives) reside." This provision has been used a few times by a limited number of registrars in some of the eastern Carolina counties as a device to keep teachers from registering. It took one teacher who had lived and worked in one of these counties 15 years to get his name on the books as the registrar kept insisting that he really wasn't a "permanent resident."

Some politicians in the eastern Carolina area want their teachers to avoid teaching any subject matter that may change the attitudes of their pupils from their old customs. An election official exclaimed: "The colored schools keep on emphasizing that colored people must vote. They have special classes to make them politically conscious." A professor in a private Negro college said: "In North Carolina as elsewhere the power structure controls the educational system. Negro principals often won't hire anyone who may teach 'practical civics.' Since my college is known for its stress on making its students aware of the need for participation in community affairs including politics, some of our graduates particularly those in the social studies have trouble getting teaching jobs. Recently we had the case of a young widow whose husband was killed while he was in military service who thought she would return to college to get her degree. She was told that there would be no job for her in the school system of her home area if she abided by the ideas that this institution instills."

Some government employees such as janitors have the same dilemma as the school teacher and solve this problem in the same way. They come into contact with politicians who are conservative and paternalistic and who expect them to vote their way.

(B) Negro leaders interested in increasing registration and voting constantly talked of the apathy and lack of political consciousness existent among so many Negroes. This situation exists in the entire potential voting population ~~by~~ but generally is more accentuated among the Negroes, with some exceptions. One man in eastern Carolina commented: "The hardest trouble now is to get people to register; they have been rejected so often that they are hesitant about trying again and again." Another man complained about the lack of interest in politics of so many Negro business and professional men who should be providing leadership.

Some of the migrants into the State have come from rural areas in Georgia and South Carolina. Their parents have trained them to avoid anything that is concerned with politics, so they refuse to register and vote. A Negro lawyer believed that the highly educated Negro often avoids politics. "Practically speaking, the best expenditure of campaign money for Negro votes lies in transporting other Negroes to register and vote. They need guidance and the driver can provide moral support and help the Negro overcome his lethargy and fear when voting by being around."

While the Negro usually registers and votes most frequently when some issue arises that directly affects him, even self-interest often is not enough incentive to arouse him ~~in~~to register~~ing~~ (and vot~~ing~~e). Thus the recent Pearsall Amendment to the State Constitution concerning the public school system directly affected ~~the~~ Negroes but ~~he,~~ few of them, as well as a relatively small percentage of the white population, bothered to vote. For one thing, the Negro leadership in the State knew in advance that the Amendment would pass regardless of their efforts.

A few areas of the State, such as Guilford County, showed noticeable increases in registration, with the county board of elections reporting over 2,200 new registrants being placed on the rolls in the three weeks prior to the date that the Pearsall Amendment was to be voted on. How many of these new registrants were Negro is not yet known. However, the executive secretary of the State Board of Elections advised in a news story it was his impression that new registrations tended to be light on a statewide basis.

VI. Discriminatory Techniques:

See our clips

(A) There is no overt violence or physical intimidation of Negroes who want to register and vote in North Carolina. Even the most rabid pro-segregationists who were interviewed favored more indirect means of maintaining the Negro vote at a minimum. A Negro who has studied the racial situation in North Carolina rather carefully observed: "Prior to all this fuss over the Pearsall plan to maintain a segregated school system, I thought North Carolina was developing somehwat along the lines of Maryland and Tennessee. Now I do not think North Carolina is any better off in its race relations than the states of the Deep South except for the lack of violence." /

((B-1) In some rural counties sponsorship by some white man means that a Negro can register with a minimum of trouble. One Negro who was a defeated candidate for political office in an eastern piedmont county said: "When a colored man feels that he may be challenged he just brings along a white friend who vouches for him and he is registered." A newspaperman discussed the situation in one rural eastern Carolina county: "In this county an unsponsored Negro isn't registered. One registrar in the county turned down 60 Negroes in one brief period until some were sponsored by white men." On a statewide basis, white sponsorship ordinarily is not needed.)

(B-2) North Carolina has no property qualifications as a requirement to register to vote.

(B-3) The strict enforcement of literacy tests is one of the principal weapons utilized to limit the registration of Negroes in some of the rural counties of eastern and piedmont North Carolina. (The state law provides that a person who wishes to register must show that he is able to read and write any section of the State Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar. The registrar has considerable latitude in determining whether or not a person is literate.) He may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State Constitution or he may dictate any sections he wants to use. Protests have been made about the use of dictation since a registrar may read too fast or dictate a particularly difficult section. However, the Executive Secretary of the State Board of Elections has upheld the right of a registrar to employ dictation if he so desires. The Guidebook for County and Precinct Election Officials, 1956 declares: "In commenting on the literacy qualification, the Attorney General has pointed out that one registrar is not entitled to reexamine and undo official acts performed andpassed on by preceding election officials. Thus if an individual's voting qualifications have already been passed on and a former registrar has allowed him to register, a new registrar is not called on to reexamine the individual's literacy. This is not, however, designed to limit the action or determination by the registrar upon proper challenge. On the other hand, if an individual has been refused registration because of a determination of illiteracy, he should be given an opportunity at a later time to demonstrate that he has become literate." A Negro attorney in a rural eastern Carolina county maintains: "For all practical purposes, literacy and other tests are used only on the Negro in certain precincts of this county and some of the adjoining counties. It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic test rather than a literacy test. The county adjoining this one has certain precincts that are particularly rough. In this county the tests are tough and the literacy rate low which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law. When protests against the nature of some of these tests arose, the registrars in many precincts came out with a uniform test on the last Saturday for registering, indicating that this attempt at intimidation was not just a precinct affair but had been developed by a higher political echelon. The questions were such that they could not have been devised by the registrars who are not highly educated. Some of these questions could stump a lawyer much less the ordinary layman. The number of known cases of intimidation through use of this stringent education test as well as other means varies in different precincts." Thirty Negroes were disqualified on the same day for allegedly unjust causes in one precinct; in another precinct, 12 out of 24 persons were disqualified while a third precinct had three known cases.

A colored minister in this same county declared that Negroes had been turned down who actually were better qualified than some of the whites for white illiterates had been accepted to register. The same contention was made by a Negro businessman in another eastern piedmont county. He said that registration problems usually were confined to the rural sections of the county and involved the use of literacy tests. "Negroes are requested to do some reading while white applicants are not so required even when it is generally known that the educational background of the white man is less than that of the Negro." Also, counties could be found throughout the State, including rural piedmont and eastern North Carolina counties, that ignored any literacy requirements for anyone, white or colored, who wanted to register. A Negro minister who is very active in politics in one piedmont county contended: "The Negro has no problem in registering in this county. Even illiterates can get on the books. Perhaps the Negro has it too easy in this respect; if it were harder to register perhaps more Negroes would be interested in exercising their franchise." The chairman of the board of elections of one eastern county stated that he had instructed his registrars to be on the side of leniency when ~~t~~he registered Negroes so that no basis for protest could exist. This situation was confirmed by local Negro political leaders. Another chairman of the board of elections in a rural piedmont county stated there was little difficulty for anyone to register in his county for he had advised the registrars to register "just about anyone who applied and seemed to be qualified and to use a minimum amount of testing."

(B-4) Along with an overly strict enforcement of literacy tests against Negro applicants, the use of unreasonable questions concerning the state and federal constitutions and other matters is employed by some registrars. Even this technique is a modification of more stringent methods that have been employed in earlier years. One informant mentioned a court case a few years ago in which the evidence showed that the registrar had required the Negro applicant to write the entire Constitution from memory. Somewhat akin to this case is a complaint by a Negro college graduate who attempted to register for the May, 1956 primary but who was denied the right to register because he could not write a section of the State Constitution from memory. Two other incidents are given below that occurred during 1956. Both involve the use of complicated questionnaires concerning the Federal and State Constitutions and statutes as well as other topics.

(B-5) The use of technical mistakes as a basis for refusing registration occasionally may be utilized by registrars who want to disqualify Negro applicants. Thus the potential registrant is asked to define such words as "ordained," "sovereignty,""posterity," etc. The replies that are given may not "satisfy the registrar." In this way the applicant can be turned down. Sometimes this technique may be used orally; on occasion the requested material must be written. The various counties have different systems for registering. One observer of election activities throughout the State maintains: "In the east there are no forms to complete; merely the answering of questions given orally. The registrant even does not have to sign his name and often the registrar will write the name in the registration books. In other counties the applicant may have to sign his name and complete other required information."

(B-6) A few examples of requiring Negro applicants to suffer long periods of waiting before they were allowed to make application for registration were found in the east. A Negro minister contended: "Negroes in my county are hampered in registering by such tactics as the use of unreasonable questions and examinations that last too long. This latter tactic has a double-barrelled effect as illustrated by the case of one man who was examined for 2 1/2 hours which in turn discouraged other Negroes who were waiting to register." Another Negro familiar with the political situation of his race in the State said: "The practice still exists among some registrars to delay registration of Negroes. Thus the registrar may keep a person in the place of registration for an hour and a half, starting at the beginning of the registration period in the morning. There are many others waiting and they too are held for long periods of time so that newcomers to the line will become discouraged and leave when they learn how long it takes to register. Whites can go in immediately or the registrar may tell the white man that he will register him at his own home. He usually won't do this for a Negro although he may tell a Negro since his place is crowded, etc. he'll see him at the Negro's house. But he never shows up."

(B-7) Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks while those of whites are filled out for them by officials does not serve as a basis of complaint since the areas that discriminate may use no written forms with the occasional exception of a written questionnaire supposedly dealing with the applicant's knowledge of various governmental processes.

(B-8) Evasionary tactics other than those already mentioned sometimes occur but are lessening. In a piedmont county near Charlotte a registrar was supposed to have told one Negro who attempted to register for the May, 1956 primary: "You can't register until next fall" while he declared to others: "You don't want to register in the primary because it isn't important; register for the fall elections instead." In an eastern Carolina county, one registrar told a Negro applicant: "Whites register under the grandfather clause; colored people under an educational test." A complaint to the State Board of Elections corrected this situation, according to my informant. In the past, such questions as "How many rooms are there in the courthouse?" and such tidbits as "We don't register people who are left-handed" were used. Today, the registrar who wishes to discriminate is more sophisticated in his approach. (B-9) The concensus of all those who were interviewed, white and Negro, was that few, if any, deliberate insults or threats by officials and/or hangers-on against Negro applicants existed today, just as the threat of open violence is nonexistent. One Negro leader moaned: "It's the old iron fist in a silk glove technique that is used." It was the feeling of the writer that violence as an approach to handling suffrage problems was not employed in North Carolina and that in general, the State was more easy-going in this respect than most southern states.

The NAACP has received complaints concerning registration practices from at least 23 counties during 1956, or almost one fourth of the counties in the State. The organization has lodged complaints against most of these counties with the State Board of Elections or federal authorities. Map number 2 shows the distribution of these localities which are concentrated in the piedmont and eastern sections of North Carolina. Mecklenburg and Wake Counties are included as complaints were received on activities in some of the rural precincts of these two urbanized areas. Also, a copy of the questionnaire used by the NAACP ~~for use~~ in cases involving alleged registration violations is enclosed.

VII. Organized Efforts and Prospects:

(A) No really completely organized movement exists at present on a statewide basis to increase the number of Negro registrants. While elements in the Negro leadership (such as officials of NAACP) recognize the importance of having as many Negroes register as possible, their efforts at the moment are centered on fighting cases of disenfranchisement where obviously illegal tactics have been employed to prevent a Negro from registering. For the most part, Negro leaders in each county or community operate on their own to encourage regist~~r~~ration, with the degree of success and effort varying markedly in different areas. The NAACP has a paid worker who travels the entire State to advance the cause of Negro suffrage. He encourages increased registration and voting and in particular investigates situations where there have been complaints of alleged abuses of the right to exercise the franchise. He advises and assists in preparing remedial measures such as contacts with local authorities or protests to the State Board of Elections or the federal government.

At the present, NAACP functions most effectively as a gadfly to force precinct and county officials to follow the letter of the law on registration problems. In some instances, policy concerning proper enforcement of registration procedures is left almost entirely in the hands of local registrars who may make their own prejudicial rules that may vary from those of the county board of election. Sometimes the county board of election may operate in an extra-legal manner. If enough pressure is exerted through written protests to the State Board of Elections or to federal authorities which generally become advertised in newspaper stories, some county and precinct officials have to adjust by obeying the registration laws more adequately or by becoming more circumspect in their behavior. An election official in an eastern Carolina county complained: "The NAACP rides us too hard. They watch everything you do and protest all the time." This technique is helping to equalize registration conditions for the Negro in areas where he has been disenfranchised by illegal methods.

Negroes have organized many local political action organizations. There are all kinds of Citizens Leagues, Civic Improvement Associations, Civic Forums, etc. that attempt to influence the Negro to register and vote. Many communities have NAACP branches that operate Political Action Committees. One Negro leader who has knowledge of the activities of this group believes that these committees have not been too successful statewide. More Negroes are becoming political leaders in their particular voting precincts and are achieving influence with local white politicians because of their ability to control votes. For all practical purposes, Negroes are not politically influential on a statewide level. They have yet to develop a truly potent statewide "political bloc." Only in a close election can the Negro vote make the difference between victory and defeat in an election involving the entire State. However, the Negro vote can be a potent factor in local elections not only in some of the larger cities but in smaller communities as well.

Organizations such as Elks Clubs, garden clubs and some churches provide other instruments for the Negro to learn how to exercise his franchise for effective political action. There is increasing emphasis on the use of car pools at voting time, telephoning people to vote, etc.

Organized efforts to lessen the number and ratio of Negroes who are registering to vote, other than the methods of some groups mentioned above, are few. Existent opposition is mostly on a personal and private level. The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc. are opposed to integration and helped defeat a candidate for U.S. Senator and for the U.S. House of Representatives who were supported by the colored population. However, this group has never openly challenged the right of a qualified Negro to register and vote to the knowledge of this writer. Their method has been to build up support for candidates whom they approve. Another organized group, DUPEC or the Durham Union for Political Education Committee, has come into existence in Durham County largely to support candidates and programs similar to those sponsored by the Patriots and to neutralize the strong Negro vote in Durham. The white membership of the Patriots is varied; one editor stated: "The Patriots, unlike the KKK, has in many cases a high caliber of membership. Lawyers and businessmen were instrumental in promoting its formation and development." At least the nominal leaders of this organization are concentrated in the Piedmont section of the State. In brief, the colored organizations are trying to increase the registration, political sophistication, and voting of the Negro on matters that affect him. The white anti-integrationist groups are trying to be politically potent to negate the effects of any increased Negro vote. Both groups are making progress in accomplishing their goals but neither is outstandingly successful.

Alliances with organized labor, with the exception of Durham County, are not very noticeable at present. Even in Durham County, the working relationship between the Negro population and union labor which has enabled these groups to be so potent politically in this area has been somewhat lessened, particularly by the influence of DUPEC which is headed by a union man and which has both the overt and covert support of some of the wealthier people in the community. Winston-Salem got its big boost in Negro registration several years ago through the encouragement of a tobacco workers union. The union later was shown to be Communist dominated and has since lost out. But enough impetus had been supplied to enable the Negro population to become important politically.

In the various towns, one usually finds no single Negro "bloc" but more than one "bloc." One group is essentially of the "accommodating" type to use Myrdal's label while the other has more of the characteristics of the "protest" type. The latter group~~s~~ is becoming more predominate although many Negroes who still hold political office in the State are of the "accommodating" type. With few exceptions any Negro who runs for political office can expect support from the members of his race, regardless of his conservative or liberal leanings.

(B) The immediate prospects for Negro suffrage in North Carolina seem to be:

1. Increasing registration by Negroes but not in tremendous numbers. The NAACP has set a potential goal of 500,000 Negroes to be registered which for all practical purposes would mean getting almost every Negro age 21 and over to register. One white editor optimistically predicted that there would be about 350,000 Negroes registered to vote in the 1956 presidential election~~s~~ compared with the estimated 104,000 who were registered in 1952. He thought there would be a tremendous drive to increase registration between June, 1956 (when the interview with this man took place) and November. No other persons interviewed thought such an increase would occur, including those who were pro-Negro or anti-Negro.

2. Differences in acceptance of the right of the Negro to register which exist currently throughout different regions and communities of the State will continue to lessen, particularly as the NAACP pushes its efforts to fight obvious cases of discrimination. There is no evidence of any really well organized attempt to increase Negro registration on a statewide level, although the potential for such a move exists. Open appeals for the "Negro vote" has

developed already in many cities and towns in North Carolina, especially in the piedmont and western areas of the State. Covert appeals will continue in the coastal plains and eastern piedmont belts, for open appeals by a white candidate would be the equivalent of signing a political death warrant. Those counties that now restrict Negro registration increasingly will use more legal and sophisticated tactics to neutralize the political effectiveness of the Negro. These methods are already in use throughout the State and accomplish by indirection what the white politician in the east has been doing directly, making the potential Negro vote as impotent as possible. These tactics include:

(a) The classical technique of gerrymandering sections with heavy colored populations so that the Negro vote can be contained. North Carolina has used this method for many years to lessen the political importance of the Republican party in the western part of the State.

(b) More use of the "anti-single shot" law which was passed in 1955 and which is optional. Most of the counties now using this sytem are located in the eastern piedmont and coastal areas of the State as Map number 3 shows. The "anti-single shot" law can be a tool to lessen the effects of any Negro "bloc" voting. The attached news story explains the nature of the law and some of the efforts that are being made by Negroes to have the law declared unconstitutional.

(c) Greater appeal to Negroes to vote for white politicians who are willing to help them, making them a part of the white politician's machine and lessening to some extent their independence to support Negro candidates who may want to run for the really important political offices in a locality.

(d) Set up a reregistration system to overhaul the obsolete records of the past. This may eliminate many white and colored citizens but could be overcome by the Negro possibly to his own advantage if he organizes adequately if reregistration does occur.

(e) Elect district officials by vote of the entire county or city. Thus aldermen would be elected on a citywide basis rather than by wards. Negroes already have been elected to office despite this system, but it still would provide more of a handicap for a Negro candidate than it would for a white candidate.

Regardless of what methods may be used, the Negro is becoming more important politically as direct restrictions on his franchise decline. Many of the registrars who emphasize these restrictive tactics are old and are dying out. Precinct and county election officials are observing the letter of the law more than they did in the past, although it may be repugnant for some of them to do so. Apathy rather than restrictions on registering increasingly will be the principal reason why Negroes will fail to register and vote in North Carolina. Some of the Republican candidates for office are openly appealing for votes from Negro citizens but no organized, concerted effort by the Republican party to get Negroes to register and to vote the Republican ticket exists. North Carolina Negroes, for the present, are mostly Democrats and they should become a little more influential in this party in the years ahead.

APPENDIX NUMBER 1

Summary of a term paper on "Raleigh Negro Politics" by Carson A. Blue for
Political Science 401, North Carolina State College, 1956

Raleigh is divided into 29 precincts. Three of them are predominately Negro and contain one third of the city's population and one sixth of its land area.

In 1932, Negroes formed the Negro Voters League to abet voting conditions of the Negro. In 1940, one of the three predominately Negro precincts installed the first Negro registrar and precinct judges in many years. Today, Negroes in two of the precincts have their own party committees, committee chairmen, judges and registrars. The other precinct located in a slum area has a white registrar, a Democratic committee that is largely white and a politically "disinterested population." Voting has increased sharply in the other two Negro precincts but has not had much noticeable effect. Negroes in Raleigh practice "single shot" voting in city elections, supporting any Negro candidate and ignoring the bulk of the white candidates.

earlier than
this ?

Negroes have attempted to be elected to public office since 1947 but none has succeeded to date. Negro candidates have run for political office in 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953 and 1955.

Support of Negro candidates by white voters comes mostly from areas containing younger businessmen and educators; the least support comes from a precinct containing whites in the lower middle class. The "accommodating" type of Negro leader usually is the one who can secure some white support when he runs for political office.

Negroes are most likely to succeed in electing a member of their race to office in Raleigh _at the present time_ if:

(1) He is essentially conservative in his point of view.

(2) A coalition of Negroes and whites of the same economic level occurs. Although this has been tried to a limited extent it has not succeeded to date.

(3) All predominately Negro precincts are well organized and support any Negro candidate.

News Story from Raleigh News and Observer, June 21, 1956

SUES FOR $5,000

'CIVICS TEST' FLUNKS VOTER

A citizen in Halifax County for 20 years was allegedly denied his right to vote when he failed to answer a series of questions put to him by his precinct registrar last May.

The questions, as quoted in a suit filed in U.S. District Court here yesterday, were:

"1--What is the total membership of the (U.S.) House of Representatives?

"2--What is the total membership of the (U.S.) Senate?

"3--What would be the total vote of two thirds of the House and Senate?

"4--How many of the State Legislatures must ratify an amendment to make it become a law?

"5--The 18th Amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale and transportation of liquors. What was this act called? What year proclaimed?

"6--By what amendment was the 18th Amendment recinded?

"7--On what date each year does Congress convene?

"8--On what date every four years is the President of the U.S. inaugurated?
  A--First term?
  B--Second term?
  C--Third term?

The suit, asking to recover $5,000 damages, was filed by Ernest Ivey, 62-year-old Negro preacher of Littleton, against T. W. Cole, registrar of the Littleton precinct in Halifax County. Attorney for the plaintiff is Herman Taylor of Raleigh.

The complaint contended that the plaintiff can read and write sufficiently to meet voting requirements as specified in the North Carolina General Statutes and the State Constitution.

The plaintiff went three times to the registrar's office prior to the May 26, 1956, Democratic Primary but was not allowed to register, according to court papers. The times that he appeared at the registrar's office were cited in court papers as April 28, May 5, and once between these two dates.

The complaint alleged that the plaintiff was given an academic test by the defendant on matters pertaining to the Constitution, history and government. It was charged that the test was not a literacy test designed to test the plaintiff's ability to read and write any section of the State or U.S. Constitution and that the test was not even a token attempt at compliance with North Carolina law.

The test, the plaintiff contended, was arbitrary and intended to deprive him of rights and privileges of franchise because of his race and color.

The North Carolina General Statutes specify that any citizen to qualify as a voter must be capable of reading or writing any section of the U.S. Constitution. This law is also embodied in the State Constitution.

The complaint said the plaintiff has been a resident of Halifax County for 20 years and of the Littleton precinct for 10 years.

EXCERPTS FROM A NEWS STORY APPEARING IN THE RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER,
JUNE 21, 1956

'ANTI-SINGLE SHOT BALLOT' SUIT IS FILED

FAYETTEVILLE, June 20 -- A civil action seeking to have a North Carolina statute prohibiting "single-shot balloting" in county or municipal primaries or elections declared unconstitutional has been filed in Cumberland County Superior Court by Attorney Harry E. Groves.

Complaint, outlining alleged constitutional violations by the State law, was filed against L. Sneed High, chairman of the County Board of Elections by S. W. Thaggard and Charles M. Cherry, plaintiffs, and signed by Groves as plaintiff's attorney.

Cumberland County is one of 17 North Carolina counties placed under provisions of the "single-shot balloting" statute by the 1955 General Assembly, according to the complaint.

As stated in the action, the statute section prescribes that "where there are group candidates for the same office printed on the ballot on any county or municipal primary or election held in this State and the names of several candidates therefore appear on the ballot grouped under the offices for which they are all running, the elector shall cast his or her vote for as many candidates as there are offices to be filled, and where and elector votes for any number of such group candidates less than the number of offices to be filled such ballots shall not be counted for any of the group candidates for such offices..."

This provision violates the North Carolina Constitution, the complaint alleges since "it compels the voter to vote on candidates he deems unfit for office" resulting in election of candidates "no voter deems fit for office."

The statute also is unconstitutional, the action continues, because it allegedly compels election of a candidate who died or withdrew after the ballot was printed, and results in no election for the office should fewer candidates file than the number of group offices to be filled.

Another unconstitutional allegation listed was that the statute makes "exercise of the ballot so extremely inconvenient and difficult as to amount to an effective denial of the franchise."

The statute also was alleged to be a constitutional violation because "it invades the right of a voter to cast a secret ballot thereby denying him free participation in a free election."

Final alleged unconstitutional allegation was that "single-shot balloting" is a "special or private or class legislation imposing a burden upon a class of voters namely those of only 17 counties.

Registration Questionnaire Administered in Greene County, 1956*

I. Name

II. What party fil. are you?

III. Occupation

IV. Name of the Canadates for registrar of deed.

V. Canadates for board of education.

VI. Canadates for board of commisioner.

VII. Canadates for board of treasure.

VIII. Canadates for board of justice of peace.

IX. What canadate is runing from Lindell

X. What district is Lindell in. (B) Name the counties in the district.

XI. What cong. dist. do you in. Name the counties in that dist.

XII. What jud. dist. do y. live in. Name counties in that dist.

XIII. What list. ....

XIV. What

XV. If the N. A. A. C. P. attack the gov. would you give arm?

XVI. Do you belong to a communist party

XV. What party have a primary election.

XVI. When is the primary election.

XVII. When is gneral election.

* The above material is an exact duplicate (including spelling) of an alleged questionnaire that a colored woman maintains was given her to complete when she attempted to register in Greene County, North Carolina. She had written out the questions as she remembered them as part of her complaint about being discriminated against when she attempted to register.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Abbeyville	3,678	15
Aiken	9,896	1,500
Allendale	3,891	350
Anderson	9,993	3,000
Bamberg	4,485	500
Barnwell	4,776	750
Beaufort	7,624	2,000
Berkeley	8,125	3,200
Calhoun	4,437	0
Charleston	34,111	6,000
Cherokee	3,692	1,000
Chester	6,788	650
Chesterfield	6,059	3,500
Clarendon	9,279	1,200
Colleton	6,768	1,200
Darlington	10,455	9,000
Dillon	6,520	4,000
Dorchester	5,772	800
Edgefield	4,312	800
Fairfield	5,931	550
Florence	16,650	1,600
Georgetown	7,321	2,100
Greenville	17,150	9,000
Greenwood	6,782	2,500
Hampton	4,607	350
Horry	6,969	2,700
Jasper	3,281	1,100
Kershaw	7,065	1,000
Lancaster	5,111	1,500
Laurens	7,313	700
Lee	6,246	1,500
Lexington	4,698	150
McCormick	2,625	0
Marion	8,668	1,500
Marlboro	7,460	1,200
Newberry	5,896	775
Oconee	2,457	2,000
Orangeburg	19,158	2,200
Pickens	2,364	900
Richland	28,383	12,500
Saluda	2,971	500
Spartanburg	17,546	7,000
Sumter	14,807	1,800
Union	4,879	1,500
Williamsburg	12,121	900
York	10,904	2,900

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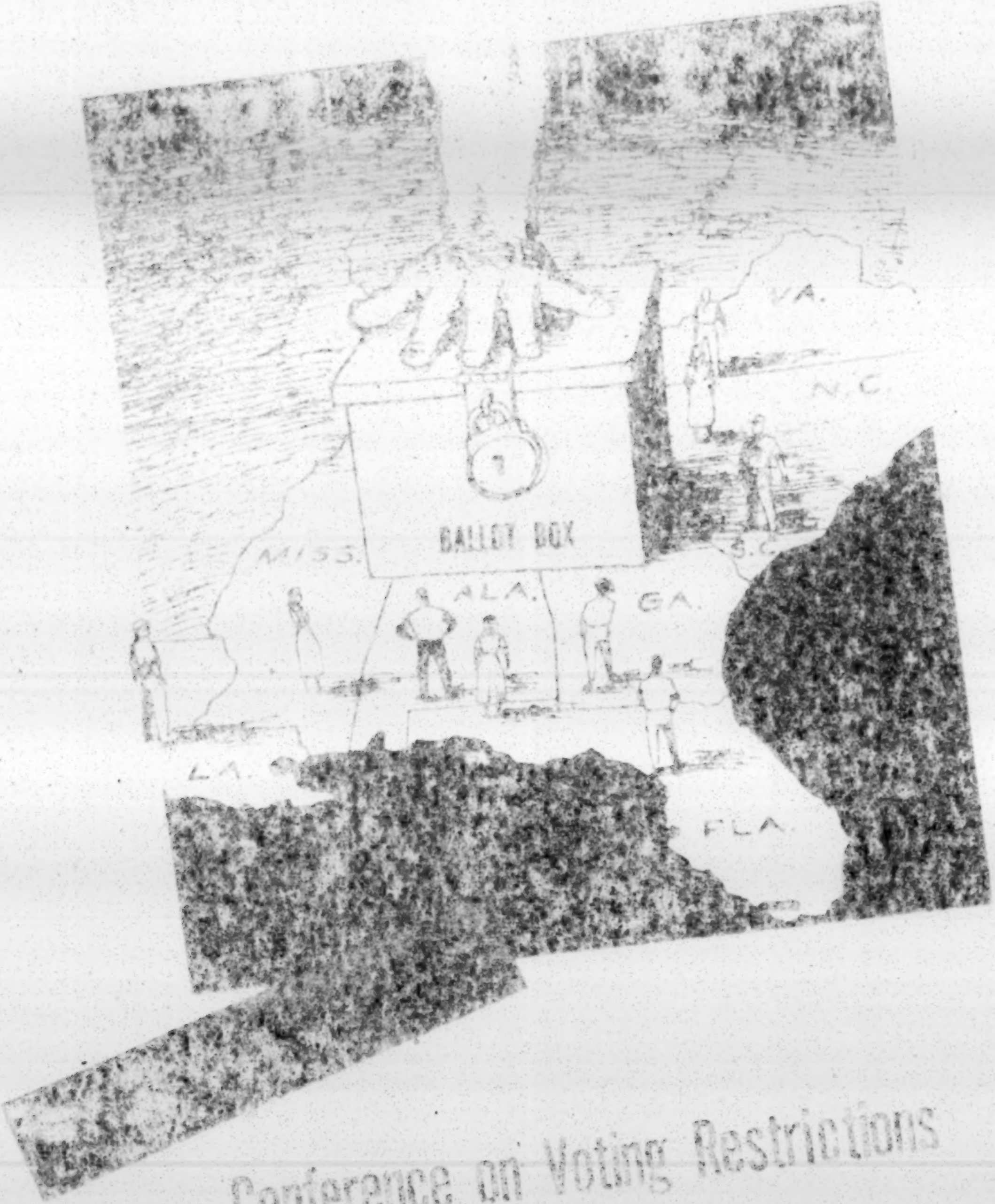
VA.
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BALLOT BOX
MISS.
ALA.
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LA.
FLA.

Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States

Asbury Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

(S.C.E.7)

April 27, 1958

For release
in afternoon
April 27, 1958

REGISTRATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By Mrs. Modjeska M. Simkins, Vice-President,
Southern Conference Educational Fund;
Former Secretary, South Carolina
Conference, N.A.A.C.P.

A rather thorough check of possible difficulties surrounding voter registration in South Carolina failed to turn up reports of obvious restrictions, except in Williamsburg County, of which Kingstree is the county seat.

A prominent business man, Mr. J. F. Dimery, a product of Howard University, reported as long ago as last December 5 that he had been turned down in Williamsburg County on the literacy test. He was told, when inquiring as to the reason, that he might qualify on the property-tax provisions if he so desired.

This he refused to do, hoping that some organization or agency would desire to work with him as a client in a test case, since his treatment has been the practice with the Board of Registrars in that county. In fact, the teachers in Greelyville Negro School in Williamsburg County are reported to have been turned down in a body.

An effort was made last Monday, April 21, to reach the county senator and the male member of the three-member registration board. Failing this, I talked with the State Attorney General, Mr. T. C. Callison, who said he had heard of no trouble with registration anywhere in the state. I told him of the persistent reports of violations and restrictions in Williamsburg County. He said that clear instructions had been given to all registrars as to the provisions of the election laws, and he saw no reason why the Williamsburg situation should have arisen.

I said, "You mean there's no logical reason." He replied, "There is no legal reason." And then I said, "I grant there is neither logical nor legal reason, but there can be a devilish, prejudicial reason that is the making of some member or members of that board."

Mr. Callison said all registrars were familiar with the law and had been advised to request further information from his office if they desired. He took the names and telephone numbers of the officials we had tried to contact in Williamsburg County, and said he would get to work on the matter immediately. He told me, "I will tell them that I have had these complaints and urge them to right the matter. After that, I do not know what can be done." My reply was, "I know what can be done. We can have a big lawsuit down there."

Officials at the Secretary of State's office also said they were puzzled by the reports from Williamsburg County. They also pointed out that Attorney General Callison had called in all registrars and given them what was thought to be a thorough coaching, and that they had expected no trouble.

All of these officials were told that I felt pained to have to give in Washington this report on Williamsburg County, which constitutes the single blot on record so far as I have been able to find. They also appeared to be sorry about it.

I have talked with others of both races by telephone and personally concerning sections of the state that have been historic trouble spots--for example Abbeville County. This was the site of the most atrocious lynching in the history of South Carolina; it is also the place where a minister was severely whipped for trying to vote just after the primaries were opened to Negroes. The reply from the Abbeville informant was, "I don't think we are going to have any trouble like we had from the old crowd."

I have also talked with officials of groups that are promoting statewide registration programs. They have heard of no trouble. Lethargy and disinterest seem to be the underlying causes of limited registration in some sections. It must be admitted that in some of these sections the situation could be a carry-over of the fear of reprisal that was the case in earlier years.

At least two white persons--one a lawyer and the other a candidate for the State Legislature--on being asked why there seems to be no trouble, said, "These people have been sued so much that they are afraid of being carried to court."

It will be remembered that the N.A.A.C.P. spent about $15,000 in this state to open the primaries. The white primaries were eliminated by decisions in the Elmore vs. Baskin and Brown vs. Baskin cases.

After the ruling in the former case, when some registrars swore they would refuse to register Negroes, the then Federal Judge J. Waties Waring said he would fill the jails with recalcitrant registrars if the law was not carried out by them.

As state secretary of N.A.A.C.P. during this period, I sent information on the law to all N.A.A.C.P. branches, telling them about securing affidavits etc. We also sent copies to all registration boards so that they would know we were ready to move into the courts again if necessary. This has had a long-lasting effect, I am sure.

"

SURVEY OF FACTORS AFFECTING NEGRO VOTING IN BEAUFORT COUNTY

DECEMBER 1958

Circumstances concerning the report of the following interviews:

This survey does not intend to report conditions in the entire county of Beaufort. The county is roughly divided in the middle by Broad River, with Port Royal Island, St. Helena Island, Parris Island, etc. being to the north of Broad River, while the lower part of the county includes Bluffton, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, etc. This survey is primarily of conditions on St. Helena Island and Port Royal Island, which includes Beaufort and Port Royal. It does not even include the upper part of the northern part of the county around Gardens Corner, Yemassee where conditions would be similar to that of Hilton Head and Bluffton area. Thus, while Beaufort County will be referred to, it will be understood that primarily what is being spoken of is this section around the town of Beaufort and St. Helena, which is much more advanced politically and economically than the other sections of Beaufort County.

Persons Interviewed: There were ten -- six whites and four Negroes - who were interviewed extensively. The former includes the Superintendent of Education for District 1 (North side of Broad River), State Senator of Beaufort County, County Agent, Episcopal minister, physician, and sheriff of Beaufort County. The Negroes were all leaders of the community and considered as spokesmen for their group in many instances. One is a minister, three are business men, one of these being the local president of the NAACP.

The list of questions supplied by SRC seems very complete, and were most helpful in conducting these interviews. However, the two factors listed below seem to be pertinent to the fact that Beaufort County has the highest percentage of Negro registrants in the state.

A. Historical Background. While there were a number of Negroes in the state government during the period of Reconstruction, this situation was vastly altered after Reconstruction. However, the Negroes of Beaufort County maintained political influence and control for a number of years following Reconstruction. This is outlined in detail by George Tindall in his book, South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900, University of South Carolina Press, 1952. In the period from 1878 to 1900, some seventy-five Negroes were elected to the State House and Senate; of these, 26 came from Beaufort. There were 3 Negro Congressmen in that period, from South Carolina; two of these were from Beaufort. With only one exception, Robert Smalls from Beaufort served longer than any other Negro in Congress for that period. Until 1888 all elective offices in Beaufort County were held by Negroes. At that time a fusion ticket was worked out so that Negro and white Democrats joined in putting up a single slate with both Negro and white candidates, and thus took away the power from the Negro Republicans. Under this plan until 1896, some Negroes held elective office in Beaufort County. At that time provisions were made by the white South Carolinians to remove Negroes from the voting list.

Neils Christensen, son of a former state senator, indicated that Negroes have always voted in Beaufort elections which were not under the supervision of the Democratic Party. He further said that Negroes were members of the coroner's jury long before Negro voting became an issue before the federal courts.

B. An idea that has come to me only after making these interviews is the influence of the Jewish community. I have not questioned anyone else about this but feel that it is definitely a factor. The Jewish community, which is both numerous and influential in county affairs, has not been outspoken on the matter of Civil Rights, as least as far as the Negro is concerned. It seems to me, however, that this group acts as a sort of neutral agent in being neither pro nor con, yet nevertheless, serves as a brake against aggressive racism.

Courtney Siceloff

Frogmore, South Carolina

January 12, 1959

INTERVIEWS ON VOTING SURVEY ON NEGROES IN BEAUFORT COUNTY

December 1958

Question 1 - 3

SRC indicates that the information is in their office, so no attempt was made to gather this information.

Question 4

Interviewed: Superintendent of Education.

In 1951, a state 3% sales tax was passed in order to enable the state to cover marked indebtedness in construction of schools and the operation of the school buses; this went into effect in January 1952. Up until that time it was primarily up to the school district to have its own transportation system and build its own buildings. Also in 1952 school districts were consolidated. In Beaufort County, five school districts north of Broad River, were consolidated into District # 1. The St. Helena High School then operating on the Penn School Campus in 1951, had three buses. There were 7 elementary schools around the Island with no transportation. In 1952, one of the first buildings to be constructed by the state under the new program, was the St. Helena Elementary and High School. It now has 12 buses. In District # 1 Negro schools have been consolidated. Four new Negro schools have been built. The only major Negro school not rebuilt, was considerably renovated. There are two one-room school houses, and those on rather inaccessible islands. One is a building built around 1930, the other operating in a tenant's house and not belonging to the county, with only two students. In that same period, two new schools were constructed for white children, which were already consolidated. The other four schools were renovated. A new high school for white children is now under construction.

There have been Negro elementary and high schools under private auspices for a long period. At the beginning of the Civil War a number of northern abolitionists came to the freed areas of Beaufort County to set up schools for Negroes. One of these schools became Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, which continued as an elementary and high school until 1948, when the formal school program was turned over to the county. Two other schools were started in that period -- one by the American Baptists, and still operating as a high school and junior college called Mather School and Junior College. The Port Royal Training School, established in 1903 as an elementary and high school, operated until 1926 when it was turned over to the county. These schools had boarding departments, and thus pupils came from over the county as well as in the locality.

In School District # 1 in 1951-52, the expenditure per Negro child was approximately 55 to 60% of the white child, while in 1956-57, the expenditure was 80% of the white child. In that five-year period the cost per white pupil went down $3, while the cost per Negro pupil went up $60. Other examples of expenditures are as follows:

> Library for Negro schools 1951-52, $35; 1956-57, $7,000.
>
> Operation of Negro Plant - only a small amount in 1951-52, since only three Negro schools had any maintenance personnel; in 1956-57, the custodial salaries amounted to $8,000.

The following is taken from the annual report of the State Superintendent of Education, 1956-57. The average cost per pupil average daily attendance for current expenditures, page 259, Beaufort County:

	Elementary	High School
Negro	$136	$171
white	$199	$237

The expenditures in Beaufort County is about the average for the state for Negroes and for whites.

Several years ago, all of the counties in South Carolina were ranked on the basis of the five following factors: Assessed value of public utilities, the value of agricultural products, non-farm per capita income, retail sales, and motor vehicle license sales. According to this evaluation, Beaufort County ranked twenty-sixth out of the forty-six counties. Thus, its average expenditures for Negro and for white education, places it alongside the others according to its economic rank.

The teachers, both Negro and white, have the same salary per qualification, which is based on the certificate achieved by a national teachers' examination, by experience, and by the amount of graduate education. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate beginning teacher is the highest in the state. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate, fourteen years experience, is the second highest in the state. 92.4% of white teachers have Grade A teaching certificates, which is the highest in the state. 37.9% of Negro teachers have Grade A teaching certificates, which is the next highest in the state.

According to the Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1956-57, the average salary of classroom teacher, page 258, for Beaufort County, is as follows:

	Elementary		High	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Men --	$4,250	$3,641	$3,543	$3,101
Women --	$2,977	$2,716	$3,054	$2,992

There are no split sessions in the school district. The only college ~~opportunity~~ institution at present is the Mather Junior College for Negroes. The county is working toward having a junior college for white students. This would be an off-campus branch of the University of South Carolina. The school district is already offering ten evening extension sessions, two of which are high school courses.

Question 5

Registration. Interviewed: Four Negroes and State Senator.

There is unanimity among all that there was no effort to limit the number of Negroes registered. One Negro seemed to feel that the registrars seemed to favor slightly the whites. Another reported that some Negroes took out the registration forms, filled them out and returned them.

Although the attitude of the registrars was cooperative, one indicated that they appeared reluctant to help Negroes. Another indicated that Negroes and whites took their turn and that the whites were not served first. The senator said that any person who could read or understand was registered, but that a number of white people could not register, as well as a few Negroes.

There undoubtedly are fewer Negroes registered now. One reason seems to be that the old list was cumulative, and that a number of Negroes ~~have~~ had left the area or died. This year everyone had to register again. The reasons why more Negroes were not registered, seem to be primarily apathy, that they did not realize the importance of registration, and that a few seemed afraid of not being able to pass.

Question 6

Interviewed: County Agent and Senator: also director of local office South Carolina State Employment Service.

The last, however, had no definite figures and gave only a vague break-down in the occupation of Negroes. Seafood, 10%; laborers, 80%; skilled, 5%; professional, 3%. Of the women, primarily domestic. I asked him for figures of Negroes employed at the military installations of Parris Island Recruit Depot, U.S. Naval Hospital, and Marine Air Station. He indicated that in the Civil Service break-down they did not classify according to race but only as to sex, so that no figures were available on this.

Beaufort County had a plantation culture, where very large, successful plantations grew sea-island or long staple cotton, rice, and indigo. There are a number of plantations still existing but most of them occupied by winter residents and used as resorts.

As to change in the situation, in 1930 there were 2,012 farms with an average of 62.5 acres; in 1955 there were 1,201 farms, a decrease of 43%, with an average acreage of 110½, with a 78% increase; in 1950, 87.1% of the rural farm population were Negroes, while 12.9% were white. Also in 1950, 12% of the Negroes were tenants and .1 of a percent were sharecroppers (This was for Beaufort County as a whole. The percentages would be much less than that on St. Helena Island where tenancy is practically non-existent).

Beaufort County is not industrial, so labor unions are not an issue here. There are unions, one with the re-activated state port at Port Royal. The state senator is urging local Negroes to organize a union so as to obtain work, whereas the union members now come from Charleston to service the ships. The senator understands that most of the skilled workers of Parris Island and the construction work going on at the air base are union members.

Question 7

Religion. Interviewed: The Episcopal Minister and Superintendent of Education, District # 1.

The layman's attitude was expressed as follows: that he had not heard any minister speak out pro or con on the segregation-integration situation. He indicates that the attitudes vary considerably: the Prebysterian minister feels that it is not a basic issue, that other issues are more important; the Baptist is an avowed segregationist (That observation is interesting in that there seems to be developing a rather close relationship with Negro Baptist ministers and the white minister); the Episcopalians have had several Negro communicants and he thinks the matter is easier for the Episcopalian, because the social relations between members is not as strong as in other denominations; the Port Royal Methodist minister, more influential than the Beaufort minister, approaches the problem as a psychologist, apparently liberal in his attitude. The layman talked with two Catholic members who believed that the priest has not committed himself one way or the other on integration; the Priest apparently backed Negro parishioners in fund raising events such as bingo, although this was objected to by some members.

The Catholic Priest indicated to the interviewer about a year ago, that he did have Negro communicants, that in certain situations there was no question but their participation had to be sought, whereas in others, they were not encouraged to participate, as in certain social relationships.

From the Episcopalian minister's point of view, he indicated that the matter of integrating the association had been discussed by the ministerial association, but members felt that they had waited too long and that the time was not appropriate at present; it was not discussed much. Ministers who make up this association are the Jewish, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Christian, and Chaplains from various military installations. The Catholics and fundamentalist ministers do not participate.

Race has not been a subject of any study groups that the minister is aware of. His attitude is that of putting off discussion of any nature which is controversial such as this. He could not single out any minister who stands either pro or con on the integration matter; thus he did not know of any being either radical segregationists or integrationists.

As far as the Episcopal church was concerned, South Carolina was the last to admit Negroes to the diocesean convention. There have been Negro communicants at the local church; several were coming regularly until segregation became an issue. These were primarily students at the Mather School, but dropped out as having finished the school about that time. There is no Negro Episcopalian in Beaufort now that he knows of. About a year ago from the Mather School, there was one Negro applicant to join the church. The minister presented this to the vestry, they voted unanimously to accept this person, but reserved a section in the front of the church. There was no trouble or comment arising from this. It was also suggested to the Negro communicant that she come to the last serving of the communion to which she agreed; she was joined usually by at least one white person. The minister did remark that at one time a Negro Marine participated in the service, not sitting in the "reserved section"; the minister did note some adverse comment and the Marine attended only the one time. He did not know if anything was said directly to the Marine, however. It should be noted that when an integrated work camp came to Penn Center in 1955, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the minister let it be known that all the campers would be welcome to the church.

The only activity of any woman's group that he knew of was the providing by the Episcopalian women of a partial scholarship for a Negro to attend a Negro college.

It should also be noted that the Diocesan Convention was held at Beaufort in 1958, where the women of the church served the Negro and white lay and clergy. It was a cafeteria style where people sat where they desired. However, the Negroes stayed at Mather School overnight.

Question 8

White Leadership. Interviewed: Doctor and Negro Business Men.

Members of the old families of Beaufort are not the ones that give the prominent leadership to the community. A survey in 1955 by Floyd Hunter, a student at Chapel

Hill, identified leaders in 26 counties in South Carolina. Beaufort was one of the counties. Of the six persons identified as leaders of Beaufort, only one definitely comes from a family settled in Beaufort before the Civil War. Two of these came from the upper part of the state and the father of another came from upstate. The one descendant of a pre-Civil War family has a moderate view towards Negroes but is a politician depending heavily on their vote, and takes an apparently paternalistic attitude toward them.

The political candidates are not particularly racists; in fact, they seem to avoid the subject altogether. For the first time, white candidates apparently sought permission to speak before Negro groups in forwarding their candidacy.

Elections in South Carolina are reputed to have a good bit of money available for key leaders, both Negro and white, who can influence votes. One Negro interviewed indicated there were rumors of a few having received some money, but there was not much money involved, or many people either.

There were not many outspoken "moderate candidates" in the community, if that word is interpreted as being in favor of upholding law and order, and consequently, making an effort to obey the Supreme Court decisions. However, candidates in Beaufort certainly could be termed moderate in their racial views, since the attitude was generally friendly.

Question 9

Police. Interviewed: Four Negroes and Sheriff.

There was a definite unanimity among those questioned that the attitudes and actions of the sheriff, deputies, and local police were good toward the Negro community. None knew of police brutality, especially in comparison with nearby counties.

There were these comments, though, about the situation by the Negroes: Two were particularly critical about the one full-time Negro policeman on the Beaufort staff. One indicated that he was not really the type for a policeman and that some did not like him personally. The other said that the Negro community referred to him as a night watchman more than as a policeman. They felt that he could not make arrests of white people; he operated only at night with a walkie-talkie rather than with a car radio. Another felt that the sheriff was lax with the Negro prisoners for, apparently, some went home at night after work and the Negroes protested this to the sheriff. One pointed out that the Negro prisoners worked on the roads, but that that was not the case with the white prisoners. As for sheriff deputies, there was a feeling that there had been a full-time deputy but now only a part-time deputy during the summer.

The sheriff said he would like to be quoted on the following: "If he had to be tried in his own court, he would like to change the color of his skin". He felt that the judge made it much lighter on the Negroes. He indicated that he, himself, feels towards Negroes as if they were his children. Concerning the Beaufort Police Department, the sheriff felt that it was the sheriff's office in each county that set the tone for the police department and that they consequently have a good police department here in Beaufort.

There recently was an article in a state paper about the sheriff who did not wear a gun, referring to the Beaufort sheriff. This fact may have been due to his poor eyesight, but is obvious that the sheriff does not take a hostile, aggressive attitude in dealing with Negroes in the matter of law enforcement.

The sheriff indicated there had been Negro deputies since 1900, and before then when all policemen were Negroes. He indicates that he now has three Negro deputies who are on part-time now, but on full-time during the summer, stationed particularly around the Negro beach. One has been with him for thirty-three years. He indicates that there is no limit to the authority of the Negro policemen or Negro deputies concerning arresting of white violators.

Question 10

Negro Leadership. Interviewed: Four Negroes.

There are a number of organizations working toward increasing Negro registration. Within the churches it is primarily the lay persons rather than the ministers who take the lead. One active minister in this field is establishing a social action committee primarily concerned with registration and voting, and trying to get the same committee in all churches. There are the Citizens Committee in Beaufort, a Voters Association on St. Helena, and the NAACP both on St. Helena and Beaufort, which have an active program in the field of registration and voting.

There definitely are lines of communication open between the Negro and white community, but carried on primarily unofficially. There are about four or five individuals who are leaders of the Beaufort community and spokesmen for particular requests. These leaders seem self-reliant and apparently have little personally, to gain as spokesmen. One of these spokesmen indicated ways in which this had been done. He is Vice president of the United Fund and has attended state meetings in that capacity. The local Negro Democratic Club, which is non-partisan, goes to see the city council, mayor, etc. However, when they go before such groups, they speak of themselves as a Citizens Committee. They are cordially received but they have not been impressed by the amount of action that has been taken. One recent achievement was, that whereas in past parades, Negroes had always brought up the rear, in the Christmas parade this year, it was an "integrated" parade with scouts together, etc.

It was generally felt that with one or two particular exceptions, the ministers were not active in the field of registration and voting. As far as the teachers are concerned, it was the feeling that none of these participated, and one observed that they felt closely watched, so didn't speak out. Also, there were no professional leaders taking an active part. Sometimes when professional people were asked, they did a particular job but they did not initiate the action themselves and were not active continuously.

Question 11

Ku Klux Klan and/or Citizens Council. Interviewed: Sheriff, Senator, School Superintendent.

There is not a Ku Klux Klan active in Beaufort County and has not been for some time. Between 1926-30 there was a Klan, but according to the sheriff, they were just collecting dues and never did anything. The sheriff was strongly opposed to it and felt that they were using it to scare candidates. The Senator and Sheriff professed no knowledge at all, except of the existence, of the Citizens Council; both indicated they had never attended, so couldn't tell how effective the people were who were members. While the interviewer considers that the Citizens Council is not a strong organization, yet it was felt that the sheriff and senator were a little less than candid.

The remarks of the school superintendent were particularly interesting. He felt there was a potential for an effective Citizens Council, that the machinery was set up and located outside of the town. The attendance has been few, particularly in one instance, considering the amount of publicity given when the state senator, charged with handling the matter of segregation within the state, spoke about three years ago; only about fifty attended. They began meeting in a school but were refused this until the matter was brought before the Board of Education. The latter said all organizations meeting in a school building should file a list of members, and constitution of the organization with the Board. The Citizens Council did this and listed some fifty members. They have permission to meet in the schools, but he felt that they haven't met within the last eighteen months. The Board of Education does not permit school children to take home announcements of Citizens Council meetings as was done on one occasion.

It was the feeling of the interviewer that this action was taken primarily because of the attitude of the superintendent rather than an aroused Board of Education; yet, it is noteworthy that they took this official action as a Board at a time when there was tremendous promotion for Citizens Councils.

Question 12

History of Violence in County. Interviewed: Senator, Sheriff, Minister, and the Four Negroes.

As to specific instances of violence, the ones interviewed had to think a long time and were not clear as to names and dates when incidents occurred.

Although tension was aroused to a high point on a number of occasions in the past, it never reached the breaking point. The sheriff indicated that there had never been a lynching in Beaufort County. Various instances of violence were recalled as follows:

> About 1905 a Negro named Meyers owed white people out of the county, fled to Beaufort and they came down to lynch him. The army was called out from nearby federal Fort Fremont, and the white people got together at the arsenal. There was a Negro senator[x] from Beaufort at the same time, who came and talked both to the whites and the Negroes, and as a result, the groups were broken up. A Negro telling of this incident indicated that the Negro had been put in jail for safe keeping, and the Negroes armed themselves with farm tools, etc., around the jail to prevent their taking him, and nothing happened.
>
> Some forty years ago a white deputy sheriff of the lower part of Beaufort County went to St. Helena to make an arrest and was killed by a Negro. The people from the deputy's home came up to take him from jail, but the mayor persuaded them from doing so. The Negro was electrocuted later.
>
> In 1938, a white man, Billy DeLoach, killed a Negro for talking to him in an arrogant manner but nothing happened on this occasion, though Negroes were aroused.
>
> Date was not set for this, but a Negro killed a white merchant. The accused Negro was well respected and at the trial he was freed.

[x] The date must be incorrect, Tindall's book indicated Negroes were disfranchised by 1896.

The sheriff recalled the following two incidents. In 1930 in Hardeville, the upper part of the county, a white woman was raped. A crowd had a Negro, expecting to lynch him. The sheriff arrived single-handed and stopped this. It was found out later that this was the wrong man; the sheriff located the correct man who was caught and tried. Also, in 1946 in Yemassee, also the upper part of the county, a Negro became a candidate for the city council. The Ku Klux Klan from outside the county said they were going to run him out of town if he didn't leave by that night. The sheriff and his deputy went to Yemassee with machine guns to indicate that the Negro was to remain there. The Klan did not return; also, the Negro is still in Yemassee.

The most recent item recalled by each of those interviewed, was the case where a young Negro veteran, Smith Harvey, killed three white men on a drinking party, after insults had been passed between them. The Negro was located that night and rushed to Columbia for safekeeping. He was tried in Beaufort, sentenced to be electrocuted. The Negroes felt strongly that it was quite an injustice because the attack was provoked by the white victims.

Since violence has been rather remote to the history of the county, it was felt it is not necessarily increasing or decreasing, and that it has little influence on current attitudes.

Some do not feel that there has been any change in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court decisions or recent racial incidents in Little Rock. Others felt that while the white community was still accessible as before to Negro spokesmen, yet as far as individual relations went, there was a change in a definite standing off by white people. It was interesting that the Episcopalian minister indicated there has been talk recently of preserving the public schools regardless of whether or not they are integrated; this has changed from absolute defiance which was predominant soon after the Little Rock crisis, he indicated.

Negroes were unanimous in feeling they have greater determination since these incidents.

As far as the white community is concerned, there does not seem to be officially, any change for the worse in Negro-white relations. One Negro commented that, to the contrary, there is less racial talk from the candidates, in that they are realistic in knowing the power of the Negro vote and are actively seeking it.

Question 13

Newspapers: The daily paper read most widely in Beaufort, is the News and Courier of Charleston, whose attitude is well-known already by SRC. A similar attitude is taken by the weekly Beaufort Gazette, though the editorials dealing with Negroes does not appear frequently, whereas with the News and Courier, almost every issue has some item.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the News and Courier's strong support of the Citizens Council , the local Council appears not to have drawn the leaders of the community, and seems to be on the inactive status at present.

Question 14

Legal Action. Interviewed: Three Negroes.

There have been two cases -- one handled through the courts, and the other a petition. In July, 1948, Mr. David Brown, Negro of Beaufort, brought suit against the State Democratic Committee to open primary elections to Negroes, and was successful in the suit, so that registration and voting have been opened to Negroes throughout the state since that time.

The history of that incident is rather interesting. In order that the Negroes would be disfranchised, the Democratic party was set up as a private club and registration took place in Beaufort in a local drug store. However, several Negroes availed themselves of signing the registration book. One of these was David Brown. He received shortly before the election a registered letter from the Democratic club, demanding that he come and remove his name from the voting list. It was out of this incident came the suit which was tried in Federal Court in Charleston, Judge Waties WARING presiding. Thurgood Marshall represented David Brown. The registration books had already been closed, and the trial was held on the eve of the election. Judge Waring ruled in favor of David Brown and ~~demanded~~ ruled that the registration books be opened again. Judge Waring also indicated he would remain in Court during the day of election, so that if any Negro were refused his voting rights, the election official could be brought immediately into court. Apparently the Negroes voted without incident in that election, and since. David Brown, a garage owner, indicated that out of that suit did not come any particular threats or hard feelings from members of the white race because he took the action.

About two years ago a petition signed by some seventy-five Negroes, was presented to the Beaufort County Board of Education for the assigning of pupils without regard to race. The Board never gave a response to this petition. The names of the petitioners were published in the local newspaper. A teacher lost her job, as well as several other persons such as school lunchroom and maintenance workers.

Question 15

Desegregation. Interviewed: Two Negroes.

As far as public accommodations are concerned there seems to be no desegregation whatsoever. In one instance, the Negro interviewed had accompanied another Negro into the ticket office for whites at the railroad station in Yemassee without incident. While the ministerial group is not integrated, yet the ministers of one denomination, both white and colored, are planning to meet but this matter is "off the record". It is interesting to note that the white minister of this denomination has been termed quite a segregationist by others knowing him.

It was also noted that the Negro Marines have access to the USO located in Beaufort, but only on certain occasions and for use of only certain facilities.

While the public facilities of the county remain completely segregated, three important military installations are located nearby, which are completely desegregated. These are the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Depot, the U.S. Naval Hospital, and Marine Corps Air Station. Not only is the military personnel desegregated, but also the large civilian personnel. Parris Island has its own elementary school which is desegregated, having four Negro pupils at present.

Question 16

Recreation Facilities. Interviewed: Two Negroes.

The Negroes felt that little was done in this area. This year, for the first time, the Negro community received $2,500 from the United Fund to help build a Youth Center. This is the same amount received by the white Youth Center for operation; their building was built from private donations but located on the city park area. The Negro park is very small. There is a small merry-go-round and a tennis court. Under pressure from the Negro community a small rest room was established but no shelter is available.

Beaufort has had a full-time recreation director for two years. Now, there is a Negro attendant, a former school teacher, working part time during the winter and full-time during the summer. While the attendant is under the supervision of the white director, yet the director himself, does nothing with the Negroes.

There is a State Park located on the Atlantic Beach in Beaufort County, but it is definitely segregated. The Negro section has two cottages, but the Negro area is inferior in facilities and layout.

There are two drive-in movies in Beaufort, both of which are desegregated in that Negroes can park anywhere in the area. This is the only place, that the person interviewed knows of, that this can be done in the South.

Question 17

Courts. Interviewed: Two Negroes and Sheriff.

All definitely agreed that there were Negroes serving on juries, but there was a difference of opinion about how representative the persons were. The Negroes felt there were very few and not proportional to population - about one or two on the grand and petty jury. One Negro felt that they seemed to be picked according to their poor qualifications. However, the sheriff felt that they were fairly represented; the jury list was made up from the voting register and he was sure that there had been no tampering with it. He indicated there was one jury with eight colored and three white, and pointed out that they were on the grand jury as well. He felt the reason there were not more Negroes on certain juries, was the fact that the lawyers could refuse several without having to state the reasons.

Question 18

Health Facilities. Doctor Interviewed.

He indicated that the Beaufort County Memorial Hospital had the same facilities in some cases for both races, and not just equal. For instance, they had the same rooms for both delivery and operating; they had equal facilities for private rooms and lying-in privileges. He did think there was a low hospital usage by Negroes, but felt this was primarily economic. His estimate of the welfare usage was that Negroes made up 75% of the welfare patients. He did indicate that in any emergency a person could get in, and the hospital hoped that the welfare would take up the cost. When it is not an emergency, the person pays a fifty dollar deposit before entering the hospital. If the welfare did not take up the payment, then it would be the hospital's responsibility to absorb it, ~~when it is not an emergency~~. He felt that there was a great need for a nursing home, both for Negro and white, as this would relieve considerably the hospital usage.

At the hospital, Negro physicians have been courtesy members (not voting) on the staff. They would have been able to deliver babies but not perform major operations, due primarily to the fact that neither Negro doctor had had practice within a reasonable period of time. The Negro doctors were also able to visit patients in the beginning; this was withdrawn for one doctor because of his negligence in certain cases, and was not used by the other. These Negro doctors did not at any time have full privileges. The doctor did feel, though, should a qualified doctor with experience request use of full facilities, it might be granted.

As to the matter of public health, this is limited to the field of prevantive medicine. A physician is not in charge of the county health department, which the doctor feels is a real need. The nurses supervise the midwives who deliver well over fifty percent of the Negro babies. At the public health department there is a heart clinic with a specialist coming periodically from Charleston. There is also an active program for tuberculosis, with investigation, screening, and X-Ray in the health department. Negroes have the same access to these services as the white people.

Question 19

Negro candidates. Interviewed: Four Negroes.

The only Negro candidates in recent years were in 1948 when there were four Negro candidates for the Board of Education when that Board first became an elective office; the Negro vote was thus split and no Negro was elected. All felt that there was a definite possibility of Negro candidates, and one on St. Helena has been asked by several white people why he has not been a candidate for one of the township positions.

There is one Negro who is member of the Trustee Board, District # 1; the Trustee Board is appointed by the Board of Education. Mr. Wildy, the Negro, has been a member since 1952. While many are delighted with his representation, some Negroes feel he is hand-picked and not aggressive as others might be. It also was mentioned that a Negro minister is a member of the United Fund and holds the position of vice president of that group.

Negroes have been included in the functions of the political parties. On St. Helena Island precinct, since Negroes won the right to vote in 1948, several Negroes have been invited in to meet with the white leaders of the precinct to work out together, a slate of officers for the precinct. The chairman of the precinct has always been white but the other officers have been about equally divided. In Beaufort, the Negroes hold no offices but have a number of delegates to the county convention. These precinct conventions are very poorly attended, both by whites and Negroes. At the Beaufort County Democratic Convention in 1956 there were 11 delegates elected for State Convention and the Negroes were invited to go into a back room and select from among them, one Negro delegate; this was done. However, in the 1958 county Democratic convention there were some 13 persons nominated for the 11 positions, two of whom were Negroes. (One Negro was nominated by a white woman). Balloting was not restricted to race and both Negroes were elected. At the 1958 State Democratic Convention there were only three Negro delegates--two of them from Beaufort County. On both St. Helena and Beaufort township elections, Negroes are present at the polls. The last election on St. Helena, all three poll officials were Negroes. In Beaufort, at the central polling place, there are two identical voting lists and two boxes. One is manned by Negroes, the other by whites. By custom, most of the white voters go to the boxes attended by white officials and the Negroes going to the boxes attended by Negroes. However, when the line of whites gets long, a number usually go over to the Negro box. Joe Wright, one of the Negroes interviewed and one who is often an attender at the polls, indicates that ballots from both boxes are put together before being counted. The same person said that prior to the last election, the voting list, the boxes, etc., were in his custody over the week-end.

Question 20

Interviewed: Five whites and three Negroes.

The following are the results of interviews with the below mentioned names:

William Johnson, county agent -- Every man has a right to vote and I am glad to see them express themselves. I do not believe in bloc voting. There is a potential for bloc voting among Negroes. There is some anxiety among white people as to the increased Negro voting, because some individuals always feel that the assumption of rights by others will deprive them of those he now enjoys. There is also some anxiety among whites concerning possible Negro candidates, because they remember the Negro politicians during the Reconstruction period.

Dr. B.H. Keyserling, physician -- I have heard no one directly say that they regret Negroes voting. However, it is said of certain candidates that they go for the Negro vote. I foresee some different reaction if more Negroes register, but don't know what type reaction it will be.

Dr. Curry McArthur, Superintendent of Schools, Beaufort School District # 1 -- There has been a favorable reaction of white persons to increased voting among Negroes, for they appear to be voting as citizens and not as a bloc. The certain whites or Negroes who have been able to deliver Negro bloc votes in the past, couldn't or didn't try to do so this time. He noted that not much money was used in the last election of governor for influencing votes. However, that situation might change. If it does occur again, with much money being used, certain persons might try to line up racial groups. Beaufort is not dominated by one person. One ~~of the large land owners~~ influential person has tried to manipulate elections, but the record of his candidates has not been consistently good.

J.E. McTeer, Sheriff of Beaufort County -- On St. Helena Island the whole election has been handled by Negroes at the last election, from the voting to the tabulation. In Beaufort, Negroes have been active in taking, participating, and counting ballots in the election. There is no reluctance among white people to Negro voting. As to future Negro candidates, Negroes have been in power after Reconstruction days. During that time Negroes had the power and made a mess of it. I think there would be some reluctance to seeing Negro candidates. There are several white blocs. As to the last election, Negroes voted intelligently on local candidates, but voted as a bloc on the state candidates.

Rev. John Hardy, Episcopalian minister -- He indicated there was some anxiety among white people when it appeared that many Negroes were registering once the registration books were open. However, when it appeared that they were only registering first and did not maintain that proportion, this anxiety was lessened considerably.

A.J. Brown, Negro business man -- I expected a larger group of Negroes to be registered and voting. More people are getting organized. I expect Negroes to be elected to certain offices in the next election. If elected, some white people may be shocked but I do not expect any severe reaction.

Mr. David Brown, Negro business man -- I feel if we can get more Negro voters, the situation will be helped. I am not afraid of creating more tension through increased Negro voting.

Rev. Mack Sharpe, Negro Baptist Minister -- There is an increased interest on the part of Negroes who had never thought much about it before. Our attendance at political meetings is larger than ever before. The future seems bright with this registration. There definitely will be Negro candidates for municipal, county, and later, state offices. These will begin quite soon. Beaufort was the last county* to have Negro members in the legislature and it may be the first to have them again. The Negroes need strong candidates before putting them in office. I think we will have 50% of the registered voters next year.

*Note. Tindall's South Carolina Negroes 1877 to 1900. A representative from Sumter actually was the last Negro to be in the state legislature, although it was pointed out earlier, Negroes from Beaufort were the most prominent during the period after Reconstruction.

Exibit I

MM

REPORT SHOWS ONE OUT OF TEN REGISTERED VOTERS IS NEGRO

One out of every ten South Carolina registered voters is Negro, an official report showed Friday.

This compares with a population ratio of four Negroes out of every ten people in the state.

The official figure finally reported by the secretary of state's office, and corrected for revising totals from three counties, is 57,978.

Official figures announced by the secretary's office show 538,915 voters registered for the new 1958-67 period, of whom 480,793 are white and 58,122 are Negro.

Corrections from Spartanburg, York, Georgetown, Abbeville and Sumter boards make the totals read 537,406 for all, 479,711 whites and 57,978 Negroes.

McCormick county reported no Negroes registered. Calhoun had only 74, Abbeville 118 and Allendale 140. Others had 200 or more, up to Charleston's 7,277.

Registration, White and Negro, by counties:

County	Total White Registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Negro Registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Reg. as of May 10, 1958	Pct. White Registered as of May 10, 1958	Pct. Negro Registered as of May 10, 1958
Abbeville	5,420	118	5,538	97.9	2.1
Aiken	18,454	1,762	20,216	91.2	8.8
Allendale	2,419	140	2,559	94.5	5.5
Anderson	23,424	1,624	25,048	93.6	6.4
Bamberg	3,267	393	3,660	39.3	10.7
Barnwell	4,786	531	5,317	90.1	9.9
Beaufort	2,855	1,286	4,141	69.0	31.0
Berkeley	5,147	1,913	7,060	73.0	27.0

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

#2, Report Shows One out of Ten

County ------	Total White Registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Negro Registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Reg. as of May 10, 1958	Pct. White Registered as of May 10, 1958	Pct. Negro Registered as of May 10, 1958
Calhoun	1,699	74	1,773	95.8	4.2
Charleston	32,859	7,277	40,136	81.9	18.1
Chester	8,463	680	9,143	92.6	7.4
Cherokee	10,612	664	11,276	94.2	5.8
Chesterfield	8,196	1,401	9,597	85.5	14.5
Clarendon	3,458	324	3,782	91.5	8.5
Colleton	5,695	735	6,430	88.5	11.5
Darlington	10,191	2,444	12,635	80.7	19.3
Dillon	4,924	816	5,740	85.8	14.2
Dorchester	5,330	412	5,742	92.9	7.1
Edgefield	3,267	270	3,537	92.4	7.6
Fairfield	4,218	750	4,968	85.0	15.0
Florence	16,090	1,863	17,953	89.7	10.3
Georgetown	4,667	911	5,578	83.7	16.3
Greenville	47,057	4040	51,097	92.1	7.1
Greenwood	10,844	838	11,682	92.9	7.1
Hampton	3,210	250	3,460	92.8	7.2
Horry	13,892	1,230	15,122	91.9	8.1
Jasper	1,975	489	2,464	80.2	19.8
Kershaw	8,706	1,084	9,790	89.0	11.0
Lancaster	12,084	893	12,977	93.2	6.8
Laurens	10,102	931	11,033	91.6	8.4
Lee	4,166	742	4,908	84.9	15.1
Lexington	14,106	213	14,319	98.6	1.4
McCormick	1,399	000	1,399	100.0	0.0
Marion	5,280	972	6,252	84.5	15.5
Marlboro	7,016	395	7,411	94.7	5.3

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

#3, Report Shows One out of Ten

County	Total White registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Negro registered as of May 10, 1958	Total Reg. as of May 10, 1958	Pct. White registered as of May 10, 1958	Pct. Negro registered as of May 10, 1958
Newberry	7,984	496	8,480	94.2	5.8
Oconee	7,717	560	8,277	93.3	6.7
Orangeburg	10,068	2,220	12,288	82.0	18.0
Pickens	10,435	299	10,734	97.3	2.7
Richland	32,110	6,665	38,775	82.9	17.1
Saluda	4,135	216	4,351	94.8	6.1
Spartanburg	41,914	3,170	45084 ~~4,351~~	94.8	5.2
Sumter	7,574	2130 2,704	9,704	78.1	21.9
Union	11,100	1,024	12,124	91.6	8.4
Williamsburg	6,156	234	6,390	96.4	3.6
York	16,552	2,414	18,966	87.3	12.7
TOTAL	479,711	57,978	537,406	89.2	10.8

41914
3170
45084

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

13

42 pieces ⑦

begin here

SOUTH CAROLINA
" " – Continued

~~Countie~~s County	1957 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	N
Abbeville	24167	15995	8172	5538	5420	
Aiken	63075	41719	21356	20216	18454	
Allendale	13211	3704	9507	2559	2419	
Anderson	~~76965~~ 100724	~~61718~~ 77296	~~15247~~ 21428	25048	23424	
Bamberg	19733	8029	11704	3666	3267	
Barnwell	20074	8097	11977	5317	4786	
Beaufort	30466	12257	18209	4141	2855	
Berkeley	34609	12427	22182	7060	5147	
Calhoun	16490	4515	11975	1773	1699	
Charleston	~~115048~~ 193973	~~70054~~ 113329	~~44994~~ 80644	40136	32859	
Cherokee	39146	29976	9170	11276	10612	
Chester	36716	20802	15914	9143	8463	
Chesterfield	40417	24346	16071	9597	8196	
Clarendon	37376	10372	27004	3782	3458	
Colleton	31684	14405	17279	6430	5695	
Darlington	57480	30098	27382	12635	10191	
Dillon	35541	18045	17496	5740	4924	
Dorchester	25514	11153	14361	5742	5330	
Edgefield	18950	7231	11719	3537	3267	
Fairfield	24824	9692	15132	4968	4218	
Florence	~~65080~~ 90885	~~33194~~ 49189	~~31886~~ 41696	17953	16090	
Georgetown	37160	17127	20033	5578	4667	
Greenville	~~123111~~ 193720	~~105528~~ 157176	~~17583~~ 36544	51097	47057	
Greenwood	~~30660~~ 46524	~~21687~~ 32327	~~8973~~ 14197	11682	10844	
Hampton	20258	8625	11633	3460	3210	
Horry	69224	49692	19532	15122	13892	
Jasper	12224	4213	8011	2464	1975	

~~South Carolina~~ *

C. E

ntinued

tion	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
20	118	33.8	2.1
54	1762	33.9	8.7
19	140	72.	5.5
24	1624	~~19.8~~ 21.3	6.5
67	393	59.3	10.7
86	531	59.7	10.
55	1286	59.8	31.1
47	1913	64.1	27.1
99	74	72.6	4.2
59	7277	~~39.1~~ 41.6	16.5
12	664	23.4	5.9
63	680	43.3	7.4
96	1401	39.8	14.6
58	324	72.2	8.6
95	735	54.5	11.4
91	2444	47.6	19.3
24	816	49.2	14.2
30	412	56.3	7.2
67	290	61.8	7.6
218	750	61.	15.1
090	1863	~~49.~~ 45.9	10.4
67	911	53.9	16.3
057	4040	~~14.3~~ 18.8	~~[illegible]~~ 7.9
344	838	~~14.3~~ 30.5	29.3
210	250	57.4	7.2
392	1230	28.2	8.1
975	489	65.5	19.8

Greenville	~~123111~~ 5720	~~105528~~ 1176	~~17583~~ 36344	31097	47057
Greenwood	~~30660~~ 46524	~~21687~~ 32327	~~8973~~ 14197	11682	10844
Hampton	20258	8625	11633	3460	3210
Horry	69224	49692	19532	15122	13892
Jasper	12224	4213	8011	2464	1975
Kershaw	36262	18709	17553	9790	8706
Lancaster	41921	29593	12328	12977	12084
Laurens	51396	34988	16408	11033	10102
Lee	26754	8229	18525	4908	4166
Lexington	50725	39833	10892	14319	14106
McCormick	10859	3867	6992	1399	1399
Marion	38196	16349	21847	6252	5280
Marlboro	35204	16409	18795	7411	7016
Newberry	34392	21283	13109	8480	7984
Oconee	43441	38219	5222	8277	7717
Orangeburg	~~61293~~ 78513	~~19372~~ 27910	~~41921~~ 50603	12288	10068
Pickens	44737	39866	4871	10734	10435
Richland	~~55482~~ 165882	~~32675~~ 106686	~~22807~~ 59196	38775	32110
Saluda	17679	9952	7727	4351	4135
Spartanburg	~~126017~~ 167990	~~101750~~ 129872	~~24267~~ 38118	45084	41914
Sumter	~~44341~~ 69385	~~13495~~ 30494	~~30846~~ 38891	9704	7574
Union	34687	23408	11279	12124	11100
~~Counties~~					
Williamsburg	51222	15736	35486	6390	6156
York	~~53584~~ 82092	~~33833~~ 56145	~~19751~~ 25947	18966	16552
STATE	2415502	1,461,385	954117	537,406	479711

7pt

Source: Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton, as

* The South Carolina Legislative Manual, 1959 prints count
figures given above were reported by the Secretary of St
they are not broken down by race. The difference, howev
less than the May 10 report used here.

Population figures: State Board of Heal

7057	4040	~~14.3~~ 18.8	~~20.3~~ 7.9
0844	838	~~14.3~~ 30.5	29.3
3210	250	57.4	7.2
3892	1230	28.2	8.1
1975	489	65.5	19.8
8706	1084	48.4	11.1
2084	893	29.4	~~1~~6.9
0102	931	31.9	8.4
4166	742	69.2	15.1
4106	213	21.5	1.5
1399	~~0~~00	64.4	-0.-
5280	972	57.2	15.5
7016	395	53.4	5.3
7984	496	38.1	5.8
7717	560	12	6.8
0068	2220	~~68.4~~ 64.5	18.1
0435	299	10.9	2.8
2110	6665	~~41.1~~ 35.7	17.2
4135	216	43.7	5.
1914	3170	~~19.3~~ 22.7	7.
7574	~~2704~~ 2130	~~69.6~~ 56.1	~~27.9~~ 21.9
1100	1024	32.5	8.4
1156	234	69.3	~~13.7~~ 3.7
552	2414	~~36.9~~ 31.6	12.7
9711	57978	39.5	10.8

, as reported in *The State* (Columbia, S.C.), May 24, 1958.

nts county registration figures as of June 10, 1959 (page 358); the
ary of State as of May 10, 1958. The later figures are not used because
ce, however, is slight: a total state registration of 536,206, or 1,200

Health, January 1, 1957

Suffrage, SC

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Frogmore, S. C.
July 5, 1960

History was written on a South Carolina sea island a few weeks ago when Leroy E. Browne of Frogmore became the first Negro to win an elective office in South Carolina since 1900. Browne was elected to the Beaufort County Board of Directors from St. Helena Township, winning easily over his two white opponents.

Negroes comprise 90% of the population of St. Helena Township, but the ratio of Negro voters to white voters is about four to one, according to an estimate of the Democratic party chairman. Voting was not restricted to racial lines; Browne believes that some white persons voted for him, and that the votes of some Negroes went to the white candidates.

Commenting on the smoothly-run election, Browne said that no attempts were made to intimidate him and that he was "pleased at the high plane on which the election was conducted."

The 43-year-old Hampton Institute graduate is a skilled cabinet-maker, a part-time farmer, and is maintenance superintendent for Penn Community Services, Inc., which operates a community and conference center on St. Helena Island. Browne's ties with this organization go back to his high school days, when he received his training at its forerunner, the Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School. His father, George Browne, was a skilled teacher of basket-weaving at Penn School. Leroy Browne is married, the father of four children, and is a trustee of the historic Brick Baptist Church.

The reaction to the surprise election was varied. A reporter writing for the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier wrote: "Conversations with many persons indicated that most white citizens are apprehensive but not extremely upset about their new Negro director." He wrote further that several county officials had expressed willingness to work with Browne. State Rep. T. Reeve Sams was quoted as saying, "He was elected by a majority of the people in his township. I will work with him as with any other elected director." The county's other representative, W. Brantley Harvey, Jr., spoke in similar vein: "I presume he will live up to the trust placed in him by the people. I will work with him for the good of the county."

The Charleston News & Courier, outspoken proponent for the segregationist position, editorialized:..."It will give an opportunity for a colored man to demonstrate his personal and political responsibility. ...Peace and harmony long have prevailed in Beaufort County. With good will on both sides and freedom from interference, we expect this political novelty to be accepted in stride. It will not cause the sky to fall." (June 19, 1960)

The new director, who will take office following the general election in November, stated that he plans first of all to learn his job. "I first must meet with the other directors, express my desire to help with county.government and learn my duties. My main object is to do the right and just thing for all of the people of the county. I ran because I felt I was qualified and could be of service."

Beaufort County, located between Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Georgia, was unique in that after Reconstruction, political power was in the hands of Negroes long after Negroes had been disfranchised and replaced in other areas of South Carolina. Perhaps the election of Leroy Edgar Browne will usher in a new era in South Carolina politics.

RECEIVED AUG 7 1956

317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
August 5,1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 423
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Here are the results of the first counties that I have visited. If there are any suggestions that you would like to offer after going over these reports, kindly let me know at once. Enclosed is a copy of my first expense account.

Yours truly,

James T. McCain

James T. McCain

August 7, 1956

Mr. James T. McCain
317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McCain:

Mr. Fleming is presently on vacation and I therefore wish to acknowledge your letter of the 5th with enclosures.

A sample of the questionnaire you are using is being forwarded to Mr. Fleming for approval and unless you hear to the contrary within a few days, you can assume you are following a procedure to his satisfaction.

Enclosed is a check to cover the expense voucher you forwarded.

Sincerely,

Sec'y to Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Enc.(check)

RECEIVED AUG 14 1956

317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
August 13,1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed you will find survey material and travel voucher for the past 7½ days.

Yours truly

James T. McCain
James T. McCain

Note
error
on
Greenville
schedule

August 15, 1956

Mr. James T. McCain
317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McCain:

In Mr. Fleming's absence I am acknowledging your letter of the 13th with enclosures. Mr. Fleming will probably be in communication with you some time next week when he returns from vacation. Meanwhile, enclosed you will find check to cover the expense voucher you forwarded.

Sincerely,

Sec'y to Harold C. Fleming

Enc. (check)

317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
August 29,1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistane Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
_3 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is my final report on the project. I trust that you will be able to understand it without a great deal of trouble. After you have gone over the final report and there are still questions to be answered, kindly let me know at once.

I have tried to give you an objective picture of the voting situation in South Carolina and what is taking place in some of the counties in South Carolina to keep the Negro from becoming a first class citizen.

Yours truly,

Jim.

James T. McCain

Voucher paid

Dear Harold:

Soc-econ. high N-W ratio

In trying to explain the differences between some of the counties, I hope the information below will prove helpful. In each of these counties, there are less than 1,000 registered voters among the Negro population, although there are more Negroes in each of these counties than Whites and have a greater Negro school population than White.
These Counties are:
Allendale--Bamburg--Barnwell--Calhoun--Dorchester--Edgefield--Fairfield--Hampton--McCormick--and Williamsburg.

Since the majority of Negroes in these counties above are common laborers, tenant farmers and share croppers and depend upon the Whites for economic dependence, they are reluctant and timid in trying to secure a registration certificate since the Negro knows the Whites in these counties are not interested in having **him**(the Negro) take part in politics in South Carolina and his community. There is no evidence that can be proven that discrimination is used against the Negro to keep him from getting a registration certificate.

The rest of these counties have less than 1,000 Negro registered voters each among the Negro population, but in these counties, the White population is greater than the Negro and the White school population is greater than the Negro. The occupation among the Negroes are the same as those found in the above statement and the Negroes do not seek to secure a registration certificate for the same reasons.
These counties are:
Abbeville--chester--Lexington--Newberry--Pickens--Saluda

Those Counties that have more than a 1,000 Negro voters do not have any trouble getting registration certificates, the trouble is with the Negroes themselves. For the last several years the Negroes in these counties have not been interested in voting, but for the past two years, Negroes in these counties have been showing signs of interest in voting and have been trying to get a registration certificate.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

November 27, 1956

Miss Margaret Price
Research Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

Enclosed is a clipping that was taken from the South Carolina State Paper. I thought it might give you some insights into the thinking of many whites who do not want a two party system in South Carolina and some of the reasons behind their thinking.

Give our regards to everyone in the office.

Yours truly,
James T. McCain
James T. McCain

Below are the final official returns of the 1956 general election released by the Secretary of State for South Carolina.

Democrats	Independents	Republicans
137,820	88,346	75,513

The Election Law of South Carolina; Edition 1956

ARTICLE 2

23-62 QUALIFICATION FOR REGISTRATION:

Every citizen of this state and the United States who:
(1) Is twenty one years of age or more
(2) Is not laboring under disabilities named in the Constitution of 1895 of this state.

Those disabilities are; (a) Persons who are idiots or insane, paupers supported at the public expense and persons confined in any public prison shall be disqualified from being registered or voting and (b) persons convicted of burglary, arson, obtaining goods or money under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, robbery, bribery, adultery, bigamy, wife-beating, housebreaking, receiving stolen goods, breach of trust with fraudulent intent, fornification, sodomy, incest, assault with intent to ravish, miscegenation, larceny or crimes against the election laws shall be disqualified from being registered or voting, unless disqualification shall have been removed by pardon of the Governor.

(3) Shall have been a resident in the State for two years, in the county for one year and in the polling precinct in which the elector offers to vote four months before any election.
(4) Can both read and write any section of said Constitution submitted to said elector by the registration officer or can show that he owns, and has paid all taxes collectible during the previous year on, property in this state assessed at three hundred dollars and more, and
(5) Shall apply for registration

11.

Although we have heard of many cases of the misuse of the literacy tests, it is difficult to give specific cases because people are afraid for their names to be used.

111.

The best estimate on Negro registration in 1952 in South Carolina is 80,000.

IV.

I believe the earlier estimates on Negro registration in South Carolina before 1956 were inflated.

V.

If John McCray's estimate means that there are only 80,000 to 85,000 registered Negroes in this state, I think he is wrong on that score. I would rather thank he meant that, from 80,000 to 85,000 Negroes voted in this election. Even to those of us who have tried to estimate county by county how many Negroes voted in this election, we would give a conservative extimate around 75,000.

VI.

It would be safe to say that out of the 75,634 people who voted the Republican ticket in this state; 50,000 of them were Negroes. I think the Negro vote in this state for the Republican ticket, was a protest against the southern democratic politician.

VII.

The percentage of Negro registrants who voted in this election is about 75%.

VIII.

The percentage of white registrants who voted in this election is about 40.6%.

IX.

Some of the things that have happened in Darlington and county for the Negroes since they have become qualified to vote and have received their registration certificates;

1. All streets in the Negro Communities have been paved and lighted.
2. Two Negro policemen with a radio car have been added.
3. Three Negroes are on the Darlington County executive Democratic committee.
4. Negroes have complete charge of three voting precincts in Darlington.

HOW WE GOT THE PERCENTAGES IN ANSWERS VII AND VIII

Number Qualified to vote--White 544,275	Number Qualified to vote--Negro 100,000
Number of whites who voted in this election-- 221,407	Number of Negroes who voted in this election 75,000
Percentage of white voting-- 40.6%	Percentage of Negro voting-- 75%

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

December 17, 1956

Miss Florence B. Irving
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Florence:

In order to explain the difference in voter registration of 81,000 in South Carolina, I think the following might be true.

The only way we had in South Carolina to find out how many people were registered to vote, was through key people in each community who would help us secure this information. We were unable to get this information from the registration officials. The figures which were sent to you represent the information we received from the questionnaires we went out and personal contact.

There was an extensive campaign put on in South Carolina by Negro and white organizations in the months of August and September to get every eligible person registered to vote. This might have accounted for some of the difference which was not included in the survey report.

On August 27, 1956, the State Democratic Convention reconvened after the National Democratic Convention which was held in Chicago. During this August 27th meeting there developed a split in the party and a movement began at once to secure 10,000 signatures to form an Independent Party. Not only did the Independent Party get the 10,000 signatures but they get 35,000. The Independent electors canvassed South Carolina urging the whites to get a registration certificate and vote the Independent ticket in November because the National Democratic Party had sold the south out. To me this is one of the main reasons why there was an increase in registration in South Carolina.

Sincerely,

Jim

J. T McCain
Associate Director

JTM/sw

(over)

P. S. There may be a possibility of persons in this State who have secured a registration certificate in more than one county, expecially teachers and ministers.

J. T. M.

AN ANALYSIS OFTHEVOTING IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Out of the 46 counties in South Carolina; 23 counties voted for the Democratic candidates: 21 counties voted for the Independent candidates: 2 counties voted for the Republican candidates.

Of the 21 counties that voted for the Independent candidates, 14 of these counties have strong Citizens Councils which backed the Independent candidates. The Negro in these 14 counties depends for his economy on tenant farming, share cropping and common labor. Of these 14 counties, 11 of them have more Negroes enrolled in the public schools than whites.

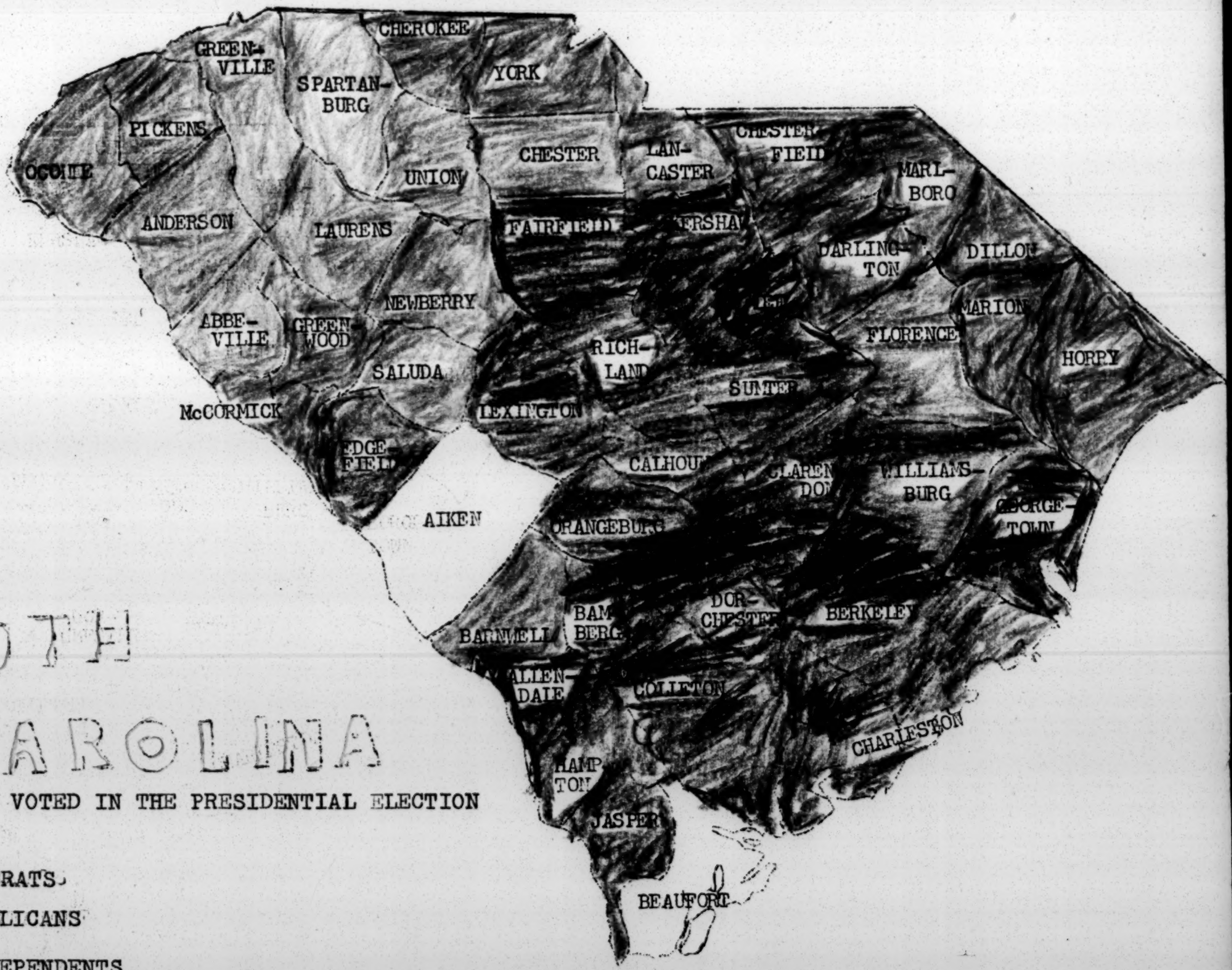
It would be safe to estimate that at least ½ or more of the qualified Negro voters in South Carolina, voted the Republican ticket in this election. The Negroes in South Carolina feel that the only way to have political freedom in South Carolina will be through a two party system. I think this was one of the major reasons why the Negroes voted Republican in this election in South Carolina.

BELOW ARE THE COUNTIES WHICH VOTED THE INDEPENDENT TICKET WITH CITIZENS COUNCILS

1. ALLENDALE
2. BAMBERG
3. CHARLESTON
4. CLARENDON
5. FAIRFIELD
6. FLORENCE
7. JASPER
8. KERSHAW
9. LEE
10. LEXINGTON
11. ORANGEBURG
12. RICHLAND
13. SUMTER
14. WILLIAMSBURG

"JIM"

Jim McCain
S.C. Council on H.R.


CHEROKEE
GREENVILLE
SPARTANBURG
YORK
PICKENS
OCONEE
CHESTER
LANCASTER
CHESTERFIELD
MARLBORO
UNION
ANDERSON
LAURENS
FAIRFIELD
ERSHAW
DARLINGTON
DILLON
NEWBERRY
MARION
ABBEVILLE
GREENWOOD
FLORENCE
RICHLAND
HORRY
SALUDA
SUMTER
McCORMICK
LEXINGTON
EDGEFIELD
CALHOU
CLARENDON
WILLIAMSBURG
GEORGETOWN
AIKEN
ORANGEBURG
BAMBERG
DORCHESTER
BERKELEY
BARNWELL
ALLENDALE
COLLETON
CHARLESTON
HAMPTON
JASPER
BEAUFORT

SOUTH CAROLINA

HOW THE COUNTIES VOTED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1956

▬ DEMOCRATS

▭ REPUBLICANS

■ INDEPENDENTS

(OTHER SIDE)

ESTIMATED QUALIFIED VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA: 1956

Number of Voting Age----Negro	Number Qualified	Percent
390,024	99,890	25.6

Number of Voting Age----White	Number Qualified	Percent
760,843	544,275	71.5

Estimated Number Qualified to Vote Negro and White	Number Qualified to Vote---White	Number Qualified to Vote---Negro
644,165	544,275	99,890
	Percent--84.5	Percent--15.5

South Carolina

SUMMARY

In the Negro's quest to achieve full enfranchisement in South Carolina, there seems to be three factors that are retarding his progress of becoming a first class citizen politically:

First. Apathy and the lack of political consciousness restrict the use of the ballot by the Negro more than any other factor. The Negro in South Carolina seems not to have learned the advantages of the ballot. He is a novice in politics in South Carolina and does not know the opportunities that come with voting. He has been told over and over by the opposite group that taking part in politics and voting is none of his business and should be left in the hands of the white people. A long period of indoctrination has been used by the whites upon the Negro; which to a great degree has contributed to apathy and the lack of political consciousness. Then, again, this lack of apathy may come from the many disadvantages that the Negro has had educationally in South Carolina. It has only been in the last few years that Negroes have had the opportunity to attend school for any length of time. As the Negro becomes better educated and learns the value of voting, apathy and the lack of political consciousness will disappear.

Second. The factor of economic dependency has kept many Negroes from seeking a registration certificate and qualifying to vote. The majority of the Negroes in South Carolina still depend upon the members of the white group to make a living and are afraid of doing anything that will cause pressure to be used against him. It has been said over and over again that many landlords will not allow their tenants to take part in voting and if any of the tenants should go against the landlords' wishes and try to get a registration certificate, the tenant is immediately reprimanded or loses his job. Therefore, in order to make a living for his family, he will not take the chance of getting a registration certificate. Yet in light of the pressure that may be used by the landlords, some of the Negro tenants in South Carolina have defied their landlords and have gotten registration certificates even at the risk of being fired.

Third. Discriminatory tactics have been used against the Negro in South Carolina, especially in those counties where the Negro is in the majority. Registration books have been moved from place to place in some counties to keep the Negro from getting a registration certificate and even if the Negro finds out where the books are located, he is given all kinds of literary tests that have nothing to do with reading and writing the Constitution of the United States. If too many Negroes go together to secure registration certificates in some of the counties, the clerks will only pass one or two of them, and will tell the rest that the books are closed for today. This has discouraged many Negroes and they will not go again to try for a registration certificate. In a few counties in South Carolina, Negroes who have had registration certificates have been told to take their names off the registration books and this has been done. Negroes have been threatened for attempting to vote. Even though discriminatory tactics are still being used against the Negro to keep him from taking part in politics in South Carolina, this plays only a minor role in keeping those who can qualify from getting registration certificates and voting.

Notwithstanding the factors that are standing in the way of the Negro to gain complete political freedom, there is evidence that the Negro is on the move politically in South Carolina. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negro today. South Carolina has a new kind of Negro leadership that is young and intelligent. This new Negro knows the value of the ballot and what it can do to help the Negro realize first class citizenship. Negroes have gained new confidence in South Carolina and are willing to follow this leadership. Leadership is in the hands of ministers, doctors, lawyers, and businessmen who cannot be pressurized by the white population. This new leadership is determined to see that every Negro who can qualify and wants a registration certificate gets it, even if someone must carry the Negro to the registration office and back home again. Under this new leadership, Negroes are being educated in the use of the ballot. When, and only when the Negro can gain political equality with the white in South Carolina will he be able to be counted as a first class citizen.

X

State South Carolina County Abbeville

Total Population 22,456 White 14,934 Non-White 7,522

Total Population over 21 12,629 White 8,951 Non-White 3,678

Total No. Registered Voters 6,015 White 6,000 Non-White 15

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 99.8% Non-White .2%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? 3 years ago a cottonwood worker was whipped at night for voting. Since then, Negroes haven't taken a part in voting. Those who had registration certificates have lost them. Fear is the weapon that has kept them in line.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? To a very great extent.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Fear of bodily harm.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? None

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Pulpwood workers - - - Domestics

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

State South Carolina County Aiken

Total Population 53,137 White 33,817 Non-White 19,320

Total Population over 21 30,137 White 20,241 Non-White 9,896

Total No. Registered Voters 8,000 White 6,500 Non-White 1,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 81% Non-White 19%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This one factor keeps the Negro from getting his registration certificate more than anything else in this county.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Civic League; NAACP; Progressive Democratic Club.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant Farmers; Semi-skilled workers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

More Negroes turned out to vote in this county when one of its members ran for City Council than at any other time.

6

State South Carolina County Allendale

Total Population 11,773 White 3,260 Non-White 8,513

Total Population over 21 5,982 White 2,091 Non-White 3,891

Total No. Registered Voters 2,250 White 1,900 Non-White 350

Ratio of Registered Voters White 84.5% Non-White 15.5%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

Registration books have been moved from place to place to keep the Negroes from getting registration certificates.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

To a great extent. The Negroes who have registration certificates will not go to the polls to vote because of fear.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Apathy may be the outcome of fear.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

Negro leadership, if there is any in this community, is afraid to urge Negroes to vote.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Share croppers, Tenant farmers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

No issue.

State South Carolina **County** Anderson

Total Population 90,664 **White** 71,364 **Non-White** 19,300

Total Population over 21 52,096 **White** 42,103 **Non-White** 9,993

Total No. Registered Voters 23,000 **White** 20,000 **Non-White** 3,000

Ratio of Registered Voters **White** 87% **Non-White** 13%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This factor more than any other keep the Negro from getting a registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP ... Civic Organizations.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Domestics ... Mill workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Issues aren't important to get the Negro out to vote.

State South Carolina County Bamberg

Total Population 17.533		White 7.395	Non-White 10.138
Total Population over 21 8,976		White 4.491	Non-White 4.485
Total No. Registered Voters 3,950		White 3.450	Non-White 500
Ratio of Registered Voters		White 87%	Non-White 13%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Negroes in this community are afraid to try and secure a registration certificate. It is believed that the Negroes are told not to take part in politics.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? The lack of apathy may be due in part to fear.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? N o organized efforts have been tried in this community.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Not to good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Tenant Farmers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Negroes just don't come out to vote. They feel that voting belongs to the other group.

State South Carolina County Barnwell

Total Population	17,266	White 6,613	Non-White 10,653
Total Population over 21	8,739	White 3,963	Non-White 4,776
Total No. Registered Voters	4,250	White 3,500	Non-White 750
Ratio of Registered Voters		White 82.4%	Non-White 17.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None that is tried by the registration board.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

This may have some effects upon the Negro but it cannot be proven.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Many Negroes still feel that politics in this community should be left entirely in the hands of the whites.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP, but under fire in this community.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

It could be better, if Negroes had a little more initiative.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers, Common laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

None.

State South Carolina County Beaufort

Total Population 26,993 White 11,472 Non-White 15,521

Total Population over 21 13,322 White 5,698 Non-White 7,624

Total No. Registered Voters 5,200 White 3,200 Non-White 2,000

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 61.5% Non-White 38.5%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? No; there is no indication that Negroes are treated any differently from white people in the matter of registration.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? This does not seem to be a factor on St. Helena Island or Beaufort, or one might say, this side of Broad River. I do not know the situation in the "lower" county but the Negroes seem to be less active there than on this side of Broad River.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This seems to be the primary reason why there are not more registered Negro voters in this area.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? The NAACP is the most active organization, but at least on St. Helena, it is not unusual to have residents urged to register and vote at various meetings--particularly in the churches.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good leadership. Both in Beaufort and St. Helena (again I can't speak for the other sections) the leaders of the community are quite politically aware of the issues and men involved; there are attempts to secure "block" voting for a particular candidate or issue, but this is not entirely successful.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Quite varied. Civilian workers at Parris Island Marine Base, Naval Hospital, and now Marine Landing Field bring in the most income. Seafood industries; crabbing, oysters, shrimp. Farming--a good deal of it part time. Business--shops and trades. Working on the large truck farms owned mostly by white farmers. Also school teaching, domestic service, timber industry, city and county maintenance employees, etc.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? The constitutional amendment about 2 years ago that permitted the state to make school attendance optional aroused much interest, as well as the last presidential election. The primary that was held in June for county and township offices dreq a very light vote--both white and Negro.

State South Carolina County Berkeley

Total Population 30,251 White 11,146 Non-White 19,105

Total Population over 21 14,088 White 5,963 Non-White 8,125

Total No. Registered Voters 8,200 White 5,000 Non-White 3,200

Ratio of Registered Voters White 61% Non-White 39%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This is the one obstacle that hinders the Negro from getting his registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP---Progressive Democratic Club

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Farmers. The majority of Negroes in this county own their land.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? They come out for all issues.

State South Carolina County Calhoun

Total Population 14.753 White 4.304 Non-White 10.449

Total Population over 21 7,127 White 2,690 Non-White 4.437

Total No. Registered Voters 2,500 White 2,500 Non-White 0

Ratio of Registered Voters White 100% Non-White 0%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

The whites keep the Negroes in this community under pressure. Negroes in this community are afraid to talk about voting.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

None

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers and common laborers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

State South Carolina County Charleston

Total Population 164,856 White 96,502 Non-White 68,354

Total Population over 21 93,492 White 59,381 Non-White 34,111

Total No. Registered Voters 51,000 White 45,000 Non-White 6,000

Ratio of Registered Voters White 88% Non-White 12%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? This is used in some of the small places in Charleston County.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Apathy is the greatest factor among the Negroes.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP; Civic League; Palmetto Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Factory workers; Dock workers; Semi-skilled workers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that deal with local elections. More Negroes voted in the last local primary election because the citizen council was backing certain candidates.

State South Carolina County Cherokee

Total Population 34.992 White 27.244 Non-White 7.748

Total Population over 21 18,996 White 15.304 Non-White 3.692

Total No. Registered Voters 13,900 White 12,000 Non-White 1.900

Ratio of Registered Voters White 86.3% Non-White 13.7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? No

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? No extent. Whites encourage Negroes to register and vote.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This appears in some of the older Negroes in the community.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP: Churches

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good leadership

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Mill workers; Common laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that have local significance

State South Carolina County Chester

Total Population 32,597 White 18,833 Non-White 13,764

Total Population over 21 18,064 White 11,276 Non-White 6,788

Total No. Registered Voters 9,650 White 9,000 Non-White 650

Ratio of Registered Voters ________ White 93.3% Non-White 6.7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

It has been reported that several large plantation owners have persuaded the Negro tenant not to register and vote.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Ignorance of the qualifications to secure a registration certificate may be one of the causes of apathy on the part of the Negro to vote.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Churches, Civic Clubs.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good. Negroes are having regular mass meetings to arouse the Negro of the importance of getting registered and using the ballot. Negroes are being educated how to use the ballot once he has gotten it.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Mill workers, Tenant farmers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

No issue has aroused the few Negroes who are qualified voters in this community to vote.

State South Carolina County Chesterfield

Total Population 36,236 White 22,098 Non-White 14,138

Total Population over 21 18,071 White 12,012 Non-White 6,059

Total No. Registered Voters 13,500 White 10,000 Non-White 3,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 74% Non-White 26%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

To no extent. Negroes are **encouraged** to register and vote in this county by the whites.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

This plays only a small part in restricting Negroes to vote.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP, Negro Citizen Committee

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

The leadership is very good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Mill workers; a small percentage are tenant farmers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

They will turn out for all local and state elections.

State South Carolina County Clarendon

Total Population 32,215 White 9,379 Non-White 22,836

Total Population over 21 14,400 White 5,121 Non-White 9,279

Total No. Registered Voters 4,700 White 3,500 Non-White 1,200

Ratio of Registered Voters White 74.5% Non-White 25.5%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None that can be pin pointed. The reading test is very strict with Negroes. If Negroes go to get registration certificates in a group, the registrar will only pass about one of them and will tell the others to come back the next time.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? This method is used to a great extent. Negroes are afraid reprisals may be used against them if they attempt to register and vote.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? The Negro will use the ballot if he can.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association; NAACP; Clarendon County Improvement Association; Goodwill Farmers Union; Liberty Hill A.M.E. Church.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? The leadership is good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Tenant Farmers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Regardless of the issue, many Negroes are afraid to vote.

State South Carolina County Colleton

Total Population 28,242	White 13,198	Non-White 15,044
Total Population over 21 14,710	White 7,942	Non-White 6,768
Total No. Registered Voters 8,400	White 7,200	Non-White 1,200
Ratio of Registered Voters	White 85.7%	Non-White 14.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

None so far as voting itself is concerned, but white insurance salesmen try to persuade the Negroes to vote for certain candidates even if the Negro leaders think otherwise.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

To a great extent.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Citizens league, NAACP, Womens' Federated Club

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

The leadership is good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Share croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

The issues that deal with Civil Rights.

State South Carolina County Darlington

Total Population 50,016 White 26,794 Non-White 23,222

Total Population over 21 25,582 White 15,127 Non-White 10,455

Total No. Registered Voters 22,000 White 13,000 Non-White 9,000

Ratio of Registered Voters White 59.1% Non-White 40.9%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? None

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Excellent

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Farmers; Semi-skilled workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

They will come out to vote on any issue.

State South Carolina County Dillon

Total Population 30,930 White 16,006 Non-White 14,924

Total Population over 21 15,001 White 8,481 Non-White 6,520

Total No. Registered Voters 10,000 White 6,000 Non-White 4,000

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 60% Non-White 40%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None. Only some of the landlords try to influence some of their tenants to vote for certain candidates.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Some Negroes still feel that voting belongs to the white group.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good leadership.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Share croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that involved the election of local officials, as fairness in dealing with all citizens.

State South Carolina	County Dorchester	
Total Population 22,601	White 10,118	Non-White 12,483
Total Population over 21 11,703	White 5,931	Non-White 5,772
Total No. Registered Voters 5,800	White 5,000	Non-White 800
Ratio of Registered Voters	White 86.2%	Non-White 13.8%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

Negroes must read, write and interpret the Constitution. Will not recognize property tax receipts.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

None, if Negroes already have registration certificates.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Apathy is ine of the main reasons why Negroes don't have registration certificates.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Palmetto Voters Association.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

The leadership is good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Civil Rights

State South Carolina **County** Edgefield

Total Population 16,591 **White** 6,660 **Non-White** 9,931

Total Population over 21 8,502 **White** 4,190 **Non-White** 4,312

Total No. Registered Voters 3,000 **White** 2,200 **Non-White** 800

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ **White** 73.3% **Non-White** 26.7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? In certain areas

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Share croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Those who have registration certificates will come out on all issues.

State South Carolina County Fairfield

Total Population 21,780 White 8,859 Non-White 12 ,921

Total Population over 21 11,138 White 5,207 Non-White 5.931

Total No. Registered Voters 4,550 White 4,000 Non-White 550

Ratio of Registered Voters White 87.9% Non-White 12.1%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Negroes are afraid to register.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Apathy and lack of political consciousness may stem from the above reason.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Self styled leadership.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Pulpwood workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? No issues.

State South Carolina County Florence

Total Population 79,710 White 43,928 Non-White 35,782

Total Population over 21 41,302 White 24,652 Non-White 16,650

Total No. Registered Voters 16,600 White 15,000 Non-White 1,600

Ratio of Registered Voters ________ White 90.3% Non-White 9.7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None that can be proven.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? This is used to a very great extent. (It is said that places like Lake City and other small places in this county use all kind of tactics to discourage the Negro from getting the ballot. Lake City is one of the hot beds of the White Citizens Council).

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This lack of political apathy may be do in part to the pressure that is being used against the Negro.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association; NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?
Common laborers; Tenant Farmers and Share Croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?
Negroes in this county only turn out in large numbers to vote if some Negro has been mistreated by some official a little before election

State South Carolina County Georgetown

Total Population 31,762 White 14,900 Non-White 16,862

Total Population over 21 15,359 White 8,038 Non-White 7,321

Total No. Registered Voters 7,500 White 5,400 Non-White 2,100

Ratio of Registered Voters White 72% Non-White 28%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This is one of the main reasons why Negroes are not qualified to vote.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? The West End Business Men Club; The Tent, a Woman's Group; The Progressive Democratic Club.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Domestics; laborers; mill workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that have dealt with civil rights. Issues that dealt with the extension of the city limit where Negroes are effected. In the primary of June 11, 1956, more Negroes voted here than ever before and elected candidates to office who were sympathetic with the Negro problems in this community.

State South Carolina County Greenville

Total Population	168,073	White	136,631	Non-White	17,150
Total Population over 21	101,073	White	83,923	Non-White	17,150
Total No. Registered Voters	75,000	White	66,000	Non-White	9,000
Ratio of Registered Voters		White	88%	Non-White	12%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This, more than anything else, restricts the use of the ballot. Many Negroes move in and out of Greenville every year and feel that securing a registration certificate isn't necessary.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP ... Civic Clubs

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good, but could be better if the Negroes of Greenville would consolidate their leadership. Negro leadership here is divided, which has a tendency to weaken the followship by the masses of Negroes.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Textile mill workers ... Garment workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

The majority of those qualified to vote will come out during local election regardless to the issue. This year the issue of civil rights.

State South Carolina County Greenwood

Total Population 41,628 White 29,072 Non-White 12,556

Total Population over 21 24,832 White 18,050 Non-White 6,782

Total No. Registered Voters 14,500 White 12,000 Non-White 2,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 82.8% Non-White 17.2%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Apathy and the lack of political consciousness are the main reasons.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Civic league

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good, but facing a hard job in trying to convince Negroes that it is their duty to vote.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Textile workers in mills.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Negroes who have the ballots will turn out on any issue.

State South Carolina County Hampton

Total Population 18,027 White 7,946 Non-White 10,081

Total Population over 21 9,224 White 4,617 Non-White 4,607

Total No. Registered Voters 4,650 White 4,300 Non-White 350

Ratio of Registered Voters White 92.3% Non-White 7.7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None that appear on the surface.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

None that can be proven but the feeling is that there is social pressure exerted on the Negroes by whites.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Negroes will not interest themselves in securing a registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

The leadership is good.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Common laborers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

They will vote in all local elections.

State South Carolina County Horry

Total Population 59,820 White 43,735 Non-White 16,085

Total Population over 21 28,899 White 21,930 Non-White 6,969

Total No. Registered Voters 21,000 White 18,300 Non-White 2,700

Ratio of Registered Voters White 87.1% Non-White 12.9%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

At times the board members have questioned Negroes on the Constitution of South Carolina.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

About 70% of the Negroes not registered depend on their living from the white community.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Many Negroes who could qualify to vote will not try to get a registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Horry County Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Fair

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Sawmill workers, Domestic service, Farming

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Those that have to do with Civil Rights.

State South Carolina County Jasper

Total Population	10,995	White 3,824	Non-White 7,171
Total Population over 21	5,462	White 2,181	Non-White 3,281
Total No. Registered Voters	2,900	White 1,800	Non-White 1,100
Ratio of Registered Voters		White 62.1%	Non-White 37.9%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? The Negroes in this community feel tha t the literary test is discriminatory. The whites aren't put through the same test as the Negroes.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? No lack of apathy.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP: Palmetto Voters Association: Citizen Committ ee

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Excellent

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Farming

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? All issues are important.

State South Carolina County Kershaw

Total Population 32,287 White 16,546 Non-White 15,741

Total Population over 21 16,592 White 9,527 Non-White 7,065

Total No. Registered Voters 8,500 White 7,500 Non-White 1,000

Ratio of Registered Voters White 88.2% Non-White 11.8%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Not to any great extent.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This factor is great.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP: Progressive Democratic Club

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Farmers; Factory workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Nearly all Negroes will turn out to vote regardless of the issues.

State South Carolina County Lancaster

Total Population 37,071 White 26,343 Non-White 10,728

Total Population over 21 19,693 White 14,582 Non-White 5,111

Total No. Registered Voters 14,500 White 13,000 Non-White 1,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 89.7% Non-White 10.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

Although Negroes are dependent upon the white community largely for a livelihood, no pressure is used to keep the Negroes from getting a registration certificate to vote.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Many Negroes in this community still feel that voting and politics should be left entirely in the hands of the white people.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP, Negro Masonic Lodge

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

Good. The leaders here are attempting to educate the masses of Negroes in the use of the ballot.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Lumber mill workers, Textile mill workers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Those who are qualified to vote will come out for every election regardless of the issue.

State South Carolina County Laurens

Total Population 46.974 White 32.370 Non-White 14.604

Total Population over 21 26,267 White 18.954 Non-White 7.313

Total No. Registered Voters 15,200 White 14.500 Non-White 700

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 95.4% Non-White 4.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None on the surface.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Some say pressure is used to keep Negroes from voting; others say this is not true.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Negroes aren't interested in the ballot.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good leadership, but Negroes are afraid to follow.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Common laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

No issue will bring them out.

State South Carolina County Lee

Total Population 23,173 White 7,664 Non-White 15,509

Total Population over 21 10,816 White 4,570 Non-White 6,246

Total No. Registered Voters 4,500 White 3,000 Non-White 1,500

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 66.7% Non-White 33.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None. The literary level of Negroes in this county is so low that the majority of the Negroes are not able to pass the reading test for registration.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Many Negroes in this county are not interested in the ballot.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association; The Interceder's Association.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? The leadership is very progressive.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Common laborers and Share croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that have to do with the election of local officials, as the sheriff and magistrate.

State	South Carolina	County	Lexington		
Total Population	44.279	White	34.816	Non-White	9.463
Total Population over 21	25.326	White	20.628	Non-White	4.698
Total No. Registered Voters	15.150	White	15.000	Non-White	150
Ratio of Registered Voters		White	99%	Non-White	1%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? Not enough Negroes have tried to qualify for voting to tell if discriminatory tactics will be or have been used.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? I think these are the main reasons.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This lack of apathy may be due in part to the Negro dependence upon the other group.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? No Negro leadership.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Tenant Farmers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? No issue.

State South Carolina County Marion

Total Population 33,110 White 14,581 Non-White 18,529

Total Population over 21 16,787 White 8,119 Non-White 8,668

Total No. Registered Voters 8,500 White 7,000 Non-White 1,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 82.4% Non-White 17.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? Yes. Negroes are put through tests which require reading, writing, and interpreting the Constitution, whereas the white need only to go and get theirs.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Not too much.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Lack of political consciousness has a lot to do with trying to vote.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Palmetto Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

The leadership is fair and divided.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Common laborers, mill workers and share croppers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Issues that have to do with local election, such as the election of the Mayor, sheriff, etc.

State South Carolina County Marlboro

Total Population 31,766 White 15.013 Non-White 16.753

Total Population over 21 16,027 White 8.567 Non-White 7.460

Total No. Registered Voters 8,400 White 7.200 Non-White 1.200

Ratio of Registered Voters White 85.7% Non-White 14.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

Yes; by asking questions that have nothing to do with the Constitution and failing to open registration books on days provided by law.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

Several large white land owners advise their tenants against taking part in politics, therefore many Negroes refuse to register and vote.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

Quite a few Negroes say that politics are still for the white community and not for them.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP, Marlboro Civic Council, Palmetto Voters Association.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

Potential leadership good, but divided. Petty differences keep them bickering among themselves.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Share croppers and common laborers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Issues aren't important if the Negroes can be gotten to the polls.

State South Carolina County McCormick

Total Population	9,577	White	3,589	Non-White	5,998
Total Population over 21	4,702	White	2,077	Non-White	2,625
Total No. Registered Voters	2,025	White	2,025	Non-White	0
Ratio of Registered Voters		White	100%	Non-White	0%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? Books have moved from place to place to keep Negroes from registering. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 have had their names purged from the books.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Negro farmers could not sell their produce until their names were taken off the books if they once had a registration certificate. All kinds of pressure has been used in this community to keep Negroes out of politics.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? The leadership that could be of help in this community is afraid to do or say anything because of the reprisals that may be brought against him or them.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Share croppers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

State South Carolina County Newberry

Total Population 31,771 White 19,947 Non-White 11,824

Total Population over 21 18,436 White 12,540 Non-White 5,896

Total No. Registered Voters 10,755 White 10,000 Non-White 775

Ratio of Registered Voters White 93% Non-White 7%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? To a great extent. Negroes are afraid to even try to get a registration certificate.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This apathy may stem from the above answer.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? None at present...before the Supreme Court decision, the NAACP was at work in this community getting Negroes regis tered.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Timid

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Common laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

No special issue, the Negroes who have all ready gotten certificates will use them in all elections.

State South Carolina County Oconee

Total Population 39,050 White 34,275 Non-White 4,775

Total Population over 21 21,018 White 18,561 Non-White 2,457

Total No. Registered Voters 9,000 White 7,000 Non-White 2,000

Ratio of Registered Voters ______ White 77.8% Non-White 22.2%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? None ... Negroes here are making a house to house visit to get Negroes out to register.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Civic Organizations.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Excellent

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Farmers ... These farmers are land owners.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

They come out for every election. Whites who are running for office help to get Negroes to the pools by providing transportation.

State South Carolina County Orangeburg

Total Population 68,726 White 25,295 Non-White 43,431

Total Population over 21 34,497 White 15,339 Non-White 19,158

Total No. Registered Voters 12,700 White 10,500 Non-White 2,200

Ratio of Registered Voters White 82.7% Non-White 17.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? Have heard of some but can not be proved.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? This hinders Negroes in some small places in the county.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Many Negroes in the county feel that they would be happy to vote if they could get a registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Farmers; Domestics

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that deal with local problems

State South Carolina County Pickens

Total Population 40,058 White 35.589 Non-White 4.469

Total Population over 21 22,299 White 19.935 Non-White 2.364

Total No. Registered Voters 13,900 White 13.000 Non-White 900

Ratio of Registered Voters White 93.4% Non-White 6.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? Not to any great extent.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? The Negro hasn't tried very hard to get his registration certificate.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Civic league

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good. The leaders are having a campaign to try and get the Negro out to register.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Mill workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Issues aren't important.

State South Carolina County Richland

Total Population 142,565 White 92,071 Non-White 50,494

Total Population over 21 89,117 White 60,734 Non-White 28,383

Total No. Registered Voters 44,200 White 31,700 Non-White 12,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 71.8% Non-White 28.2%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? To a very great extent.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Negro Women Voters League; NAACP; Inter-denominational Ministerial Allience; Lincoln's Emancipation Club; Richland County Citizen's Committee

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good leadership

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Domestics and semi-skilled workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Issues that deal with undemocratic practices against the Negroes.

State South Carolina **County** Saluda

Total Population 15,924 **White** 9,133 **Non-White** 6,791

Total Population over 21 8,488 **White** 5,517 **Non-White** 2,971

Total No. Registered Voters 3,500 **White** 3,000 **Non-White** 500

Ratio of Registered Voters **White** 85.7% **Non-White** 14.3%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None that is shown by the registration clerks.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

Negroes are told to leave politics to the whites in the community.

Negroes depend largely upon the whites for economic dependency.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

This spirit of apathy has come from a long period of indoctrination by the whites among the Negroes.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

NAACP

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good, but having a difficult time trying to convince the Negro the importance of voting.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers - - - Share croppers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Those who are registered will come out to vote regardless of the issues.

State South Carolina County Spartanburg

Total Population 150.349 White 116.702 Non-White 17.546

Total Population over 21 86,559 White 69.013 Non-White 17,546

Total No. Registered Voters 71.000 White 64.000 Non-White 7.000

Ratio of Registered Voters White 90.1% Non-White 9.9%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This is one of the greatest concerns of the Negro leadership in Spartanburg; apathy by some of the Negroes.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Very good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?
Mill workers ... Semi-skilled laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?
The greatest number of Negroes turn out when a Negro candidate runs for office in the local election.

State South Carolina County Sumter

Total Population 57,634 White 24,609 Non-White 33,025

Total Population over 21 29,260 White 14,453 Non-White 14,807

Total No. Registered Voters 7,900 White 6,100 Non-White 1,800

Ratio of Registered Voters White 77.2% Non-White 22.8%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? This attitude of apathy by the Negro is the only thing that restricts him from voting.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? Palmetto Voters Association; NAACP; The Negro Ministerial Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Farmers and factory workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? The majority of those registered will come out to vote on any local election, especially those issues that deal with local affairs, such as; raising the local taxes to build a newpublic library when the use of the old one is denied to Negroes.

State South Carolina County Union

Total Population 31,334 White 21,279 Non-White 10,055

Total Population over 21 17,380 White 12,501 Non-White 4,879

Total No. Registered Voters 11,000 White 9,500 Non-White 1,500

Ratio of Registered Voters White 86.4% Non-White 13.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Apathy is the trouble with the Negroes in Union.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP: Voters league

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good leadership

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community? Cotton mill workers; Common laborers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote? Negroes will vote in all elections.

State South Carolina County Williamsburg

Total Population 43,807 White 14,162 Non-White 29,645

Total Population over 21 19,693 White 7,572 Non-White 12,121

Total No. Registered Voters 7,400 White 6,500 Non-White 900

Ratio of Registered Voters White 87.8% Non-White 12.2%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate?

None when the Negro tries to get a registration certificate, but it was reported that many white people in this county who cannot read and write have gotten and are still getting registration certificates to qualify to vote.

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting?

Negroes who are dependent upon the white landlords and merchants in this county have been told not to have anything to do with voting.

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Negroes don't know the value of the ballot in this county. They will not attend the precinct meetings when they can.

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting?

Palmetto Voters Association

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community?

Leadership is very conservative and afraid.

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers and share croppers.

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

Those who are registered will come out for all elections regardless of the issues.

State South Carolina County York

Total Population	71,596	White 49,389	Non-White 22,207
Total Population over 21	39,004	White 28,100	Non-White 10,904
Total No. Registered Voters	24,900	White 22,000	Non-White 2,900
Ratio of Registered Voters		White 88.4%	Non-White 11.6%

Are there any discriminatory tactics used to keep Negroes from getting a registration certificate? None

To what extent do economic dependency of Negroes or social pressure serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? None

To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes? Great in rural areas

What organizations are at work in the community to increase Negro registration and voting? NAACP; Voters League; Democratic Clubs.

What kind of Negro leadership is there in the community? Good

What is the occupation of the majority of Negroes in this community?

Tenant farmers; Textile mill workers

What are some of the issues that will bring the majority of Negroes out to vote?

All issues are important.